

*Free Guard*

*Labor Omnia Vincit*

**Report of the Proceedings  
of the  
Forty-ninth Annual Convention  
of the  
American  
Federation of  
Labor**



**Held at Toronto, Ontario, Canada  
October 7th to 18th, Inclusive**

**1929**

*Published by Direction of American Federation of Labor*

**EIGHT  
HOURS**

**8**

*Hours for Work  
Hours for Rest  
Hours for What  
We Will*

***"Whether you work by the piece  
or work by the day,  
Decreasing the Hours  
Increases the Pay."***



***This is a Facsimile of the Eight-  
Hour Button of the American  
Federation of Labor. ♣ It is  
Three Colors, Red, White and  
Blue.***

**WILLIAM GREEN,**  
*President.*

**FRANK MORRISON,**  
*Secretary.*







*Labor Omnia Vincit*

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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL  
CONVENTION  
OF  
THE AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA  
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1929

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# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

## 1930

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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

### Forty-Ninth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....	2	58 57	Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York City. Paul Dulzell, 45 West 47th Street, New York City.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	29	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Benham Street, Elmhurst, L. I., New York.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	71 70 105	A. A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Henry L. Koch, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Wm. McGuern, 2915 E. Cherry Street, Seattle, Washington.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	5	105 104 104 104	James C. Shanessy, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. H. C. Wenzel, 1254 Beech Street, St. Paul, Minnesota. Leon Worthall, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Roe H. Baker, 112 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California. William C. Birthright, 1102 Buchanan Street, Nashville, Tennessee.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Frank Abbott, 64 W. Randolph Street, Room 300, Chicago, Illinois.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25 25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Wm. G. Powlesland, 9 Humber Trail, Toronto, 9, Ont., Canada.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	43 43 43 43	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas. Wm. E. Walter, 430 Columbia Place, East St. Louis, Illinois. Walter J. Coyle, 424 Third Avenue, Verdun, Montreal, Que. Canada. Martin Daley, 7837 South Pauline Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	46 45 45	John B. Haggerty, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. Felix J. Belair, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. Miss Mary E. Meehan, 726 Old South Building, Boston, Mass.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	6	54 54 54 54 54 54	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts. C. L. Baine, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Nora O'Connor, 43 Spring Avenue, Brockton, Mass. John H. Dillon, Lock Box 104, Rockland, Massachusetts. D. W. Anderson, 4568 North Austin Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Thomas Morrissey, 191 Liberty Street, Rockland, Mass.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54 53 53 150 150	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. A. J. Kugler, 156 Grant Avenue, Jersey City, N. J. A. E. Zusi, 704 South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey. Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Ave., New York City. John McLeod, 10 Stanton Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	150 150 150 150	John J. Stretch, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill. George A. Jones, 1300 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Wm. J. Moran, Box 677, El Paso, Texas. Wm. J. Lyons, 866 Broad, Newark, N. J.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	25 25	Frank Kasten, Suite 440, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. William Tracy, Suite 440, 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	4	51 51 51 31	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo. Edward Ryan, 179 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. William F. Bauers, 351 Broadway, Buffalo, New York. John H. Barry, 2611 North Spring Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	3	31 30 200	Jerry Horan, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill. Oscar F. Nelson, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Illinois. Charles F. Willis, care, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	200 200 200 403 403	Martin F. Ryan, 400 Carmen's Building, Kansas City, Mo. F. H. Knight, 4010 Harrison St., Kansas City, Mo. J. O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Street, Chicago, Ill. L. A. Beaudry, 1828 Desery St., Montreal, Que., Canada. Wm. L. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	403 403 402 402 402 57	Frank Duffy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Indiana. R. H. Burdette, 603 I St., N. W., Washington, D. C. J. R. Stevenson, 4644 Monroe St., Chicago, Illinois. Alex Kelso, 2523 Poplar Street, Bronx, New York. John B. Tierney, 52 Kingston Place, Buffalo, New York. G. W. Hoover, 212 N. Second St., Memphis, Tennessee. Geo. H. Lane, 480 Maple St., Holyoke, Mass.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	3	57 57 56	I. M. Ornburn, 604 Carpenters' Building, Washington, D. C. G. W. Perkins, 720 N. Ridgeland Ave., Oak Park, Ill. William Collins, 51 Union Park, Boston, Mass.

## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	5	64	Thos. F. Flaherty, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		64	Leo E. George, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		64	Thos. L. Kelley, P. O. Clerk, Providence, Rhode Island.
		64	James Kennaugh, 116 West 39th Street, Room 334, New York City.
		64	Harry Norton, P. O. Clerk, Hartford, Connecticut.
		162	Geo. M. Harrison, 701 Brotherhood Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		162	Geo. S. Levi, 705 Brotherhood Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		162	C. J. Woods, 766 N. E. 64th St., Portland, Oregon.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	6	161	Thos. A. Bannister, 242 Decatur Street, Corning, New York.
		161	Ira F. Thomas, Room 202, Marquette Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.
		161	Frank Hall, 5360 10th Avenue, Rosemont, Montreal, Que., Canada.
Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail.....	1	00	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 348, Lafayette, Ind.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....	2	35	Max Zaritsky, 621 Broadway, New York City.
		34	Max Zuckerman, 621 Broadway, New York City.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	23	J. M. Alexander, Carmen's Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	15	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		203	James P. Noonan, 1200 15th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		203	Chas. P. Ford, 1200 15th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		203	G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	203	E. Ingles, R. No. 3, London, Ont., Canada.
		203	Chas. M. Paulsen, 4919 N. Cuyler, Chicago, Ill.
		203	Martin T. Joyce, 412 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		202	John Noble, 78 Dewhurst Blvd., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		34	Frank Feeney, 402 Perry Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	John C. Macdonald, 386 Harrison Ave., Boston, Mass.
		34	Walter Snow, 2901 West Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
		66	Arthur M. Huddell, 1003 K St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
		66	Dave Evans, 1003 K St. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	5	66	John Posschl, 216 High Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		66	Frank Healey, 1013 Jepsom St., Niagara Falls, Can.
		66	Frank Deynberger, 1520 East 120th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		29	Edward J. Volz, 502 World Bldg., New York, N. Y.
		29	Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Bldg., 3136 South Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	3	28	Matthew Woll, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for Delegates.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Federal Employes, National Federation of.....	4	77	Luther C. Steward, 10 B St. S. W., Washington, D. C.
		76	Gertrude M. McNally, 10 B St. S. W., Washington, D. C.
		76	Lee R. Whitney, 330 Federal Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.
		76	John Fitzgerald, 72 Adelphia St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	84	Fred W. Baer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		84	Donald Dear, 38 Havelock Ave., Ottawa, Ont., Can.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationery.....	3	32	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
		32	Joseph W. Morton, 175 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		31	James B. Conroy, 3616 Park Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....	1	28	Phillip A. Silberstein, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, New York, N. Y.
		95	T. A. Rickert, Room 506, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	95	J. L. Wines, Room 621, Bible House, New York City.
		95	F. Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal St., Boston, Mass.
		95	A. Adamski, 547 Doat St., Buffalo, N. Y.
		95	Mrs. Daisy A. Houck, Room 621, Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	5	65	Benjamin Schlesinger, 3 West 16th St., New York City.
		65	Abraham Katovsky, 207 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		65	Isidore Nagler, 130 East 25th St., New York City.
		64	David Dubinsky, 3 West 16th St., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada.....	2	64	Basilio Desti, 33 Second Ave., Cloak-makers' Union, New York, N. Y.
		30	James Maloney, 1006 Colonial Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....	2	30	Edward C. Wilson, 86 Thompson St., Salem, N. J.
		26	William P. Clarke, 210 American Bank Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	1	26	Harry F. Cochran, 63 North Cedar St., Newark, Ohio.
		85	Sam Squibb, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	39	Martin Lawlor, 418 Bible House, New York City.
		38	James Byrne, 700 S. 14th St., Newark, N. J.
		38	J. Louis Africk, 418 Bible House, New York City.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....	6	153	J. V. Moersch, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
		153	J. B. Etchison, 1615 Bellefontaine St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		153	Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.
		153	Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Mo.
		153	J. J. Collins, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.
		152	William Varley, Labor Temple, 167 Church St., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	76 76 76 75 75	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. Robert B. Hesketh, 528-530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio. Emanuel Kovoleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y. Conrad Schott, 14 South Sixth St., St. Louis, Mo. Miss Agnes Quinn, 303 Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....	1	89	M. F. Tighe, 500 South Main St., W. E., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International.....	1	8	Samuel E. Beardsley, 216 Third Ave., New York City.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	4	42 41 41 41	William J. McSorley, Lathers' Bldg., Detroit Ave. at W. 26th St., Cleveland, Ohio. Charles J. Case, 917 Main Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. George Moore, 2510 N. Harding St., Chicago, Ill. Harry Hagen, 4005 Lexington Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	1	55	Harry L. Morrison, 817 Second Ave. Troy, N. Y.
Leather Workers, United, International Union.....	1	50	W. E. Bryan, 610 Walsix Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	90 90 90 90 90	Edward J. Gainor, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C. Charles D. Duffy, 834 South Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill. John T. Mugavin, 616 Provident Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio. Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Bldg., Nashville, Tenn.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	29 20	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut St., Brooklyn, N. Y. William W. Aitken, 122 Glenlake Ave., Toronto, 9, Ont., Canada.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	2	189 188 129 129	Joseph P. Ryan, 256 West 31st St., New York City. George F. Freitas, 1347 Edward St., Lakewood, Ohio. A. O. Wharton, 704 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C. Charles Fry, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Machinists, International Association of.....	6	128 128 128 128 81 81	R. A. Henning, 120 Warwick St., S. E., St. Paul, Minn. Daniel P. Haggerty, 936 Capp St., San Francisco, Calif. C. B. Cline, 2754 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. James Somerville, 806 Keefer Bldg., Montreal, Que., Canada. F. H. Flizdal, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich. E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	4	80 80	W. V. Turnbull, Notre Dame de Grace, 7302 Sherbrooke St., West, Montreal, Que., Canada. E. J. Hopcraft, 621 Glebeholme Blvd., Toronto 6, Ontario, Canada.

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Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers, International Association of.....	2	32	Stephen C. Hogan, 406 East 149th St., New York City.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, America, National Organization.....	1	32	Louis Rode, 406 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> East 149th St., New York <sub>2</sub> City.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	3	30	John J. Scully, 24 Moore St., New York City.
		40	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Ky.
		39	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
		39	Michael J. Kelly, 128 North Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
		63	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	63	Thomas Redding, 4941 West End St., Chicago, Ill.
		62	John Reul, 162 East 23rd St., New York City.
		62	William J. Rooney, 1517 North Austin Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....	2	20	James B. Rankin, Box 174, Anaconda, Mont.
		20	Patrick Deloughery, 525 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> North Franklin St., Butte, Mont.
		500	John L. Lewis, 1114 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		500	Philip Murray, 1116 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		500	Thomas Kennedy, 1107 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		500	P. T. Fagan, 406 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	8	500	William Green, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		500	Walter Nesbit, Illinois Miners' Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		500	Lee Hall, 75 Ohio B. and L. Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		500	Frank Hughes, 807 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Bellaire Ave., South Mills Branch, Post Office, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		60	Michael J. Keough, Edwards Bldg., 528-530 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	4	59	Robert T. McCoy P. O. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		59	John P. Frey, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		59	George E. McCaffrey, 213 Webster Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.
		167	Joseph N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
		167	Wm. J. Kerngood, 37-39 William St., Newark, N. J.
		167	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	167	John W. Parks, 2009 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Main St., Dallas, Texas.
		166	Chas. L. Bagley, 403 California Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.
		166	Edward Canavan, 958 Eighth Avenue, New York City.
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....	1	16	J. L. Custer, Box 1779, Fort Worth, Texas.



## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	181 180 180 180 180 180	Clarence E. Swick, 517 South 9th St., Lafayette, Ind. James P. Meehan, 54 Olive St., Lawrence, Mass. Christian M. Madsen, 1320 N. Kedzie Ave., Chicago, Ill. John J. Riley, 106 Diamond St., Pittsburgh, Pa. John J. Doyle, 54 Norwalk Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. L. P. Lindelof, 804 Walter St., Hammond, Indiana.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	20 20	Frank P. Barry, 25 South Hawk St., Albany, N. Y. Matthew J. Burns, 373 Partridge St., Albany, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	1	70	James Wilson, Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of.....	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 819 Third Ave., New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....	1	23	Albert M. Anderson, Box 130, Rockport, Mass.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International.....	1	5	Jacob Fischer, 260 East 138th St., New York City.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	5	79 79 78 78 78 90 90	M. J. Colleran, 401 W. 263rd St., Riverdale, Bronx, New York. T. A. Scully, 401-418 Castell Bldg., P. O. Box 228, Middletown, Ohio. Duncan Payne, 5443 Thomas St., Chicago, Ill. J. E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. William O'Keefe, 4031 Scanlon Pl., St. Louis, Mo. John Coefield, Fifth Floor, Machinists Bldg., Ninth and Mt. Vernon Pl. N. W., Washington, D. C. Thomas E. Burke, Fifth Floor, Machinists Bldg., Ninth and Mt. Vernon Pl. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada United Association of.....	5	90 90 90 60	Charles M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt St., Chicago, Ill. Charles Anderson, 1901-03 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. William Fallon, Orpheum Bldg., 583 Summitt Ave., Jersey City, N. J. W. W. Britton, 602 Second National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Polishers, Metal, International Union.....	1	33 33	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio. E. L. Wheatley, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of.....	2	12 80	James Windsor, Washington Loan and Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C. George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	80 80 80 80	George R. Brunet, 2472 Sherbrooke St., E., Montreal, Que., Canada. Thomas F. Churchill, 315 Manning Chambers, Toronto, Ont., Canada. John J. Bromley, 590 Kingston Rd., Toronto, Ontario, Canada. William H. McHugh, 723 Reed Bldg., 1215 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5		

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25 25	John P. Burke, P. O. Drawer V, Fort Edward, New York. H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Mass.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	30	Fred W. Sultor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vermont.
		200	W. D. Mahon, 260 Vernor Highway East, Detroit, Mich.
		200	Jeremiah Dinneen, c/o W. D. Mahon, 260 Vernor Highway East, Detroit, Mich.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	199	Timothy J. Regan, 320 Kimball Bldg., 18 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
		199	Nell McLellan, 906 Lawyers Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
		199	M. J. Murray, 3815 Ferdinand St., Seattle, Wash.
		99	Henry W. Strickland, 506 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	99	J. F. Bennett, Railway Mail Association, Allegany, N. Y.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Slate, Tile and Composition.....	2	20	J. M. Gaviak, 3091 Coleridge Rd., Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
		20	Fred Gausman, 4015 N. Ridgeway Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	2	75	Andrew Furuseh, 409-410, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		75	Victor A. Olander, 623 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		59	William F. Canavan, 1440 Broadway, New York City.
		58	Harry C. Griffin, 921 Lafayette Bldg., Detroit, Mich.
Stage Employees of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	58	P. J. Ryan, P. O. Box 1333, Montreal, Que., Canada.
		58	Thomas E. Maloy, 500 So. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		39	Winfield T. Keegan, 78 Lincoln St., Jersey City, N. J.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	38	Charles A. Sumner, 2645 East 26th St., Kansas City, Mo.
		29	M. W. Mitchell, 324 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	29	P. J. Cullen, 179 W. Washington St., (Room 614), Chicago, Ill.
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	1	14	Frank Grimshaw, 6466 East Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		47	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	2	46	James E. Connors, 3 Linwood Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		34	Gust Soderberg, 6753 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	2	34	James Watt, 437 Delaware Avenue, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	42	Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, 506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		160	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		159	Thomas L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		159	John M. Gillespie, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablcmen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	159	John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, Calif.
		159	L. G. Goudie, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		159	J. J. McKenna, 1947 Broadway, Room 214, New York, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
		78	E. J. Manion, 3673 W. Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
		78	H. B. Perham, 3673 W. Pine Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	78	D. G. Ramsay, Suite 1123-5 Chicago Temple, 77 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.
		78	E. I. Davidson, Center City, Minn.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....	1	78	H. J. Gibbs, Yantic, Conn.
		38	Frank B. Powers, 1643 N. Menard Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		75	Thomas F. McMahon, 605 Bible House, New York City.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	4	75	James Starr, 605 Bible House, New York City.
		75	William Smith, 2530 North Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		75	Francis J. Gorman, 605 Bible House, New York City.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	1	42	E. Lewis Evans, 50 Our Home Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
		128	Charles P. Howard, 2820 North Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		128	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	127	William R. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Ind.
		127	William J. Robinson, 969 Trinity Ave., Bronx, N. Y.
		127	William M. Reilly, care Craftsman, Labor Temple, Dallas, Texas.
		127	Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Detroit, Mich.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	54	William Kohn, 230 East 58th St., New York City.
		53	James H. Hatch, 142 East 80th St., New York City.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	William J. Spencer, 500-505 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes' Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Room 402, 844 Rush St., Chicago, Ill.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, 202 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John B. Wood, 910 Farley Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.
Arizona State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry S. McCluskey, Ellis Bldg., Phoenix Ariz.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harvey C. Fremming, Room 7, City Hall Annex, Long Beach, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John E. Gross, P. O. Box 1408, Denver, Colo.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. R. C. Phillips, care A. O. De Weese, 1302 E. Gonzales Street, Pensacola, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Charles Toussaint, 7 East Henry St., Savannah, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John H. Walker, 728 Illinois Mine Workers' Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas N. Taylor, 2421 South 7th St., Terre Haute, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Lewis, Suite 500 Observatory Bldg., Des Moines, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William E. Hulsbeck, 1721 Race St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James T. Moriarty, 7 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Michigan State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Daniel O. Collins, 1586 Dickerson Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor....	1	1	E. G. Hall, 4124 Bryant Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Harry G. Lindeman, 3606 Cozens Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John L. Barry, 50 Conant St., Manchester, N. H.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor....	1	1	William F. Kavanagh, 18 Highland Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John Sullivan, 412 Bible House, New York City.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 321 Atlas Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joe C. Campbell, 516 West California Labor Temple, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas G. Robertson, 707 Center St., Versailles, Pa.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	William McGaff, Box 1027, South Fort Worth, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Paul I. Topping, 230 48th St., Newport News, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James A. Taylor, 508 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry Norrington, Labor Temple, Wheeling, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 519 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, 909 Richardson Court, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	J. Sid Tiller, 552 Oakland Ave., S.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Balboa, C.Z., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harvey A. McConaughey, Balboa Heights, C.Z.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	P. Harry Jennings, 987 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Kelly, care 20A Prescott Street, Cambridge, Mass.
Charleston, S. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. W. Johnson, Moose Hall, Charleston, S. C.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wm. M. Rossell, c/o E. N. Nockels, 623 So. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Adolf Kummer, 1311 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor....	1	1	James F. Malley, 1355 Central Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties.....	1	1	Milton Doll, 217 West 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Walter Laude, 1466 Galapago St., Denver, Colo.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor....	1	1	John T. Taylor, 4558 Vancouver Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Durham, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Alfred Hoffmann, Hotel Malbourne, Durham, N. C.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George W. Starkweather, 623 Buckham St., Flint, Mich.
Galesburg, Ill., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Thomas R. Downie, Labor News, Galesburg, Ill.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	E. W. A. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.

## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	L. F. Becker, 207 Olive St., Hannibal, Mo.
Jersey City, N. J., Central Labor Union of Hudson County.....	1	1	Jeremiah J. Buckley, 17 Woodlawn Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County.....	1	1	Anton Augustino, 637 East Jefferson St., Joliet, Ill.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John T. Smith, 3334 Chestnut St., Kansas City, Mo.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Felix Olkives, Route 2, 40th Ave., Kenosha, Wis.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Steve C. Sumner, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Kingston, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	David Southall, 12 St. Lawrence Ave., Kingston, Ont., Can.
Lancaster, N. Y., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	William W. Campbell, care, Charles C. Breton, 30 Litchfield Avenue, Depew, New York.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Robert J. Watt, 91 Larchwood, Methuen, Lawrence, Mass.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, care Central Labor Council, 538 Maple Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	James P. Sheehan, 528 Juncau Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John T. Foster, 747 Stuart Ave., Outremont, Montreal, Que., Canada.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. J. Shave, 258 1/2 Chapel St., Hampton, Va.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, Room 501, 237 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 166 Clemon Ave., Ottawa, Ont., Canada.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William M. Brandt, 1316 Green St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pontiac, Mich., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George W. Booth, 511 First Ave., R. No. 4, Pontiac, Mich.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 105 North 6th St., Reading, Pa.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Richard H. Curran, 107 1/2 Hobart St., Rochester, N. Y.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John H. De Young, care 524 Maple Street, Rockford, Ill.
Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Walter Smethurst, Roundup, Montana.
St. Catharines, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Frederick Wright, 14 Lloyd St., St. Catharines, Ont., Canada.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Kitty Amsler, 3861 Bates St., St. Louis, Mo.
Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John P. O'Connell, Box 272, Salem, Mass.

ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council....	1	1	Miss Sarah S. Hagan, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Calif.
Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly..	1	1	W. L. Darrington, 516 Summit Ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	David Levine, 604 Union St., Seattle, Wash.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. E. Lawson, 2031 Mabel Ave., Shreveport, La.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South Sixth St., Springfield, Ill.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	James Simpson, Labor Temple, 167 Church St., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Michael Walsh, 1120 Downer Avenue, Utica, N. Y.
Waterbury, Conn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James William Fitz Patrick, 13 Wall St., Waterbury, Conn.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William J. Kromelbein, 139 S. Main St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. Saylor, 700 West 22nd St., Wilmington, Del.
Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Ed. L. Crouch, 12½ East Fourth St., Winston-Salem, N. C.
Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Scott Power, 749 Brighton Blvd., Zanesville, Ohio.
Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18,065, New York, N. Y....	1	1	Arthur E. Mack, 21 22nd St., West New York, New Jersey.
Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18,066, Brooklyn, N. Y....	1	1	John H. Tapken, 538 Hart St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12,646, New York City.....	1	4	Ernest Bohm, 3 West 16th St., New York City.
City Employees' Union No. 16,578, Houston, Texas.....	1	1	J. T. Saunders, 643 E. 10th St., Houston, Texas.
Cleaners and Dyers' Union No. 17,792, Retail, Chicago, Ill.....	1	9	Albert J. Borris, 629 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17,742, Chicago, Ill.....	1	22	B. A. Albert, 629 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 17,983, San Juan, P. R.....	1	1	William D. Lopez, P. O. Box 1248, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Film Exchange Employees' Union No. 16,169, St. Louis, Mo.....	2	1	John Caparol, 3980A Bowen Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Freight Handlers' and Station Employers' Union No. 17,769, Kansas City, Kansas.....	1	1	Ben F. Oglesby, 616 Garfield Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 17,775, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Albert C. Campbell, 347 Cleveland Ave., Kansas City, Kansas.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18,007, Chicago, Ill.....	1	9	Patrick Gallagher, 7700 S. Laflin St., Chicago, Ill.



## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Votes for each Delegate.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.
License Investigators' Union No. 17,996, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Louis Sidney, Suite 1521, 11 La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17,662, Boston, Mass.	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Mass.
Office Employees' Association No. 12,755, Chicago, Ill.	1	10	James Flynn, 2553 W. 36th St., Chicago, Ill.
Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17,991, St. Louis, Mo.	1	1	Leonard J. Tuggle, 2715 South Compton Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16,857, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Robert McElligott, 5513 Cortez St., Chicago, Ill.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18,068, New York City.	1	1	A. Philip Randolph, 239 West 136th St., New York City.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18,070, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	M. P. Webster, 4231 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18,078, St. Paul, Minn.	1	1	Paul L. Caldwell, 659 St. Anthony Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18,088, Denver, Colorado.	1	1	Oglesvie L. Lawson, 2601 Wilton St., Denver, Colo.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11,773, Washington, D. C.	1	3	E. J. Tracy, 105 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17,701, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1	1	Edna Campbell, 1814 Linwood, Blvd., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14,491, Denver, Colo.	1	1	Vern S. Hill, 304 Bank Block, Denver, Colo.
Theatre Ushers' Union No. 15,293, New York City.	1	1	Morris Tigel, 228 East Thirteenth Street, New York City.
Theatrical Agents and Managers' Association No. 18,032, New York, N. Y.	1	2	Theodore Mitchell, 226 West Forty-seventh Street, New York City.
Tuck Pointers and Front Cleaners' Union No. 13,046, Chicago, Ill.	1	3	Thomas Portway, 5941 S. Sawyer Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17,958, New York City.	1	1	Paul A. Vaccarelli, 2112 Arthur H. Murphy Square, Bronx, New York City.
British Trades Union Congress.	2	1	J. T. Brownlie, Amalgamated Engineering Union, 110 Pecham Road, London, S. E. 15, England.
		1	J. Bell, Amalgamated Weavers' Association, Weavers' Institute, Bartlam Place, Oldham, Lancs., England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	1	1	James A. Whitebone, Cedar Grove Crescent, St. John, N. B., Canada.
Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary.	1		Anna Fitzgerald, 5436 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
National Women's Trade Union League of America.	1		Agnes Nestor, 630 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
90	National and International.....	275	28,971
4	Departments.....	4	4
27	State Bodies.....	27	27
52	Central Labor Unions.....	52	52
27	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	27	82
4	Fraternal Organizations.....	5	3
204		390	29,139

# List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan. *1915.	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917.
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 Samuel Gompers.	1907 John T. Dempsey.	1919 †Wm. L. Hutcheson.
P. J. McGuire.	W. E. Klapetzky.	John J. Hynes.
1896 J. W. Sullivan.	1908 Andrew Furuseth.	1920 Timothy Healy.
Adolph Strasser.	James J. Creamer.	Mrs. Sarah Conboy.
Martin Fox.	John P. Frey.	Wm. J. Spencer.
1897 Geo. E. McNeill.	1909 B. A. Largey.	1921 Wm. J. Spencester.
James Duncan.	W. B. Wilson.	Benjamin Schlesinger.
1898 Harry Lloyd.	1910 T. V. O'Connor.	1922 E. J. McGivern.
James O'Connell.	Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1923 Peter Shaughnessy.
1899 Thomas F. Tracy	1911 Daniel J. Tobin.	1924 Anthony J. Chlopek.
J. M. Hunter.	1912 George L. Berry.	1925 Peter J. Brady.
1900 Sidney J. Kent.	John H. Walker.	Edward J. Gainer.
Daniel J. Keefe.	Chas. L. Baine.	Adamski.
1901 Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1913 Louis Kemper.	1925 Edw. J. Evans.
1902 Patrick Dolan.	*1914 W. D. Mahon.	†Frank Farrington.
Henry Blackmore.	Matthew Woll.	Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1903 Max S. Hayes.	***1915 W. D. Mahon.	1926 John Coefield.
Martin Lawlor.	Matthew Woll.	Michael Casey.
1904 W. D. Ryan.	1916 W. D. Mahon.	1927 Michael F. Greene.
D. D. Driscoll.	Matthew Woll.	William B. Fitzgerald.
1905 John A. Moffitt.	1917 John Golden.	William J. Rooney.
James Wood.	1918 James Lord.	1929 William P. Clarke.
1906 Frank K. Foster.	J. A. Franklin.	
James Wilson.	Wm. J. Bowen.	

From British Trades Union Congress		
1894 John Burns.	1906 Allen Gee.	***1918 F. Hall.
David Holmes.	J. N. Bell.	Miss Margaret Bondfield
1895 Edward Cowey.	1907 David J. Shackleton.	S. Finney.
James Mawdsley.	1908 John Hodge.	1919 Miss Margaret Bondfield
Sam Woods.	John Wadsworth.	J. W. Ogden.
1896 John Mallinson.	H. Skinner.	1920 J. Jones.
Edward Harford.	A. H. Gill.	J. H. Thomas.
1897 J. Havelock Wilson.	1909 J. R. Clynes.	1921 James Walker.
William Inskip.	W. Brace.	E. L. Poulton.
1898 William Thorne.	1910 Ben. Turner.	1922 H. Smith.
James Haslam.	G. H. Roberts.	R. B. Walker.
1899 Alexander Wilkie.	1911 J. Crinlon.	1923 W. C. Robinson.
John Weir.	1912 J. A. Seddon.	C. T. Cramp.
1900 Pete Curran.	R. Smillie.	1924 A. B. Swales.
Frank Chandler.	1913 I. H. Gwynne.	Ben Smith.
1901 Ben Tillet.	T. Greenall.	1925 A. A. Purcell.
M. Arrandale.	***1914	1926 J. Bromley.
1902 E. Edwards.		G. Hicks.
William Mullin.	1915 C. G. Ammon.	1927 Arthur Pugh.
1903 James O'Grady.	E. Bevin.	W. Sherwood.
William Abraham.	1916 H. Gosling.	John Marchbank.
1904 James Wignall.	W. Whitefield.	1928 E. Edwards.
William Mosses.	1917 John Hill.	J. T. Brownlie.
1905 David Gilmour.	Arthur Hayday.	1929 J. Bell.

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress		
1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1909 Jerome Jones.	1920 W. G. Shea.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1910 John J. Manning.	1921 John O'Hara.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1912 John T. Smith.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1903 John Coleman.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1925 James Duncan.
1904 John H. Richards.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1926 James B. Connors.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1919 Sam Griggs.	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.		
1898 David A. Carey.	1908 F. Bancroft.	1920 J. A. McClellan.
1899 David A. Carey.	1910 B. P. Pettipiece.	1921 U. M. F. Bush.
1900 David A. Carey.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1922 Ernest Robinson.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1923 James A. Sullivan.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1913 Gus Francq.	1924 John Colbert.
1903 James Simpson.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1925 Donald Dear.
1904 John A. Flett.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1905 William V. Todd.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1927 Alfred Farnillo.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	

From German Federation of Labor  
1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 Jose W. Kelly.	1925 Canuto A. Vargas.	Ricardo Trevino.
Roberto Haberman.	Roberto Haberman.	Jose F. Gutierrez.
		Salustrio Hernandez.

\*No convention.

\*\*No delegates.

\*\*\*Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend

# Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Michigan	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, California	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1930

### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

### CONSTITUTION.

#### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as The American Federation of Labor, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

#### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

#### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialist, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be

in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation

or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, Eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to



furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee and this Finance Committee, with the Treasurer shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest bearing certificates of deposit. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank or banks, in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, as directed by the Finance Committee and must be covered by insurance, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President or his authorized agent, and Secretary of the Federation or his authorized agent. The Treas-

urer shall collect the interest on all such certificates, interest-bearing securities, or other deposit at the expiration of each interest payment period and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit, or invested in interest bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President or his authorized agent, and countersigned by the Secretary or his authorized agent, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be

\$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be

set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body. National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work

while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or central body or state branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body, or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

# ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

## ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.





# Forty-Ninth Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1929

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

### First Day---Monday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario, Canada,  
October 7, 1929.

Pursuant to the law, the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10:30 o'clock a. m. in the convention hall of the Royal York Hotel by Mr. William Varley, Chairman of the Local Reception Committee.

Previous to the opening of the convention a musical program was given by union musicians from the Uptown Theatre Orchestra.

#### Chairman Varley

Delegates to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: It gives me great pleasure as the chairman of the local reception committee to welcome you to the city of Toronto. Of course we in Toronto think Toronto is the finest city in the world and the city you come from is the next finest, and we hope that during the time you are here you will enjoy the courtesy, the generosity and the hospitality of the people of Toronto.

An elaborate program of entertainment has been arranged, and one of the things that will interest the delegates is that the program will be carried out by using almost entirely our various public utilities. You will have a trip around the lake front as the guests of the Toronto Harbor Commission, which is a joint commission formed by our municipality and our Federal Government.

You will be entertained for a whole day by a trip to Niagara Falls, Ontario, where you will have an opportunity to visit the two magnificent hydro developments which are owned and controlled by the people of the Province of Ontario. If you go by water you will go by a boat owned by the Canadian National Steamship Company, and if you go by train

you will travel over our Canadian National Railway. You will find during the program of entertainment that almost the whole of the facilities used are public utilities controlled either by the Municipal, the Provincial or the Federal Government.

During your stay in the city of Toronto you will find yourselves possessed of considerably more freedom than you have in most of the United States cities. We have here what is known as government control of liquor. I want to say to the younger delegates from the United States that whiskey and beer are beverages which their fathers used to drink, and in this city you will be able to obtain them legally by an Act which has met, I cannot say with unanimous consent, but with overwhelming consent of public opinion, and I know during your stay here you will pay respect to our government control of liquor, and treat the Act with the respect it should command.

I am going to ask the President of the Trades and Labor Council to introduce the speakers who are here to address you. We have with us the Mayor of the city, who, so far as helping out the organized workers of the city is concerned, has been four-square behind us since he took office; and Dr. Forbes Godfrey, Minister of Labor for Ontario, who has had introduced into the Province protection for the tunnel and subway workers similar to that of New York City.

I now call upon Mr. S. J. McMaster, President of the Toronto District Labor Council, to introduce the speakers.

#### MR. S. J. McMASTER

(President, Toronto District Labor Council)

Mr. Varley, Officers, Delegates and Guests: It is with much pleasure that I appear before you this morning to deliver the message of welcome from the District Labor Council of Toronto and the International Trade Union movement of our city. It is also with a full



appreciation of the honor of the occasion that I deliver to you this message of good-will and welcome.

I assure you that from the moment we first heard that at the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor you decided to visit Toronto this year, we have looked forward with pleasant anticipations of your arrival. Now that you are here, may I say to you, Welcome, thrice welcome. We of the labor movement of the city of Toronto are very proud of the part your American Federation of Labor has played in the gaining for men and women who live by the sale of their labor material and moral gains that have brought to them a happiness that otherwise they would never know. We are very proud, too, of the part that we have played, small though it is, locally in that great movement.

Perhaps you will be interested to know very briefly some of the problems of our labor movement and the manner in which we hope to deal with them. I had the pleasure last Friday afternoon of hearing Mr. Perkins, the President of the Union Label Trades Department, deliver his closing address to that convention. In it he said the problems of the labor movement are more difficult of solution and perhaps greater than the problems of the labor movement have ever been before. I believe that is a correct statement, but I know the men and women of the labor movement throughout the length and breadth of this continent are not discouraged because that is a fact.

Locally we have no lack of hope in overcoming the difficulties and solving the problems as they come to us. It is true the need for organization is greater than it has ever been, and in that very fact lies a part of our hope. If the need for organization be greater, then also should the appreciation of organization be greater, and men and women who do not belong to our movement should be more readily induced to accept of the fellowship of our movement and of the benefits it can give to them.

We also have hope in a new leadership we are developing. Because our problems are more difficult we have placed a great deal more appreciation in education of the university type in the development that is necessary to carry on our movement as it should go. And so here in our city of Toronto we have had for the past several years a very happy arrangement with the University of Toronto, in which the men and women of our movement have been attending classes in the evenings and developing themselves to take part in our movement and deal scientifically and intellectually with the problems that confront us from time to time. I am very happy to say that we are now seeing the value of that part of our work and the benefit, direct and concrete, that is accruing to our movement in this city.

Unlike, perhaps, some of the local sections of the American Federation of Labor, we do place some hope and some value on the political part of the labor movement. We are not quite so fortunate as our neighboring cities of London and Hamilton in that matter, but we believe, with continued effort, success is bound

to come. There can be no questioning that the great success of British labor at the polls and its subsequent successes in solving the problems that have confronted it since the time of the election will benefit our labor movement.

We also place a great deal of dependence and a great deal of hope in the development of the use of the union label, and the purchase by our people of only those goods which bear the union label, in the building up and consolidating of our movement.

Meanwhile the International Trade Union movement in our city stands supreme in the championing of the cause of the working men and women who reside here. It is true, as you know, that there are in the labor movement always those turbulent agitators who think it is time for a new movement, some new display, some new spurt on the part of the established labor movement. We have those people in our city, too. It is true that some people become dissatisfied with our movement and they are always looking for something new, but the fact remains that there is no movement that has given the satisfaction or brought the results that the international labor movement has brought in our city.

We have our National labor movement, which does not begin to compare with the locals of the International movement, and their leaders have been able to keep their organizations alive only by subterfuge and unwholesome propaganda. During the past four or five years we have had the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing many of those who formerly held membership in the National organizations coming back into the International movement. Upon two occasions whole organizations left the National movement and came into the fold of the International Trade Union movement. To-day we stand with our doors wide open to welcome those who will see the value of our movement and enter into our International fold. I am sure that we will meet with the success that you in the American movement in the American Federation of Labor would desire us to have.

I hope you will, and I am sure you will, enjoy yourselves to the utmost capacity while you are with us. If you find anything lacking, I am sure the local committee, of which Mr. Varley is chairman, will do what they can to see that your stay is made enjoyable.

I have very much pleasure now in introducing to this gathering the Mayor of the city, His Worship Mayor McBride.

#### MAYOR MCBRIDE

Mr. President, Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor, Ladies and Gentlemen: First let me thank you for your very kind invitation extended to me to address you this morning, and for the honor and pleasure of meeting the delegates from the United States and from Great Britain.

May I at this time, on behalf of the citizens of Toronto, extend to you, one and all, a right royal and hearty welcome to the finest city in Canada, and I might go farther and say, the brightest spot in the whole British Empire.

Let me also thank you for accepting my

invitation to bring your convention to Toronto after an absence of twenty years. I am sure if there are any here who were in the 1909 convention you will readily understand we are a different city from what we were at that time. At that time we were a city of about 300,000, today we are a city of 600,000. At that time we had an assessment of about two hundred million, today our assessment is over a billion. Then we had an income of about three million, today we have thirty-six million.

I want to say to you as labor men visiting Toronto that you are visiting a city that has had less labor trouble during the last six years than any city in any part of the world, and it is due to the men you have in office looking after the interest, not only of the laboring men, but seeing that those in office are quite prepared to work along with the labor organizations to see that they get a fair amount, not only of service, but of protection.

During the last few years Toronto has grown as no city in the world has grown, and I maintain it is due largely to the labor organizations getting together in a sound, businesslike way and working with each other and with those on the outside. Today labor and capital in Toronto are practically as one. We have had practically no labor disturbance in Toronto, due to the work of your different labor organizations. The City Council itself believes in a fair rate of wages. All the employees of the city get not less than sixty cents an hour and do not work over eight hours a day. That is a condition brought about largely by the labor organizations of Toronto and by the men you have had representing you in the Council—my friend Joe Gibbons, and others. The manufacturers and other employers of labor have followed suit. In Canada, with nine or ten million people, you will find very little labor disturbance, less in the Province of Ontario than in any other Province, and less in Toronto than in any other Canadian city.

As you drive around Toronto and see our city, see the artisan, his wife and family, the home he lives in, the manner in which his children are dressed, you will realize that the results obtained by the labor movement of Toronto have not only benefited the men, but have benefited the women and children and their environments. The children of the artisan can be turned out from our technical and professional schools as a finished product in any line of endeavor. In that way the artisans of Toronto are in a better position than any men in the same rank in any other part of the world. That has been brought about by Mr. Varley and the other labor men of Toronto.

During my two years' term as Mayor of the city of Toronto I have given my time and attention to all matters pertaining to labor troubles, if we have any. We have only one here and there, and if Mr. Varley or any other representative of labor wants to interview me it is, and always will be, my pleasure to stop any trouble in Toronto. That was my practice twenty years ago and it is my practice today.

While you are in Toronto I hope you will see something of our city. We have a won-

derful city, because everyone in Toronto is a booster for the city. We believe in optimism and not in pessimism; we believe in workers and not in slackers. If you are workers we will try to get employment for you; if you are slackers we would much prefer to have you go to some other city and increase the population and leave us as we are. Toronto is noted as a city of homes. There are 110,000 individual homes in Toronto and 84 per cent are occupied by the owners.

Toronto is known the world over as the greatest public ownership city in the world. Some years ago we had the street car lines under private ownership; today they are under a commission directed by the city of Toronto. We think we have the best manned, the best equipped and the best managed railway in the world. The motormen get not less than sixty cents an hour, and the car users pay, not only for the operation, but sinking charges, operating charges and depreciation on the whole system. We can carry you farther and quicker, with a transfer to any part of the city, than can be done in any other part of the world for a seven-cent fare. We carried 191,000,000 paid passengers last year. We carry our amputation cases free, and the boys and girls are carried free to the swimming pools.

We have two transcontinental railways in Canada, the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific. They carried 25,000,000 passengers last year; we carried 191,000,000 on our street cars, and this year we will carry 200,000,000. When the election was on in connection with taking over the old railway no one worked harder than the labor organizations, and to them should go a great deal of credit for the public ownership of transportation in this city. When the investigation of this and other public utilities is over we will have to appoint new commissioners. I am in favor now, and always have been, of a labor representative being on all our public utility commissions.

We have about \$79,000,000 invested in hydro. We have a line between here and Niagara Falls. We can furnish electric current for manufacturing, for domestic use and for commercial purposes cheaper in Toronto than in any other city in the world.

We have a Harbor Commission that has revolutionized twelve miles of waterfront and made marsh lands into industrial sites where we will spend before the tracks are elevated and completed about \$69,000,000. We purchased every foot of land for twelve miles across our waterfront, and today you will see, from the first impression you are getting of Toronto from the water, that you are stepping into a real city.

No doubt many of you have heard of our wonderful exhibition. We have an annual exhibition that is unequalled in any part of the world. Last year over two million people came through our gates, this year not quite two million, in fourteen days. As an advertising medium it is one of the greatest assets Toronto has ever had. It has been operated for fifty years and every year it has grown better.

In Toronto education is the main thing.

We have 103,000 going to our schools today. We want to see all the boys and girls equipped with a proper education, an education that will enable them to go to all parts of the world and make a name for themselves. Wherever you see a Canadian you will see him in a position of honor and trust. Our population is not increasing because we haven't industries enough here to keep the men and women we turn out of our universities at home; but wherever you find them you will find them in positions where they are doing their work honestly and well.

If you have any industries across the line that want to make a success of their industries in Canada, just come across and our Public Utilities Commission will see that you are properly taken care of. You have wonderful cities across the line, but I hope you will not be able to compete with us, even at the wages we pay, but that you will build branches here. We feel you are not paying the same wages today that we are paying in Canada for the same class of work. We have keen competition from your industries throwing their materials here into our country through sweatshops. We think it is unfair in one sense of the word. I hope you will see that in the United States they pay the same rate of wages we pay here in the same industries that are turning out the same class of products. If you do, Canada will progress much more than she has in the past.

We know that when you return to your different homes you will have some of the most pleasant memories you have ever had of any city where you have held a convention, because we think we have the cleanest and the brightest city in the world. We have well-lighted streets; there are no dark spots nor any slums in Toronto. Wherever there is a slum we put investigators in there and they see that the slum conditions are remedied. If the landlords do not put in the proper sanitary conditions, down come the tenements, or we will put in the proper sanitary conditions and it comes out of their tax rates.

It is a pleasure to me to extend to you the freedom of the city while you are here. When I say that I mean it in every sense of the word. I am talking to men who believe in law and order, and if there is a city in the world that stands for law and order it is Toronto. All we ask is that you abide by the laws laid down by our city and Province and Dominion.

Let me congratulate the committee on the very, very nice program they have arranged for you. I am pleased to see that you have brought your ladies with you. We in Toronto respect the ladies perhaps more than any part of the Dominion or of the world. The women of Toronto take part in all our activities. They take an active part in electing the men to the Dominion House, the Provincial House and in the city of Toronto. They are exercising their franchise about thirty per cent more than the men. Since the women have been given the franchise they have selected men, not because of religion or politics, but because of their sincerity in looking after the interests of the city and the Province. I hope

the women will do that for you across the line.

I understand it is twenty years since you were in Toronto before. I hope it will not be five years before you are here again. We are pleased to have you with us, we will be sorry to see you go away, and we will always be in a position to welcome you back.

Chairman McMaster introduced Honorable Peter Heenan, Minister of Labor in the Federal Government of Canada, and stated that Mr. Heenan would address the convention at a later date.

Chairman McMaster: I will now introduce the Honorable Forbes Godfrey, Minister of Labor in the Provincial Government.

**DR. FORBES GODFREY**  
(Minister of Labor in the Provincial Government)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: We are delighted to have you good people representing the American Federation of Labor and the international relationship along those lines visit us. We live on the banks of Lake Ontario, noted for its scenic beauty. We have the purest water in America—and we don't always drink it.

I will not take up your time offering advice to men who have grown gray in the service of unionized labor. Although I do not belong to any union, except the union of common sense—which, of course, does not carry a card, unfortunately—being in charge, as I am, of two departments of the government of this Province, two departments that can never be separated, that are Siamese twins. I am the Minister of Health of this Province. I was sworn in in '23, and I freely admit that I am the best Minister of Health the Province of Ontario has ever had. And now I will tell you why. It is because I am the first. When I was sworn in I said to the Prime Minister: "I want that portfolio of Health Department, and I want to develop it into a department that will be a credit to this Province."

The Prime Minister agreed with me that the portfolio should be established, and it was, and the Department of Labor and the Department of Health are working hand in hand to solve the problems that you gentlemen have not had the facilities of considering, the great problems that face you as industrial workers and those in charge of industries.

I want to point out briefly just one or two things. One is the titanic oxide substitute for lead. Every person who has had anything to do with industrial life knows that the handling of lead has been a tremendously serious factor in the handicapping of tens of thousands of men engaged in industries in which lead is used. The discovery of titanic oxide solves the problem.

Our invention in the Industrial Hygiene Division of the Department I happen to be the head of, the Bulmer Mask of positive pressure, is being used. We had it patented, and it is being applied in all the industries in which paint spraying is used, which means

so much to the health and strength and vitality of the men. You cannot have happiness unless you have health.

I said to the Director of Hygiene the other day: "Do you know what Dr. Ward, the head of the Industrial Division of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, told me? He said that we had the best industrial hygiene division on the North American Continent." That was admitted by a man who knows more about it than any other man I have any knowledge of.

In this Province we have given the world insulin, that great remedy in the treatment of diabetes. The almighty dollar is all right, the mechanism of hours of labor absolutely correct, I wish to even shorten them more, but there are things of more importance than these. It did not take me more than twenty-four hours after I was sworn in to say that in this great Province no person should be allowed to die because he could not obtain the means of getting better. After I made the statement, of course the Government agreed. It only cost us \$50,000 last year. What is \$50,000 to save one thousand patients who could not pay for that insulin?

The other night, following a meeting, a gentleman came to me and said: "Doctor, I want to shake your hand. I am an illustration of six years of life." I said: "What was wrong with you?" He said: "Diabetes. When you came to our assistance I was going down and out. My eyesight was going. I was about to lose my job. I could not buy my insulin. When that policy was inaugurated and I was able to secure insulin in any quantity my physician ordered I began to get better. Today I am a strong, healthy man, and my family is being protected."

That, I suppose, would apply to the whole thousand. It means this: Those families have the protection of the provider and the father; those families are kept off the allowance system we have in this Province. Those families are vitally interested. You people in the organized labor movement should well consider all the problems that go with industrial medicine and preventive medicine. And now I will leave you. I am not the Mayor. He is an encyclopedia. I believe Joe Gibbons here is responsible for a lot of his information. He is a pretty wise chap and just says to the Mayor: "Here is all the information, Sam; now you can shoot." I am not going to have any information from anybody. I require, of course, some reformation. But I say this, that you are welcome to the Province of Ontario, welcome ten times over. When I signed an order yesterday for \$1,000 for you fellows to have a whale of a time, I sat back and laughed, because I know you are going to have it. I know you are jolly good fellows, regular chaps, and with your confidential and advisory committee, the ladies, you are going to have the time of your lives, and that contribution from the Ontario Government was one of the most pleasant things I have done for a long time.

Chairman McMaster: I will introduce to the convention Brother Joseph Gibbons, a very successful administrator of the Street Carmen of the city, and at the present time one of the City Controllers.

## MR. JOSEPH GIBBONS

(City Controller)

Mr. Chairman and Brothers: The two previous speakers have left me very little to say. It is a pleasure to welcome visitors to the city of Toronto. It is a great pleasure to me to add my voice to that of His Worship the Mayor in welcoming you to Toronto. Toronto is a substantially built city of over 600,000 people, but it is not numbers that make our city great. The citizens of Toronto are always willing and eager to extend a hand of friendship to any visitors that come within its borders. Toronto is an educational city. You can educate your children here from the kindergarten to the highest profession. We spend over a million dollars a year on public school education, not taking into consideration the universities and the colleges. We have free schools and free textbooks. Buses gather up the crippled children and convey them to a school where they are educated the same as those who are able to go. Our city probably provides more opportunities for recreation than any city in the world. We have seventy-two parks and forty-two playgrounds. We believe the young people who are in school or who work in offices should have opportunities for recreation and fresh air. We have sixty-eight football teams, fourteen hundred hockey teams and hundreds of baseball teams.

We in the City Council have to deal with the organizations of labor, and it always riles me when somebody comes up and refers to the international organizations as "foreign" movements. It is a significant fact that at the present time the Prime Minister of the British Empire is visiting your great Republic to the south. It augurs well for the peace of the world. We know he has come there to meet your President and your people in the interest of peace, and I know you are all praying that they will so arrange matters that the slaughter we went through a few years ago will not occur again.

I believe that is what they are working to, and this American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement has done more to bring about the happy conditions that exist between those two great countries than any other human agency. It is on such occasions as this that men from different countries meet and discuss their problems and find out they are one great people and working to one great end.

I hope your deliberations will bring about conditions that will better the conditions of those you represent, and when you go home that you will have the consciousness that you have done something in the interest of the working people of this great continent.

Chairman McMaster: I desire to introduce Honorable Joseph Thompson, a former Speaker of the Provincial Legislature. Among the list of honors to his credit is the one of having brought to the city of Toronto the American Federation of Labor convention that was held here twenty years ago.

### HONORABLE JOSEPH THOMPSON

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor: You have heard much about the city of Toronto and about the Province of Ontario. Whatever impression you take away from this great city, you will go away with the impression that you have listened to the two most modest men in the world—and this does not refer to Joe Gibbons, of course. I had the pleasure of being associated in the Provincial Legislature with Mr. Heenan and Dr. Godfrey.

The chairman has kindly mentioned the fact that I was sent down by the City Council to see if I could not get this convention to meet in Canada for the first time twenty years ago. I was successful on that occasion, but not owing to my efforts. It was partly owing to the efforts of a man whose memory is revered in the city of Toronto, the late David Carey, a Toronto man, who assisted me; I might say in fact that I assisted him. Another man who assisted me was Mr. Draper, who is sometimes known as "Paddy" Draper. The late Samuel Gompers was present, and while he is not with us his memory is green in the hearts of everyone who has the interests of labor at heart.

I was twenty years younger at that time, but I remember I had the pleasure of going into the office of the late president. He never made any promises, but he always said: "Go on, my boy, you are doing all right." I think, however, the success we had in that convention was due largely to Mrs. Gompers and the other ladies who were present.

I am glad to be here and look into your faces. I think I can repeat what I said to a much larger audience not many months ago. Toronto is fortunate in having a sane and intelligent labor council ruling affairs and looking after the interests of labor. We have no factions in this country. As has been stated, no city has fewer conflicts than the citizens of Toronto and the labor body. The citizens of Toronto, almost unanimously, are in sympathy with the Trades and Labor Council. I said that on a former occasion, and I am glad to say it to you gentlemen here who come from the United States and from the British Isles.

I hope that your stay will be enjoyable. I hope that, with a very little discount of what the Mayor said, you will go back to your homes with the opinion that Toronto is a real good city to live in and an enjoyable place to visit. I am not in an official position to welcome you, but on behalf of the great number of people who are not mayors and officials I hope your stay will not only be successful as far as the labor interests are concerned, but that also from a social standpoint it will be enjoyable to each and every one of you.

Chairman McMaster: Mr. Varley was desirous of delivering the thanks of the convention to the musicians, but as he is not here I will deliver the message. The thanks of the convention are due to the Musical Protective Association for their excellent, artistic services here this morning.

We have now come to the part of the program where we will take up the business for which it is gathered. There are many, many thousands of working men and women who look to you who are gathered here for the protection of their interests and for the extension of their privileges, economic, social and moral, with the utmost confidence that this great Federation will uphold its splendid traditions in this convention as it has done upon many occasions in the past and as it will upon many occasions in the future. We are confident of your growth in numbers, your growth in influence and success.

With these remarks I have great pleasure in handing to President Green, the head of this great American Federation of Labor, the gavel of authority, that he may conduct the proceedings of your convention.

### PRESIDENT GREEN

Mr. Chairman: At the outset may I say that, because working men and women possess a deep sense of appreciation, the representatives, officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, with their friends assembled in this hall this morning, are deeply grateful to all the speakers for their welcome and for the cordiality with which it was extended. We are charmed by this auspicious occasion, and I know I voice the feeling of every member, officer and visitor here when I say we are anticipating a delightful visit in Toronto and I know we shall go back to our homes and our loved ones carrying with us the fondest memories of our stay in your city.

As I respond to these words of elicitation this morning I am reminded that about twenty years ago a convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in this progressive and growing city. We were twenty years younger then than we are now, but there were here at that time sturdy, courageous leaders of the great organized labor movement of the American Continent. Our hearts are somewhat saddened as their names come to our lips and we are conscious of the fact that they are gone.

Twenty years ago my distinguished predecessor, that great, outstanding national and international figure, Samuel Gompers, was here as president. Associated with him was another who occupied a large place in the hearts and minds of us all, the late departed Vice-President James Duncan. And then there were John B. Lennon, John Mitchell, Denis Hayes, and others whom we think about. We feel almost certain that in an intangible way they are here influencing us in our deliberations, helping us by the fond memories we entertain of their devotion and loyalty to our movement.

It has been referred to by one of our speakers this morning that there is a lack of understanding of the depth and breadth and purpose of our international movement. I do not mean that there is any misunderstanding

among the men and women of labor, but there may be among those who are professing friends or open enemies of our cause. This is an international movement, and from an international standpoint the workers of America and the workers of Canada know no line of national distinction. As evidence of that fact—perhaps a fact that speaks more eloquently than words—may I refer to a historic figure whom we regard as almost a fixture in our movement.

This man came from Canada. This land is the land of his birth. He was in the convention held here twenty years ago and he is here this morning. The American Federation of Labor came to this Dominion to find one of its executive officers, and as each cycle has rolled by and the congress of labor has convened annually the hosts of American labor assembled in these conventions have unanimously elected him and re-elected him to the honorable position he occupies. It seems that men may come and men may go, and changes that stagger us, but this man goes on forever, the great Canadian secretary of the American Federation of Labor, Frank Morrison. I sincerely hope that fate will be kind to us and that, like good liquor, he will improve with age and that he may always remain with us. I wish that our friends in Canada may accept this as an evidence of the very deep and abiding interest which the workers of our continent have in the economic welfare of Canadian working men and women as well as of the working men and women of the United States.

We have listened this morning with more than ordinary interest to the words so eloquently delivered by the different speakers, wherein they have extolled the beauty and grandeur of this city and of this community. We, in a large way, appreciated that fact before we came here, but I know that all of us have been surprised to learn from the lips of these earnest speakers what a wonderfully progressive city Toronto is, to learn of its civic and social undertakings and its economic objective. We can respond to the sentiment that the people of this community have built and are building a most wonderful city. We are glad to come here and enjoy your hospitality and carry on our deliberations in such a happy environment, and we will understand more and more, because of our visit here, the prospects for the future, the worth of your citizenship, the tangible and intangible values which are here, and the determination of the people of Toronto to make it a truly ideal place in which to live.

I should like to refer just briefly to some things that I know are occupying the hearts and minds of the officers and members of this great congress of labor. We have with us constantly the old problems of higher standards of living, of reasonable hours of employment, of an increased annual income for every working man and woman, of larger participation in the benefits that we, through our labor, give to society, and of the development of those spiritual and cultural powers that are inherent in the masses of the people. We are thinking of these things as we have ever thought about

them, and we propose to grapple with them in a determined effort to press forward toward a most just solution of these problems that so vitally affect the well-being and happiness of the masses of the people.

We have in the United States the problem of injunction relief legislation, of social justice legislation, whereby we can better take care of the injured and the sick, and we are determined to use the great moral influences of our movement that are being put forth to secure old age pension legislation, so that the sick, the infirm, and the aged can be taken care of.

These problems are uppermost in our minds, but associated with them are problems that have grown out of our modern industrial life. Since we met in Toronto twenty years ago many changes have taken place. There were no radios then, the automobile was scarcely known, the inventive genius of mankind had never been put to such a test as now. Mechanical inventions that now startle our imagination were not dreamed of then. We are living in an age when revolutionary things are taking place daily. We must adjust ourselves to these changes, and there is no movement among men, no organization of any kind that is so flexible in its policies as the American Federation of Labor, and because of its flexibility we are able to adjust ourselves to these rapid changes.

Just now we are thinking of the policies pursued by inhuman corporations. We have always been told that corporations possess no souls, but it seems to have been left for these later days to emphasize that fact, and so in the mad rush for profits they are discriminating against men who have reached the age of forty. We characterize this tendency in American industry as inhuman, uncivilized, and indefensible from any point of view. It is the American Federation of Labor that will constantly protest against this policy, and it is the American Federation of Labor that will continue its opposition to this policy until public opinion and the public conscience is so aroused that they themselves will call a halt. Men and women must be given an opportunity to work as long as they live, and we are going to contend vigorously and uncompromisingly for the exercise of this right on the part of working men and women.

Then comes a modern problem closely associated with the vexing one to which I have referred. That is the problem, not only of unemployment, but technological employment. We see men displaced daily and weekly, monthly and yearly, the skill of a lifetime destroyed, the training of years rendered valueless and the man driven out, because the machine takes his place, to seek work in other fields.

We have never opposed inventions that relieve human drudgery and make life more tolerable and worth while, but we protest against the policy pursued where men are displaced without society feeling its social obligation, and we demand that while that revolution is going on there shall be set up instrumentalities through and by which we can, during the period of transition, take care



of the working men and women until they are properly placed. That is not asking more than comes within the bounds of reason and common sense and good judgment. We shall be willing to apply ourselves, with others, to a consideration of a solution of this vexing problem, because there is no responsible leader in our movement that does not recognize that this is one problem that so far has defied solution.

It is not my purpose to dwell upon these economic problems in detail; I think it appropriate and fitting that I should refer to them, and in the realm of speculation and analysis you working men and women can be thinking about them as you apply yourselves to their consideration and the application of the proper solution.

Just now the mind of the entire world is occupied in thinking about the instrumentality of peace and good-will. Never in the history of nations was there greater impetus given toward the realization of this great ideal than at the present time. Men and women are thinking in terms of peace. They abhor war and all its human and material losses. The experiences of the past are still fresh in our minds, and there are many who have resolved that, so far as they can prevent it, war between nations as a means of settling disputes shall never occur again.

In thinking about this question we are reminded of the relations existing between the Dominion of Canada and the Republic of the United States. Here we are living on each side of an imaginary boundary line, a line three thousand miles long, reaching from ocean to ocean, and yet find no force, no standing armies, no instrumentalities of war established along this great boundary line for the purpose of protecting the sovereignty of our nations. We have learned the lesson of peace, we have learned to live in peace, we need no war demonstrations here. From the beginning we have lived as a family, and we will continue to live in that relationship.

There is no force, I believe, in American or Canadian life that is contributing more toward the maintenance of that happy relationship than the hosts of labor; and as we develop our economic strength, as we develop understanding and good-will among the working people of Canada and the United States we will, at the same time, strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding so that struggle and sacrifice will be unknown to us.

It is a most remarkable thing that, while statute law may govern the conduct of men within the limitations of boundary lines, the stern economic laws know no boundary lines. Just now the great Premier of the British Empire is visiting the United States and is calling upon the distinguished President of the Republic. He comes on a holy mission, preaching peace on earth and good-will toward men. He comes proposing that the instrumentalities of war shall be reduced at least to a reasonable point, with the hope and expectation that ultimately they will be no more. We wish him Godspeed upon this great pilgrimage. I know I voice the sentiments of the millions of working men and women, in our movement and

out of it, that the Premier of Great Britain may succeed in his laudable purpose.

We want the working men and women of the British Empire, wherever they may be, to know and understand that our labor movement can be counted as with them in their efforts to establish the instrumentalities of peace and to bestow upon coming generations that most noble heritage of freedom from war and human destruction. What more can I say on that question? As I look into your hearts and minds I know I am expressing your sentiments, for we do not want our sons and our daughters to be sacrificed upon the field of battle. We want to place a higher value upon human beings and less upon material things; we want the intangible values of human life and society to supersede and overshadow the dollar mark and material things.

Our great objective is human betterment, not the millennium, because we are not so over-ambitious as to believe it is immediately obtainable; but we want to create a condition where men and women may reside with a feeling of security in their own homes and where peace and good-will shall prevail. We shall contribute our efforts to that end. The great economic movement of America will support the movement launched by the executives of these nations to further the cause of international peace.

I want, in conclusion, to express most sincerely and earnestly to the Mayor of this city, to the representatives of the Provincial Government, to those who spoke for civic groups, to the representative of the Dominion and the representatives of labor in this city our deep appreciation of the cordial welcome extended us here this morning. We invite them to come to our sessions, to watch us in our deliberations and analyze the policy we pursue. We extend an invitation to the citizens of this city and this community to come and sit with us. We hold no secret sessions. This is an open forum carried on in accordance with democratic principles. The world is welcome to the extent of the seating capacity of this hall. All of them will receive a cordial welcome.

Fellow delegates and citizens, I bespeak for you a most pleasant visit in this city, nestling so quietly and yet so progressively upon the shores of Lake Ontario. May the friendship which we value so highly be renewed, and may we be drawn together even more closely in the bonds of fraternity and brotherhood. May we return to our homes in the Dominion and the Republic more determined than ever to carry on until we reach our ideal.

Officers and delegates, it affords me pleasure to declare this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in regular session, open for the transaction of business.

We have on the platform with us our distinguished fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. I merely want to introduce them so that you may know them as they

mingle with you and so that you can help them, by becoming acquainted, to make their stay with us more delightful.

First I will introduce Brother J. T. Brownlie, C.B.E., President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union of London, England, and then his colleague, Brother James Bell, Secretary of the Amalgamated Weavers' Association. Then we have Brother James A. Whitebone, St. John, New Brunswick, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Now that you are acquainted with them I know that you will make them feel that they are among friends.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

October 7, 1929.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 379 delegates, representing 90 International and National Unions, 3 Departments, 27 State Branches, 46 Central Bodies, 26 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 5 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, Paul Dullzell, 115 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 29 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America — A. A. Myrup, Henry L. Koch, Wm. McGuern, 212 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, H. C. Wenzel, Leon Worthall, Roe H. Baker, William C. Birthright, 522 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Frank Abbott, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, Wm. G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Wm. E. Walter, Walter J. Coyle, Martin Daley, 172 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, Felix J. Belair, Miss Mary E. Meehan, 136 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, C. L. Baine, Miss Nora O'Connor, John H. Dillon, D. W. Anderson, Thomas Morrissey, 324 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, A. J. Kugler, A. E. Zusi, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Walter V. Price, John McLeod, John J. Stretch, George A. Jones, Wm. J. Moran, 900 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 50 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, William F. Bauers, John H. Barry, 204 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Jerry Horan, Oscar F. Nelson, Charles F. Wills, 92 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, J. O. Holmgren, F. H. Knight, L. A. Beaudry, 800 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, R. H. Burdette, J. R. Stevenson, Alex. Kelso, John B. Tierney, G. W. Hoover, Geo. H. Lane, 3,220 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—I. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins, William Collins, 170 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thos. F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh, Harry Norton, 320 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—Geo. M. Harrison, Geo. S. Levi, C. J. Woods, Thos. A. Bannister, Ira F. Thomas, Frank Hall, 969 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—John B. Schulte, C. C. Coulter, 100 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Max Zaritsky, Max Zuckerman, 69 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—Myles S. Warfield, 23 votes.



Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 15 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, Chas. P. Ford, G. M. Bugniet, E. Ingles, Chas. M. Paulsen, Martin T. Joyce, John Noble, 1,420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, John G. Macdonald, Walter Snow, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—Arthur M. Huddell, Dave Evans, John Posschl, Frank Healey, Wm. P. Walsh, 330 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal, Matthew Woll, 86 votes.

Federal Employes, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald, 305 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred. W. Baer, Donald Dear, 168 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—John F. McNamara, Joseph W. Morton, James B. Conroy, 95 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada—Philip A. Silberstein, 28 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, J. L. Wines, F. Doyle, A. Adamski, Mrs. Daisy A. Houck, 475 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, Abraham Katovsky, Isidore Nagler, David Dubinsky, Basilio Desti, 323 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada—James Maloney, Edward C. Wilson, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, Harry F. Cochran, 52 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Sam Squibb, 85 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor, James Byrne, 115 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—J. V. Moreschi, J. B. Etchison, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, J. J. Collins, Wm. Varley, 917 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Robt. B. Heskeith, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Miss Agnes Quinn, 378 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 89 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Samuel E. Beardsley, 8 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Charles J. Case, George Moore, Harry Hagen, 165 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 50 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Harry L. Morrison, 55 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin, Luther E. Swartz, 450 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, William W. Aitken, 58 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, George F. Freitas, 377 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville, 770 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fijozdal, E. E. Milliman, W. V. Turnbull, E. J. Hopcraft, 322 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, Louis Rode, 64 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America—John J. Scully, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Michael J. Kelly, 118 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, John Reul, Wm. J. Rooney, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—James B. Rankin, Patrick Deloughery, 40 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, P. T. Fagan, William Green, Walter Nesbit, Lee Hall, Frank Hughes, 4,000 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Michael J. Keough, Robert T. McCoy, William A. Preston, George E. McCaffrey, 237 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, Wm. J. Kerngood, Chauncey A. Weaver, John W. Parks, Chas. L. Bagley, Edward Canavan, 1,000 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—J. L. Coulter, 16 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Clarence E. Swick, James Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, John J. Riley, John J. Doyle, L. P. Lindelof, 1,081 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Frank P. Barry, Matthew J. Burns, 40 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Albert M. Anderson, 23 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International—Jacob Fischer, 5 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Colleran, T. A. Scully, Duncan Payne, J. E. Rooney, William O'Keefe, 392 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Charles M. Rau, Charles Anderson, William Fallon, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, 60 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, 66 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate—James Windsor, 12 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, George R. Brunet, Thomas F. Churchill, John J. Bromley, Wm. H. McHugh, 400 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, 50 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—William B. Fitzgerald, Jeremiah Dinneen, Timothy J. Regan, Neil McLellan, M. J. Murray, 997 votes.

Railway Mail Association—Henry W. Strickland, J. F. Bennett, 198 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association United State, Tile and Composition—J. M. Gavlak, Fred Gausman, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, 150 votes.

Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—William F. Canavan, Harry C. Griffin, P. J. Ryan, Thomas E. Maloy, 233 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Winfield T. Keegan, Charles A. Sumner, 77 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 58 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Frank Grimshaw, 14 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—T. C. Cashen, James B. Connors, 93 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Gust Soderberg, James Watt, 68 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, 42 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John McLaughlin, L. G. Goudie, J. J. McKenna, 955 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, H. B. Perham, D. G. Ramsay, E. I. Davidson, H. J. Gibbs, 390 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 38 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, James Starr, William Smith, 300 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 42 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, William J. Robinson, William M. Reilly, Frank X. Martel, 764 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—William Kohn, James H. Hatch, 107 votes.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employees' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—John B. Wood, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—Henry S. McCluskey, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Harvey C. Fremming, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—John E. Gross, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—W. R. C. Phillips, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—Chas. Toussaint, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Thomas N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—Wm. E. Hulsbeck, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—James T. Moriarty, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—Daniel O. Collins, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Harry G. Lindeman, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—John L. Barry, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—William F. Kavanagh, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—John Sullivan, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Okiahoma State Federation of Labor—Joe C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Thomas G. Robertson, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—William McGaff, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—Paul I. Topping, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Harry Norrington, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—J. Sid Tiller, 1 vote.

Balboa, C.Z., Central Labor Union—Harvey A. McConaughy, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—P. Harry Jennings, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union—John Kelly, 1 vote.

Charleston, S.C., Central Labor Union—J. W. Johnson, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council—Adolf Kummer, 1 vote.

Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—James F. Malley, 1 vote.

Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Milton Doll, 1 vote.

Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Walter Laude, 1 vote.

Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—John T. Taylor, 1 vote.

Durham, N.C., Central Labor Union—Alfred Hoffmann, 1 vote.

Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—George W. Starkweather, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—E. W. A. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—L. F. Becker, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County—Anton Augustino, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Felix Olkives, 1 vote.

Kingston, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—David Southall, 1 vote.

Lancaster, N.Y., Central Labor Council—William W. Campbell, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.

Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—James P. Sheehan, 1 vote.

Montreal, Que., Can., Trades and Labor Council—John T. Foster, 1 vote.

Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—E. J. Shave, 1 vote.

New York, N.Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—William M. Brandt, 1 vote.

Pontiac, Mich., Central Labor Union—Geo. W. Booth, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Rochester, N.Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Richard H. Curran, 1 vote.

Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—Walter Smethurst, 1 vote.

St. Catharines, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Frederick Wright, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Kitty Amsler, 1 vote.

Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—John P. O'Connell, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Miss Sarah S. Hagan—1 vote.

Schenectady, N.Y., Trades Assembly—W. L. Darrington, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—David Levine, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—W. E. Lawson, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council—James Simpson, 1 vote.

Utica, N.Y., Trades and Labor Assembly—Michael Walsh, 1 vote.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—William J. Kromelbein, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—John C. Saylor, 1 vote.

Winston-Salem, N.C., Central Labor Union—Ed. L. Crouch, 1 vote.

Zanesville, O., Central Trades and Labor Council—Scott Power, 1 vote.

Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18065, New York, N.Y.—Arthur E. Mack, 1 vote.

Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18066, Brooklyn, New York—John H. Tapken, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City—Ernest Bohm, 4 votes.

City Employees' Union No. 16578, Houston, Texas—J. T. Saunders, 1 vote.

Cleaners and Dyers' Union No. 17792, Retail, Chicago, Illinois—Albert Borris, 9 votes.

Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union No. 17742, Chicago, Illinois—B. A. Albert, 22 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 17983, San Juan, Porto Rico—William D. Lopez, 1 vote.

Film Exchange Employees' Local No. 16169, St. Louis, Missouri—John Caparol, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kansas—Ben F. Oglesby, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17775, Kansas City, Missouri—Albert C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Patrick Gallagher, 9 votes.

License Investigators' Union No. 17996, Chicago, Illinois—Michael Carrozzo, 1 vote.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass., Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Association No. 12755, Chicago, Illinois—James Flynn, 10 votes.

Post Office Laborers' Union No. 17991, St. Louis, Missouri—Leonard J. Tuggle, 1 vote.

Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16857, Chicago, Illinois—Robert McElligott, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, New York, N.Y.—A. Philip Randolph, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18070, Chicago, Illinois—M. P. Webster, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18078, St. Paul, Minnesota—Paul L. Caldwell, 1 vote.

Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18088, Denver, Col.—Oglesvie L. Lawson, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D.C.—E. J. Tracy, 3 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17701, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—Edna Campbell, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 14491, Denver, Colorado—Vern S. Hill, 1 vote.

Theatrical Agents and Manager's Association  
No. 18032, New York, N.Y.—Theodore Mitchell,  
2 votes.

Tuck Pointers' and Front Cleaners' Union  
No. 13046, Chicago, Ill.—Thomas Portway, 1  
vote.

Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and  
Handlers' Union No. 17958, New York City—  
Paul A. Vaccarelli, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—J. T.  
Brownlie, J. Bell, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—  
James A. Whitebone, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League  
and Trade Union Auxiliary—Anna Fitzgerald.

National Women's Trade Union League of  
America—Agnes Nestor.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVE EVANS, Chairman,  
WILLIAM FALLON,  
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted  
and the delegates whose names were read  
were seated.

The chairman announced the following  
appointments:

Assistant Secretary, William Lucas, Mem-  
ber, Local No. 91, International Typographical  
Union.

Sergeant-at-Arms of Convention, Albert  
Wilson, Member, Local No. 4, International  
Association of Bridge and Structural Iron  
Workers.

Messenger of Convention, John Baker,  
Member, Lodge No. 235, International Asso-  
ciation of Machinists.

**Committee on Rules and Order of Business—**  
John Sullivan, James Byrne, Daisy A. Houck,  
James B. Rankin, William Kohn, John H.  
Barry, J. J. McKenna, E. Lewis Evans, H. C.  
Wenzel, M. S. Warfield, Isidore Nagler, C. B.  
Cline, Matthew Burns, N. V. Turnbull, Dun-  
can Payne, Frank Gillmore.

At 1:00 o'clock the convention was ad-  
journed to 3:00 o'clock p.m. of the same day.

## First Day---Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3:00  
o'clock p. m., Monday, October 7, 1929. Presi-  
dent Green in the chair.

### Absentees

Gillmore, Dullzell, Wenzel, Baker (R.H.),  
Abbott, Powlesland, Meehan, Bowen (W. J.),  
McLeod, Kasten, Nelson, Holmgren, Kennaugh,  
Norton, Bannister, Schulte, Coulter (C. C.),  
Whitney, Fitzgerald (J.), Silberstein, Schles-  
inger, Dubinsky, Desti, Bryan, Bock, Aitken,  
Turnbull, Hogan, Rode, Gorman, Lane (Dennis),  
Kelly (M. J.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Ken-  
nedy, Fagan, Nesbit, Hall (L.), Hughes, Barry  
(F. P.), Burns (M. J.), Hannah, Fischer,  
Brunet, Churchill, Bromley, McHugh, Burke  
(J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Bennett, Gavlak,  
Gausman, Keegan, Sumner, Watt (J.), David-  
son, Gibbs, O'Connell (J. P.), Evans, Wood,  
McCluskey, Taylor (T. N.), Lewis (J. C.),  
Collins (D. O.), Taylor (J. A.), Norring-  
ton, Tiller, Jennings, Kelly (J.), Johnson  
(J. W.), Laude, Taylor (J. T.), Hoffman, Grav,  
Becker, Augustina, Campbell (W. W.), Watt  
(R. J.), Draper, Brandt, Smethurst, Wright,  
Hagan, Darrington, Doyle (F. E.), Kromelbein,  
Crouch, Power, Mark, Tapken, Saunders,  
Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Gallagher (P.),  
Carrozzo, Tugle, McElligott, Randolph, Web-  
ster, Caldwell, Mitchell (T), Portway, Vacca-  
relli.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COM- MITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Your Committee on Credentials, upon official  
information received from the United Hatters  
of North America, recommends the seating of  
J. Louis Africk as delegate in place of Michael  
F. Greene.

The report of the committee was adopted and  
the delegate seated.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Kohn, Secretary of the Committee,  
reported as follows:

Your Committee on Rules and Order of Busi-  
ness of the 49th Annual Convention of the  
American Federation of Labor held in Toronto,  
Ontario, Canada, October 7th, 1929, submit the  
following report:

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to  
order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until  
12:30 p.m. Reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain  
in session until 5:30 p. m., on the following  
days, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday  
and Friday. There shall be no session on  
Saturday.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be

called to order he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of 5 members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts Rules of Order.

Rule 12. Motion to reconsider shall not be entertained, unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place, until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

#### Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of Committee on Credentials.
3. Reports of officers.

4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN,  
Chairman.

WM. KOHN,  
Secretary.

JAMES BYRNE,  
DAISY A. HOUCK,  
JAMES B. RANKIN,  
JOHN H. BARRY,  
J. J. McKENNA,  
DUNCAN PAYNE,  
E. LEWIS EVANS,  
H. C. WENZEL,  
M. S. WARFIELD,  
ISIDORE NAGLER,  
C. B. CLINE,  
MATTHEW BURNS,  
N. V. TURNBULL,  
FRANK GILLMORE.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees appointed by the President:

**Committee on Executive Council's Report**—James Wilson, George L. Berry, Thomas Kennedy, Wm. L. Hutcheson, F. M. Knight, Edw. Flore, William P. Clarke, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Martin Lawlor, John J. Mara, Frank Kasten, Wm. J. Bowen, Benjamin Schlesinger, Charles Sumner.

**Committee on Resolutions**—Matthew Woll, G. W. Perkins, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Chas. L. Baine, Thomas L. Hughes, Arthur M. Huddell, P. J. Morrin, J. L. Wines, Chas. P. Howard, Clarence E. Swick, Victor A. Olander, M. J. Colleran, Walter V. Price.

**Committee on Laws**—Martin F. Ryan, Dennis Lane, Wm. Taber, A. J. Kugler, Thomas McMahon, Charles Anderson, James O'Connell, Frank Doyle, John McLeod, William Tracy, Charles Fry, Abraham Katovsky, R. H. Burdette, Leon Worthall, Wm. Rooney, Max Zaritsky.

**Committee on Organization**—Frank Duffy, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, James Starr, Gertrude McNally, Phillip Bock, E. E. Milliman, Edwin Gentzler, Roe H. Baker, Agnes Quinn, Geo. M. Harrison, F. J. Volz, J. L. Coulter, Oscar F. Nelson, E. Ingles, J. W. Buzzell, John W. Parks.

**Committee on Labels**—John J. Manning, Gust Soderberg, Wm. J. Robinson, Max Zuckerman, John R. Stevenson, Joseph Obergfell, Wm. Collins, Henry L. Koch, John J. Riley, Felix Belair, Nora O'Connor, C. A. Weaver, P. J. Ryan, Edward C. Wilson, Samuel E. Beardsley, E. Lewis Evans, David Dubinsky.

**Committee on Adjustment**—T. A. Rickert, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Wm. J. Kerngood, H. B. Perham, Philip Murray, Wm. B. Fitzgerald, F. H. Fljoldal, M. F. Tighe, William F. Canavan, J. P. McLaughlin, James Maloney, M. F. Greene, Chas. P. Ford.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**—Joseph N. Weber, Wm. J. Moran, L. E. Swartz, J. G. Holmgren, Jos. M. Marshall, E. I. Davidson, Thos. Redding, Adam Zusi, James B. Connors, Thos. L. Kelley, G. M. Bugniet, A. Adamski, E. W. A. O'Dell, Sarah S. Hagan, James C. Quinn, James Kennaugh, C. C. Coulter.

**Committee on Education**—A. O. Wharton, John H. Walker, L. P. Lindelof, Alexander Kelso, H. C. Griffin, Henry F. Schmal, Thomas E. Burke, Wm. R. Trotter, Florence Curtis Hanson, M. T. Finnan, John B. Haggerty, Ira F. Thomas, Leo E. George, Robert McCoy, Geo. R. Brunet, Paul Dulzell, P. T. Fagan.

**Committee on State Organizations**—Jas. P. Noonan, S. C. Hogan, Walter Nesbit, Jerry Horan, J. M. Gillespie, Patrick Gorman, Joseph P. Ryan, John Fitzgerald, John F. Mugavin, Wm. E. Walter, John B. Tierney, John J. Bromley, E. C. Hall, T. N. Taylor, J. C. Lewis, Fred Baer, Frank X. Martel.

**Committee on Boycotts**—John Coefield, Martin Daley, Charles D. Duffy, Herbert Rivers, Charles J. Case, Edward Canavan, John J. Doyle, John C. Macdonald, Harry L. Morrison, G. W. Hoover, John Posschl, L. G. Goudie, Timothy J. Regan, D. G. Ramsay, J. Woods, R. A. Henning, Harry F. Cochran.

**Committee on Building Trades**—W. J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, Frank Feeney, Frank Healey, Joseph A. Mullaney, T. A. Scully, Edward Ryan, John Reul, John J. Stretch, Geo. H. Lane, Chas. M. Rau, M. W. Mitchell, Sam Squibb, Christian M. Madsen, J. M. Gavlak, John Noble.

**Committee on Shorter Work Day**—M. J. Keough, E. J. Gairnor, L. E. Beaudry, John B. Schulte, Wm. H. Reilly, Lee Hall, Frank P. Barry, Joseph W. Morton, James P. Meahan, Geo. Moore, Frank B. Powers, Wm. H. McHugh, Thomas A. Bannister, Robert B. Hesketh, Daniel Haggerty, Chas. M. Paulsen, Theodore Mitchell.

**Committee on Legislation**—I. M. Ornburn, Thomas F. Flaherty, Luther Steward, Neil McLellan, W. W. Britton, Wm. C. Birthright, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, Winfield Keegan, C. L. Rosemund, Thomas J. Donnelly, John H. Dillon, Geo. S. Levi, D. J. Tobin, H. W. Strickland, Jas. M. Duffy.

**Committee on International Labor Relations**—George W. Perkins, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, James O'Connell, Martin Lawlor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, Matthew Woll, W. D. Mahon, J. A. Franklin, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, John Coefield, Edward J. Gairnor, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Benjamin

Schlesinger, William P. Clarke, Wm. J. Rooney.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers, moved that the name of the President of the American Federation of Labor be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations. The motion was seconded by Delegate Madsen, Painters, and unanimously adopted.

President Green announced that printed copies of the report of the Executive Council would be distributed to the delegates, and that First Vice-President Duffy would read a summary of the report.

Vice-President Duffy read the following:

#### SUMMARY OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Our report begins with the Secretary's statement, which shows an increase in paid-up membership of organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor and a balance on hand of \$334,560.57. The Treasurer's report follows, indicating how our funds are deposited or invested. The trustees of the A. F. of L. Building report a balance on hand of \$45,631.10.

#### Industrial Progress

Under this caption we summarize the economic trends of the past seven years as reported by the President's Committee on Recent Economic Trends. With recent industrial changes have come the following labor problems:

1. Mass production can continue only if there is mass consumption—that is, incomes must be adequate to buy what is produced. Labor is anxious to avoid depression which brings unemployment and distress.

2. Mechanical power and machine tools displace hand skills, and develop new jobs requiring new skills. These new jobs and skills should be examined to find bases for industrial training and union organization. Proper and adequate vocational education is essential to craftsmanship.

3. Stabilization of wholesale commodity prices reflects a new situation in industry. Better accounting methods have put in the hands of management information which enables them to control development instead of blindly meeting chance forces. One of the results has been to change the methods in wage negotiations. Better accounting methods disclose information on what is taking place, and all proposals for change must be accompanied by information of the effect of such



change. This trend has been of significance to trade unions and has made changes necessary in methods used in collective bargaining. Unions now use more statistics, industrial facts and related data.

4. Rapidity of change brings constant dislocation of people and machinery. Fundamental technical changes brought reductions in employes without thought for those displaced. Persons who have given a lifetime to learning a highly skilled trade find their investment dissipated. In time some may be absorbed by their expanding industry; others may adapt their experience to service in other fields. Others, finding adjustment impossible, fall to lower industrial levels. Rapidity of change makes a serious employment problem.

We point out that while there has been unparalleled prosperity to the nation as a whole there are backward sections and industries. We reprint a table showing the trend of employment and earnings in specific industries.

#### Wage Earners Progress

In this section we outline what this period of prosperity has brought to wage workers.

We discuss employment, noting that manufacturing industries have been turning out a larger output with fewer workers. We recommend that a major project of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year be to secure the enactment of legislation providing an adequate federal employment service.

Secondly, we discuss incomes of wage earners, noting a steady increase in money and real wages. We contrast the increase in wage earners' incomes with increases in other groups, noting that the rate of increase was higher for the larger income groups.

We also point out the number of wage earners whose incomes are less than \$1,000 per year, and that increases of union workers are larger than those of non-union workers.

We note the shorter work day and work week are bringing to wage earners leisure with opportunity for progress and development.

We point out the increasing problem of providing for old age security and recommend that a Federation old age bill for states be drafted and commended to state federations of labor as a matter of first order importance and that the Federation attack the problem of old age retirement for employees in private industry.

We submit a table showing the benefit services of national and international unions, which total \$32,813,924.54 for 1928.

#### Progress in Canada

In this section we give statistics showing economic progress in Canadian industries and in the wages and employment of wage earners.

#### Organization Work

We report here our major organizing undertakings in the South, the oil fields of the Southwest, and the reorganization of the New York needle trades. We discuss organizing methods and need of better human relations in industry.

#### Union Progress

In this section we summarize reports from central labor unions, district organizers and state federations of labor.

#### Relations Between Nationals and Internationals

Under this caption we report a conference between the Flint Glass Workers and the Machinists; an agreement for the amalgamation of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union with the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers; a conference between the Cigar Makers and the Tobacco Workers to consider amalgamation, and a full report of the dispute between the Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers and the Railway Clerks.

#### Sleeping Car Porters

We report our decision to charter sleeping car porters as directly affiliated local unions.

The section entitled "Official Changes" relates changes in Council personnel.

#### Labor's Significant Days

We here emphasize the importance and significance of Labor's Memorial Sunday, Labor Sunday, and Labor Day.

#### National Legislation

Under this section we report legislative matters affecting Labor which were considered by Congress. The more important proposals were amendments to the Immigration Law, registration certificates for aliens, conscription of labor in national emergencies, unemployment census, liberalization of the retirement law.

We urge continued action for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

We recommend continuation of our non-partisan political policy as essential to legislation to remedy abuses of the injunction.



**Convict Labor Legislation**

Under this caption we point out the additional measures necessary to carry out the program embodied in the Hawes-Cooper Act. As prison industries are a state problem we recommend specific amendments to state laws.

We reprint bills introduced in various states to make "yellow dog" contracts illegal and the enactment of such a law in Wisconsin.

We report progress in workmen's compensation legislation and urge stricter regulation of the granting of licenses to private employment agencies.

We report the results of our investigation of discrimination against older workers, stating that the practice is widespread.

In accord with the instructions of the New Orleans Convention, we recommend pro-

vision to strengthen old-age benefits financially.

Our educational activities we report under the following heads: "American Federationist," "A. F. of L. Weekly News Service," "Survey of Business," "Statistical and Information Service," "Library," "Organizing Literature," "Distribution of Labor Publications," "Legal Information Bureau," "Relations with Public Schools," "Workers Education."

**International Labor Relations**

We report the work of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and plans for the Havana Congress and failure to adjust differences with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The full report of the Executive Council follows on the next page.

# REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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*Toronto, Canada, October 7, 1929.*

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-ninth  
Annual Convention of the American Federa-  
tion of Labor, Greetings:*

## INTRODUCTION

*In fulfillment of our responsibility as members of the Executive Council for the past year, we submit a report of our work and of the progress of the American Federation of Labor. This report shows substantial gains leading to wider opportunities for work during the coming year. The principles of trade unionism have proven their effectiveness for constructive progress and we urge that during the coming year efforts be redoubled to extend the influence and membership of the American trade union movement.*

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Forty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1928, and ending August 31, 1929.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$334,560.57. Of this total, \$278,678.64 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used only to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions and the balance, \$55,881.93, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$609,633.01, the total expenses, \$575,181.87; amount of receipts over expenses, \$34,451.14.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1929:

### RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1928.....	\$300,109.43
Per Capita Tax.....	\$432,168.44
American Federationist.....	112,629.35
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	32,552.89
Initiation fees.....	7,228.40
Reinstatement fees.....	619.25
Supplies.....	6,896.78
Interest.....	8,404.78
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	4,884.32
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....	1,631.61
Profit on purchase of Liberty Bonds.....	117.19
One-half of attorneys' fee advanced by United Textile Workers.....	1,250.00
Reimbursement from United Textile Workers of one-half of attorneys' fee.....	1,250.00
Total receipts.....	\$609,633.01
Grand total.....	\$909,742.44

### EXPENSES

General.....	\$477,947.12
American Federationist.....	88,481.57
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	4,459.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	4,294.18
Total expenses.....	575,181.87
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1929.....	\$334,560.57

### RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$55,881.93
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	278,678.64
Balance on hand, August 31, 1929.....	\$334,560.57

## EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1929.

Rent.....	\$15,739.00
Refund, Charter Fee.....	12.50
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	4,169.18
Secretary's bond.....	10.00
Treasurer's bond.....	125.00
Insurance.....	515.43
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	549.26
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen.....	10,806.90
Newspapers, magazines and books (Library).....	3,600.47
Postage stamps.....	8,143.01
Printing Bound Proceedings of New Orleans convention.....	2,005.50
Supplies and Printing.....	24,393.45
Supplies for Resale.....	5,857.37
Miscellaneous expenses.....	5,387.68
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	2,975.74
Mailing Equipment.....	1,985.03
Office furniture and fixtures.....	467.45
Official stenographers, New Orleans convention.....	1,247.72
Telegrams and telephones.....	5,067.07
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	594.61
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1,063.80
New Orleans Convention:	
Messengers, sergeant-at-arms and assistant secretary.....	440.00
Printing roll-call.....	177.00
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	2,992.20
Printing, envelopes and supplies.....	53.50
Stenographers.....	3,663.85
Rental of office furniture.....	42.50
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings, and radio loud speaker at Convention Hall.....	412.35
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	801.77
Salaries:	
President.....	12,000.00
Secretary.....	10,000.00
Treasurer.....	500.00
Office employees.....	107,913.93
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	16,785.98
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. O. Meetings.....	229.09
Stenographers expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....	1,220.54
President, traveling.....	8,730.69
Secretary, traveling.....	1,867.26
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	4,459.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	23.22
Union Label Trades Department.....	66.63
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	43.59
Organizers' salaries and expenses.....	125,357.26
Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers 17742. Refund of per capita tax.....	3,347.80
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	88,481.57

Printing, publishing and editing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....	\$8,944.00
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	5,000.00
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, New Orleans convention.....	420.75
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	5,142.64
<b>Legal Expenses:</b>	
Balance due for services, Re: Injunction Bill.....	1,500.75
Retainer fee for services in prosecution of cases growing out of kidnapping procedure, [Elizabethton, Tenn.....	2,500.00
Returned United Textile Workers one-half of attorneys' fee advanced.....	1,250.00
<b>Appropriations (By order of the Executive Council):</b>	
United Mine Workers of America in payment of per capita tax for September, 1927, to and including August, 1928 on 400,000 members.....	48,000.00
United Mine Workers of America in payment of per capita tax for September, 1928, to and including August, 1929, on 150,000 members.....	18,000.00
Text book survey.....	97.83
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$575,181.87</b>

### BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1929, INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

Year	Receipts	Expenses	Year	Receipts	Expenses
1902-3.....	\$529.00	\$309.60	1917-18.....	\$3,544.91	\$3,055.26
1903-4.....	398.75	402.60	1918-19.....	9,626.78	8,067.33
1904-5.....	406.75	285.65	1919-20.....	13,285.93	11,121.06
1905-6.....	736.35	591.16	1920-21.....	9,490.68	7,816.14
1906-7.....	1,128.79	817.76	1921-22.....	5,979.90	4,963.00
1907-8.....	1,261.51	1,021.96	1922-23.....	6,368.76	5,310.10
1908-9.....	1,692.35	1,226.03	1923-24.....	6,593.44	5,523.52
1909-10.....	2,874.75	2,392.75	1924-25.....	7,101.75	6,021.58
1910-11.....	2,988.55	1,448.38	1925-26.....	7,896.98	6,781.52
1911-12.....	2,710.07	2,089.15	1926-27.....	7,374.30	6,215.84
1912-13.....	3,225.55	3,863.18	1927-28.....	5,057.53	4,208.75
1913-14.....	3,221.75	1,898.55	1928-29.....	4,884.32	4,294.18
1914-15.....	5,190.74	5,052.66			
1915-16.....	5,092.79	4,428.19	<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$124,569.59</b>	<b>\$104,176.58</b>
1916-17.....	5,906.61	4,970.68			

### RECAPITULATION:

Total receipts from 1902 to August 31, 1929.....	\$124,569.59
Total expenses from 1902 to August 31, 1929.....	104,176.58
Excess from 1902 to August 31, 1929.....	\$20,393.01

### EDUCATION FUND

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1929, \$4,434.09, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1929, \$4,434.09. The name of Fund for Promoting and Advancing Cooperation was changed by order of the Executive Council to Education Fund.

### RECAPITULATION

Total donations, including interest, April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1929.....	\$4,434.09
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to August 31, 1929.....	4,434.09

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Account closed.

**UNITED MINE WORKERS' FUND**

Contributions in response to the appeals issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor under dates of November 19, 1927, and February 27, 1928, to the affiliated organizations, for financial assistance to meet the urgent needs of the Bituminous coal miners and their families dependent upon them, who are on a prolonged strike, show the total amount received, to and including August 31, 1929, \$499,975.98

Total contributions November 19, 1927, to and including August 31, 1929.....	\$499,975.98
Total amount of checks, August 31, 1929.....	<u>499,975.98</u>

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor. Account closed.

**WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL BUILDING FUND**

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1929, including interest at 2% amount to \$1,670.93.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

**GOMPERS' MEMORIAL FUND**

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1929.....	\$93,539.87
Total expenses January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1929.....	<u>1,306.75</u>
Balance on hand August 31, 1929.....	<u>\$92,233.12</u>

Funds deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank (checking account) 2%.....	\$2,233.12
*Mount Vernon Savings Bank (4% Interest bearing Certificates).....	<u>90,000.00</u>
Balance on hand August 31, 1929.....	<u>\$92,233.12</u>

\*Guaranteed by Surety Bond.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

**FLAG FUND**

Receipts from June 10, 1918, to and including August 31, 1929.....	<u>\$575.78</u>
Deposited with Mt. Vernon Savings Bank at 3%.....	

**TEXTILE WORKERS' FUND**

Contributions in response to the appeal issued May 11, 1929, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for financial assistance for the striking Textile Workers of the South.

Total receipts May 15, 1929, to August 31, 1929.....	\$19,313.70
Total checks May 17, 1929, to August 31, 1929.....	<u>19,313.70</u>

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

**CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, MERGED,  
AMALGAMATED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS  
AND REINSTATED**

**INTERNATIONAL UNIONS:** Suspended, 1, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America; amalgamated, 1, Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union amalgamated with International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America.

**CENTRAL BODIES:** Disbanded, 9; reinstated, 13.

**LOCAL TRADE UNIONS:** Disbanded, 20; suspended, 14; joined national and international organizations, 3; reinstated, 4.

**FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS:** Disbanded, 2; suspended, 7; reinstated, 1.

**TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS**

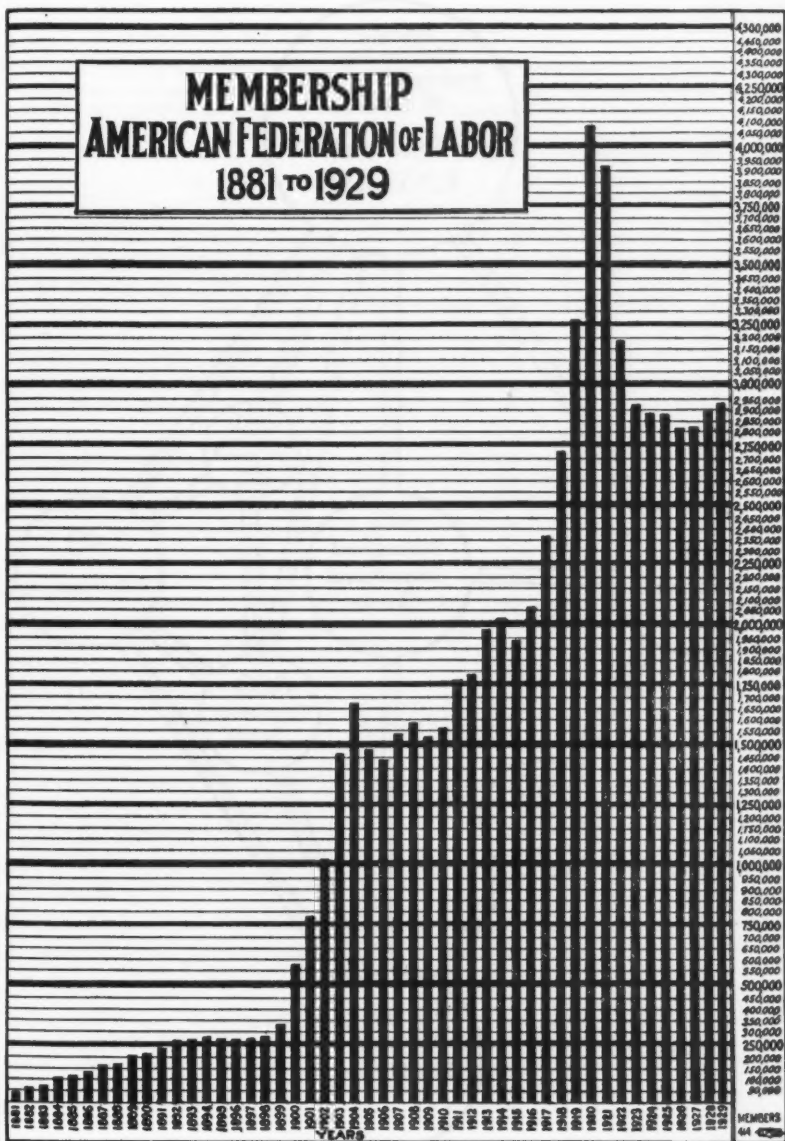
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year ending August 31, 1929, is 2,933,545, an increase of 37,482 members over the membership reported upon last year. National and International organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore, the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts, or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year for whom tax was not received.

A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that because of strikes or unemployment there were at least 500,000 members for whom per capita tax was not paid to the American Federation of Labor. Adding this number to the 2,933,545 paid-up membership will give a grand total of 3,433,545 members. The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past thirty-two years:

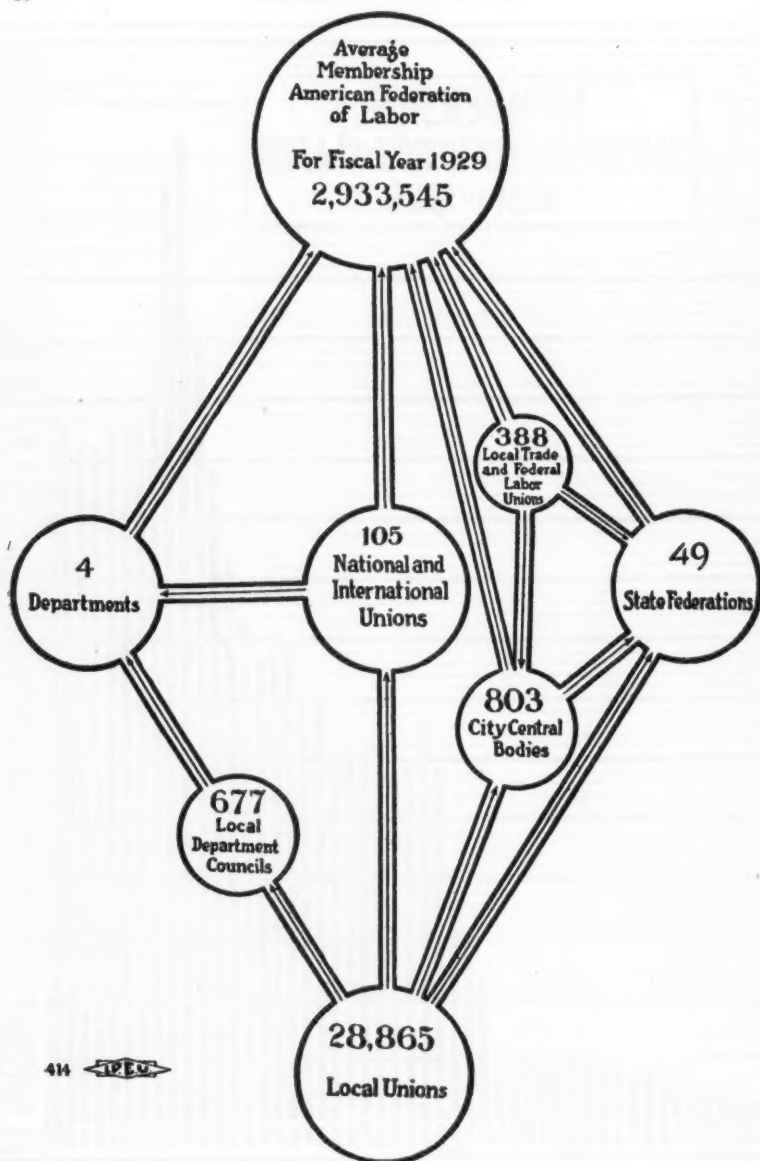
Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897.....	264,825	1906.....	1,454,200	1914.....	2,020,671	1922.....	3,195,635
1898.....	278,016	1907.....	1,538,970	1915.....	1,946,347	1923.....	2,926,468
1899.....	349,422	1908.....	1,586,885	1916.....	2,072,702	1924.....	2,865,799
1900.....	548,321	1909.....	1,482,872	1917.....	2,371,434	1925.....	2,877,297
1901.....	787,537	1910.....	1,562,112	1918.....	2,726,478	1926.....	2,803,986
1902.....	1,024,399	1911.....	1,761,835	1919.....	3,260,068	1927.....	2,812,526
1903.....	1,465,800	1912.....	1,770,145	1920.....	4,078,740	1928.....	2,896,063
1904.....	1,676,200	1913.....	1,996,004	1921.....	3,906,528	1929.....	2,933,545
1905.....	1,494,300						

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1929—forty-nine years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organization as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 28,865 local unions in the 105 national and international unions with a membership of 2,911,841 and 388 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor with a membership of 21,704.

# MEMBERSHIP AMERICAN FEDERATION of LABOR 1881 to 1929







## VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1921 up to and including 1929. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor.

ORGANIZATIONS.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.
Actors, Associated, & Artistes of A.	118	94	77	74	101	104	103	103	115
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators.	26	20	20	22	24	25	26	27	29
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	280	248	229	222	218	216	219	216	212
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	470	452	432	453	480	512	545	541	522
Bill Posters.	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	500	367	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	345	417	194	175	171	145	148	171	172
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.	410	402	399	372	362	389	380	326	324
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.	247	163	129	134	136	129	138	138	136
Brewery Workmen, International Union.	273	190	166	160	160	160	160	160	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	54	41	48	48	50	50	50	50	50
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	700	700	700	700	700	700	837	900	900
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Assn.	199	140	146	177	163	191	213	207	204
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	12	8	7	7	7	6	5	5	5
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.	8	94	78	62	62	62	69	92	92
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	3521	3138	3150	3155	3170	3197	3220	3220	3220
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.	2000	1717	1600	1375	1250	887	800	800	800
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	12	11	9	10	10	11	12	13	12
Cigar-makers' International Union.	342	320	309	277	235	200	183	175	170
*Clerks, Bro. of Railway.	1696	1378	961	884	912	w	w	320	969
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	212	167	103	100	100	100	100	100	100
*Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.	m	m	m	m	78	87	102	82	69
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.	25	26	23	23	23	23	23	23	23
Coopers' International Union.	44	28	17	15	13	11	10	9	8
Cutting Die & Cuttermakers, Intl Union.	3	3	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	6	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	22	10	6	6	6	7	16	19	15
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420	1420
Elevator Constructors.	38	38	52	81	81	95	102	102	102
Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar.	211	190	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.	320	320	271	250	253	270	302	320	330
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	65	65	65	68	72	77	79	83	86
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.	330	250	212	208	202	179	200	226	305
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.	180	161	160	150	160	160	160	160	168
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary.	350	250	125	90	100	80	90	83	95
Fruit & Vegetable Workers of N. A., Intl. Union of.		19	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.	52	40	40	36	35	35	35	35	35
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	45	47	92	89	114	78	72	42	28
Garment Workers of America, United.	472	475	476	475	475	475	475	475	475
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.								3	9
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	100	97	70	60	60	60	60	60	60
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A. Window.						3	4	3	3
Glass Workers, American Flint.	97	87	81	61	53	53	52	51	52
Glass Workers, National Window.	50	50	50	40	20	20	20	11	11
Glove Workers.	7	4	2	2	3	5	6	7	8
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The.	105	100	95	86	85	85	85	85	85
Hatters of North America, United.	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	115
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.	460	460	475	490	615	665	700	753	917
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.	54	25	20	20	20	15	12	9	9
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	572	465	384	385	385	386	398	385	378
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	254	159	117	111	114	100	99	90	89
Jewelry Workers' International.	5	2	22	12	3	7	6	9	8
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.	941	939	912	910	900	801	800	303	323
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal.	80	80	80	80	89	160	175	165	165
Laundry Workers, International Union.	70	65	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.	80	34	20	20	20	17	10	10	50
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of.	325	325	325	325	325	400	400	404	450
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.	16	10	6	3	3	5	6	8	8
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	72	76	63	55	53	54	57	61	58
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	641	463	343	305	318	301	347	371	377

## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANISATIONS.	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927	1928.	1929.
Machinists, International Association of.....	2736	1809	973	779	714	714	723	745	770
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.....	6	7	377	383	374	291	282	350	322
Marble, etc., International Assn. of.....	12	17	23	30	32	42	40	56	64
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	91	55	41	41	39	34	31	31	30
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	439	196	104	115	122	122	117	118	118
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....	242	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.....	4257	3729	4049	4027	4000	4000	4000	4000	4000
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....	162	46	81	91	85	81	40	45	40
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	585	265	321	336	275	284	265	232	237
Musicians, American Federation of.....	746	750	750	771	800	800	800	967	1007
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	248	61	25	22	12	7	10	10	16
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	1133	978	928	1033	1076	1114	1129	1103	1081
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	107	83	70	62	50	46	40	40	40
Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.....	16	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	90	80	80	70	70	70	70	70	70
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	23	23
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....	27	9	7	6	6	6	5	5	5
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C., Oper.....	239	246	252	300	300	322	390	392	392
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	319	350	350	350	392	450	450	450	450
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.....	100	82	67	60	60	60	60	60	60
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.....	170	178	180	200	237	279	300	300	320
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	91	92	91	83	81	78	72	69	66
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Printing Pressmen, International.....	370	370	370	387	400	400	400	400	400
Printers' Union of N. A., I. S. & C. Plate.....	15	15	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.....	5	5	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Print Cutters' Assn. of A., Natl.....	4	3	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	113	68	46	50	50	50	50	50	50
Quarry Workers, International.....	30	30	24	29	30	30	30	30	30
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., S. & E.....	1000	1000	1000	1000	1010	1010	1012	1013	997
Railway Mail Association.....	180	166	167	179	191	195	194	197	198
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.....	28	30	30	30	30	30	40	40	40
United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	1	1	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Sawsmiths' National Union.....	1033	492	179	180	150	150	150	150	150
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sideographers, Intl. Assn. of.....	113	105	89	80	80	80	80	80	†
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....	194	195	196	200	200	220	231	232	233
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....	61	60	62	65	68	69	73	74	77
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....	44	46	49	50	51	57	58	58	58
Stone Mounters' International Union.....	20	20	18	16	16	16	16	16	14
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	101	88	87	93	89	87	89	91	93
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	120	120	119	100	93	83	77	72	68
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	93	70	46	37	35	35	35	38	42
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	1057	764	727	750	789	820	865	894	955
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	32	34	26	37	41	42	39	38	38
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	500	500	500	433	392	350	350	350	390
Textile Workers of America, United.....	829	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.....	58	8	††	††	††	††	††	††	††
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	123	34	19	15	14	14	14	32	42
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....	30	30	30	30	30	37	40	40	40
Typographical Union, International.....	748	689	681	688	710	733	749	758	764
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	60	67	73	75	76	86	102	107	107
United Wall Paper Craft of N. A.....	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	††	††	††
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Centrals.....	973	905	901	855	850	833	794	792	808
State Branches.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local unions.....	1027	747	581	514	504	455	467	485	468
Total vote of Unions.....	40,410	33,336	30,486	29,847	29,958	28,790	29,191	29,383	30,406

†Suspended. ††Disbanded. mSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. qSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Convention. sSuspended for failure to comply with decision of the Montreal Convention. tAmalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S., with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. uWithdrawn from Affiliation. vEmerged with International Plate Printers and Die Stampers. \*Reinstated, Oct. 14, 1924. wSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention. \*\*Reinstated, May 17, 1928. aAmalgamated with Hod Carriers.

## ORGANIZERS EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$125,357.26. Of this amount, \$762.15 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$125 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor.

NAME	STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE	AMOUNT RECEIVED
1. *Hugh Frayne.....	New York, Pennsylvania.....	\$11,394.20
2. Edw. F. McGrady.....	New York, Washington, D. C., Tennessee, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Missouri.....	6,989.98
3. P. J. Smith.....	Wisconsin, Washington, D. C., Minnesota.....	6,926.71
4. J. B. Dale.....	California, Texas, Oklahoma.....	6,912.44
5. P. F. Duffy.....	Michigan, Ontario, Canada, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia.....	6,587.94
6. Wm. Collins.....	New York, Alabama, Connecticut, Pennsylvania.....	6,554.15
7. C. O. Young.....	Washington, British Columbia, Canada.....	6,505.00
8. O. E. Woodbury.....	Illinois, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia.....	6,365.91
9. A. Bastien.....	Quebec, Canada.....	6,249.26
10. T. J. Conboy.....	Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Ohio.....	6,126.99
11. C. N. Idar.....	Texas.....	6,007.09
12. H. F. Hilfers.....	New Jersey, New York.....	5,238.22
13. J. M. Richie.....	Pennsylvania.....	5,128.30
14. F. H. McCarthy.....	Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, Canada, Rhode Is- land, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont.....	5,087.93
15. C. J. Jennings.....	New Jersey, New York.....	4,507.38
16. A. Marks.....	New York, Massachusetts.....	3,981.69
17. A. Neary.....	Maryland, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Indiana.....	3,848.25
18. G. L. Googe.....	Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee.....	3,484.83
19. J. E. Roach.....	New York.....	3,120.00
20. R. Evans.....	Ontario, Canada.....	2,834.37
21. R. M. Warren.....	Oklahoma.....	2,477.75
22. W. C. Hushing.....	Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, District of Columbia, Ohio.....	2,040.61
23. P. J. Aymon.....	Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina.....	1,648.86
24. J. Dowling.....	Ontario, Canada.....	1,308.83
25. G. Isaacs.....	Pennsylvania.....	1,165.37
26. F. Olkives.....	Wisconsin.....	953.40
27. S. Iglesias.....	Porto Rico and New York.....	500.00
28. J. Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois.....	242.00
29. Wm. Varley.....	Ontario, Canada.....	207.65
30. J. Penix.....	Tennessee.....	200.00
	Paid to District Organizers in amounts less than \$125.00.....	762.15
	Total.....	\$125,357.26

\*Includes \$5,362.20 paid for rent of office, office expenses, incidental expenses and salary of stenographer.

**DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

On August 31, 1929, we had 388 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 21,704, and a defense fund of \$278,678.64, to protect the members of the 388 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1,706 general and district organizers, as well as 21 paid organizers and the officers of the 803 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$32,552.89, initiation fees, \$7,228.40, and reinstatement fees, \$619.25.

**Defense Fund For Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions**

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1928, and ending August 31, 1929.

**RECEIPTS**

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund..... \$32,552.89

**EXPENSES**

Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Chasers Protective Union, No. 17388, New York, N. Y.....	5+	6	\$245.00
Federal Labor Union, No. 17873, New York, N. Y.....	24	6	1,008.00
Gold Beaters Union, No. 14937, Boston, Mass.....	3+	6	147.00
Gold Pen Makers Union, No. 17998, New York, N. Y.....	4	3	84.00
Hair Spinners Union, No. 12347, Philadelphia, Pa.....	34	6	1,428.00
Wholesale Cleaners, Dyers, Pressers and Spotters Union, No. 18005, Minneapolis, Minn.....	24+	8	1,379.00
Wire Drawers Union, No. 12493, Wilkes Barre, Pa.....	6	4	168.00
Total expenses.....			<u>\$4,459.00</u>

**RECAPITULATION**

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1928.....	\$250,584.75
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1929.....	32,552.89
Total.....	<u>\$283,137.64</u>
Paid out of defense fund.....	4,459.00
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1929.....	<u>\$278,678.64</u>

**CHARTERS ISSUED**

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1929, there have been issued 75 charters, 57 Local Trade Unions and 3 Federal Labor Unions, 15 Central Labor Unions as follows:

Alabama: Tuscaloosa	Indiana: Bedford LaPorte	Oklahoma: Pawhuska Shawnee
Arizona: Douglas	Kansas: Salina	Texas: Big Springs Wink
Georgia: Waycross	Massachusetts: Pittsfield	Vermont: Burlington
Illinois: Metropolis	Nevada: Clark County	Wisconsin: Beloit

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year.

	1928-1929
Central Labor Unions.....	15
Local Trade Unions.....	57
Federal Labor Unions.....	3
Total.....	<u>75</u>

## UNION LABELS

There are now 48 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

## ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor  
Bakers and Confectioners  
Bill posters and Billers  
Boilermakers  
Blacksmiths  
Bookbinders  
Boot and Shoe Workers  
Brewery Workmen  
Brick and Clay Workers  
Broommakers  
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery  
Workers  
Carpenters and Joiners  
Brotherhood  
Carvers, Wood  
Cigarmakers  
Coopers  
Draftsmen's Unions

Electrical Workers  
Fur Workers  
Garment Workers, United  
Garment Workers, Ladies  
Glass Bottle Blowers  
Glove Workers  
Hatters  
Horseshoers  
Iron and Steel Workers  
Jewelry Workers  
Lathers  
Laundry Workers  
Leather Workers  
Lithographers  
Machinists  
Marble Workers  
Metal Polishers  
Metal Workers, Sheet

Molders  
Painters  
Papermakers  
Photo-Engravers  
Piano and Organ Workers  
Plate Printers  
Powder Workers  
Pressmen, Printing  
Stereotypers and Electro-  
typers  
Stove Mounters  
Tailors  
Textile Workers  
Tobacco Workers  
Typographical  
Upholsters  
United Wall Paper Crafts  
Weavers, Wire

## ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS

Actors  
Barbers  
Clerks, Retail  
Engineers, Steam

Firemen, Stationary  
Hotel and Restaurant  
Employees  
Meat Cutters and Butcher  
Workmen.

Musicians  
Stage Employees, Theatrical  
Teamsters

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label:  
Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Horse Nail Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers;  
Suspender Makers, Spirit Level Workers, and Fountain Pen Workers.

## CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

## TREASURER RYAN'S REPORT

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.*

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from September 1, 1928, to August 31, 1929. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME		EXPENSES	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants Paid:	
1928		1928	
September 30.....	\$30,889.61	September 30.....	\$34,891.41
October 31.....	89,535.86	October 31.....	89,197.50
November 30.....	44,245.70	November 30.....	52,576.85
December 31.....	35,498.99	December 31.....	38,465.44
1929		1929	
January 31.....	45,592.56	January 31.....	41,839.96
February 28.....	36,092.96	February 28.....	41,911.52
March 31.....	42,108.92	March 31.....	39,541.43
April 30.....	42,917.44	April 30.....	42,869.91
May 31.....	41,628.72	May 31.....	45,849.16
June 30.....	41,812.00	June 30.....	36,021.24
July 31.....	43,235.35	July 31.....	43,015.58
August 31.....	116,074.90	August 31.....	69,001.87
Total income for 12 months.....	\$609,633.01	Total expenses for 12 months.....	\$575,181.87
Balance in hands of Treasurer, August 31, 1928.....	298,109.43		
Grand total.....	\$907,742.44		

### RECAPITULATION

Total (balance and income).....	\$907,742.44
Total expenses.....	575,181.87
August 31, 1929—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$332,560.57
August 31, 1929—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000.00
Total balance on hand, August 31, 1929.....	\$334,560.57
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
Telegraphers Natl. Bank, St. Louis, Mo., interest bearing certificates (4%).....	\$25,000.00
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., interest bearing certificates (4%).....	25,000.00
First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., subject to check (2%).....	92,560.57
"Fourth" U. S. Liberty Bonds (4½%).....	125,000.00
Federation Bank and Trust Co., New York, N. Y., int. bearing certificates (4%).....	50,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co., Stock.....	15,000.00
Treasurer's balance, August 31, 1929.....	\$332,560.57

Certificates of deposit guaranteed by Surety Bond

Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN F. RYAN,

*Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.*

KANSAS CITY, Mo., September 3, 1929.



## REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1929.

## RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1928.....	\$35,501.82
Receipts from rents, Sept. 1, 1928, to and including Aug. 31, 1929....	31,827.00
Receipts from interest on Certificates of Deposit.....	1,447.84
Receipts from waste paper.....	62.69
Receipts from interest on checking account.....	54.89
Receipts on acct. for reimbursement for fire loss on building.....	61.47
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$68,955.71</b>

## EXPENSES

## Maintenance:

Pay roll (building employees).....	\$13,181.72
Taxes.....	3,214.62
Electricity.....	1,322.95
Fuel (coal).....	1,086.97
Supplies.....	734.08
Upkeep and repairs.....	1,516.87
Plastering and painting.....	961.12
Cleaning windows.....	480.00
Insurance (liability).....	127.34
Insurance (fire).....	7.50
Water rent.....	273.42
Hauling ashes and trash.....	175.00
Upkeep of rest room (laundry).....	38.48
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	99.57
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2.50
Fire loss on building.....	102.47

**Total expenses.....** **\$23,324.61**

## RECAPITULATION

Receipts.....	\$68,955.71
Expenses.....	23,324.61

**Balance on hand August 31, 1929.....** **\$45,631.10**

## Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Bank, subject to check (2%).....	631.10
*Mt. Vernon Bank, interest bearing certificates of deposit (4%)....	45,000.00

**Balance on hand August 31, 1929.....** **\$45,631.10**

\*Certificates of deposit guaranteed by Surety Bond.

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

## INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

**Present Economic Trends in United States**—An outstanding event of the past year was the report of the Committee on Recent Economic Trends appointed by President Hoover while Secretary of Commerce. The committee had the services of the National Bureau of Economic Research and experts in all fields in assembling data showing what had taken place between the years 1922 and 1929, which served as the basis for their report distinguishing important trends.

The committee found the breadth, scale and tempo of recent developments were striking characteristics of [the period; the increased supply of power and its wider uses; increase in production per worker; the "spotty" conditions of progress; growing stability of production in some seasonal industries with technological unemployment in others; varying progress in industries and geographic areas; the spread of higher living standards; the spread in the source and use of credit.

In studying price relationships, wages and the cost of living, the committee found relative price stability—more marked in wholesale than retail prices; increasing productivity at lower unit costs with higher wages and stationary costs of living; recognition of the principle of high wages and low costs as a policy of enlightened industrial practice; the application of this principle resulting in expansion of human wants and the pouring of wage earners' income into the channels of commerce; recognition of the relation between consumption and leisure and increased production; the development of services to the scale and organization of industries.

The committee felt that new instrumentalities of communication and transportation have welded our nation with a new solidarity and have developed a new degree of interrelation of interests. New interrelated creative effort has produced present prosperity. Continued prosperity depends on maintaining balance in progress. We can do this, the committee says, only if we develop a technique of balance.

This final basic principle which the committee formulated as the key to sustained progress is complete acceptance of the relation between prosperity for workers and national prosperity. The worker is a consumer as well as a wage earner and adequate wages are necessary to enable him to continue to buy and have a job.

The past seven years have been a period of extraordinary industrial development. It is unusual for upward trends to continue over such a long period of time. Wholesale prices are approximately 50 per cent higher than pre-war. From the close of the war to 1922 there were sharp ups and downs in individual prices following the wake of the transition from war to peace. Since 1922 there has been a slight downward movement with an approach to stability in individual commodity prices which is a characteristic distinguishing this period from the preceding decades. The trend toward greater price stability evident even in pre-war days has grown into a distinguishing characteristic of present developments.

This trend marks an important fact—a speculative element has gone out of business. Sudden and high fluctuations in commodity prices were an opportunity to make corresponding profits. Business must now look to other sources for profits.

The trend to lower levels and greater stability of commodity prices has accompanied a notable increase in the volume of physical production. The increase since 1919 has been 50 per cent. Wages and profits have increased. A table showing the average annual rate of change is a good measure of development and of relative changes. This table was prepared for the Committee on Recent Economic Changes.

<i>Series</i>	<i>Average Annual Rate of Change 1922-1927</i>
	PER CENT
Primary production.....	2.5
Production of manufactured goods.....	4.0
Ton-miles of freight carried.....	4.0
Employment in factories.....	-0.7
Factory pay rolls.....	1.7
Per capita earnings, factory employees.....	2.4
Wholesale prices, all commodities.....	-0.1
Wholesale prices, products of American farms in raw state.....	1.2
Prices of commodities at the farm.....	1.1
Wholesale prices, non-agricultural products.....	-1.8
Profits, industrial corporations.....	9.0
Dividend payments, industrial and miscellaneous corporations.....	6.8
Prices, industrial stocks.....	14.1

Our labor movement has to be prepared to meet the labor problems arising out of the distinctive production characteristics of the period.

1. Mass production can continue only if there is mass consumption—that is, incomes must be adequate to buy what is produced. Labor is anxious to avoid depression which brings unemployment and distress.

2. Mechanical power and machine tools displace hand skills, and develop new jobs requiring new skills. These new jobs and skills should be examined to find bases for industrial training and union organization. Proper and adequate vocational education is essential to craftsmanship.

3. Stabilization of wholesale commodity prices reflects a new situation in industry. Better accounting methods have put in the hands of management information which enables them to control development instead of 'blindly meeting chance forces. One of the results has been stabilization.

Better accounting methods disclose information on what is taking place and all proposals for change must be accompanied by information of the effect of such change. This trend has been of significance to trade unions and has made changes necessary in methods used in collective bargaining. Unions now use more statistics, industrial facts, and related data.

4. Rapidity of change brings constant dislocation of people and machinery. Fundamental technical changes brought reductions in employees without thought for those displaced. Persons who have given a lifetime to learning a highly skilled trade find their investment dissipated. In time some may be absorbed by their expanding industry, others may adapt their experience to service in other fields. Others finding adjustment impossible, fall to lower industrial levels. Rapidity of change makes a serious employment problem.

Prosperity represents average trends, not the actual situation in each industry. Even in this period of unusually sustained upward trend, there are depression areas, and industries. The problem of levelling up these depression forces is just as important as that of maintaining the more advanced. There are always backward industries and backward areas, which from a variety of causes may be making a losing struggle. Even within the industries that are increasing output and profits there are unfavorable factors which if unchecked are potential dangers. In the table summarizing

economic trends it is obvious that wages are not advancing proportionately with incomes from other sources. While per capita earnings of factory employes increased 2.4 per cent yearly from 1922 to 1927, profits of industrial corporations increased 9 per cent yearly and production 4 per cent.

*Not Prosperity for All*—The labor movement has the problem of functioning in this period of rapid change. Our problem has been made doubly important by the fact that industry has not yet given adequate study to human wastes. Technical changes have brought unemployment and made valueless to many the training or skills upon which they relied for earning a living. These results are forces that pull down the level of economic progress for every worker is also a consumer who purchases products in the market.

Technological unemployment in sharp contrast with the benefits accompanying industrial progress stands out as a problem challenging attention. In addition there are the backward industries, such as coal and textiles, where lack of management is reflected in badly balanced production and irregular employment. Irregular employment or unemployment within employment is not confined to the older or backward industries. One of the worst offenders is the automobile industry which in many ways is in the forefront of technical progress. While relying upon technical research for advantages in the sales markets, automobile companies have followed most primitive models in their labor policies. However, efficiency and the elimination of wastes offer rewards equally with technical progress. It is the possibilities from exploring and organizing to reduce wastes in this field that the organized labor movement calls attention.

The continuation or increase in part-time employment and unemployment are depression forces which may gain power and turn prosperity into business depression for all.

The trend to lower levels and greater stability of commodity prices, with related factors indicated that present production undertakings are on a more substantial foundation. This is an important element for Labor to keep in mind in formulating policies. Substantial business is increasingly responsible.

Trade unions find important also the very wide difference between the rates of change in wages and profits, dividend payments or prices of industrial stocks.

An unusual trend is the decline in factory employment accompanying increase in output. This may be explained in terms of new machinery and technical change.

As the Report on Recent Economic Trends points out, 40 per cent of our population and nearly 50 per cent of our income are concentrated in eight Middle Atlantic and East North Central States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan). Prosperity for the United States as a whole is largely determined by what happens in this area. Per capita income is highest in the Pacific (California, Oregon, Washington) and Middle Atlantic states and income lowest in the South. The West North Central, the East South Central, South West Central and Mountain regions show a preponderance of income from agriculture, and these sections suffered from its depression. New England gets a large percentage of its income from manufactures and less than five per cent from agriculture, but has not been prosperous during the past year. The income of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania is 30 per cent of national income. These states have increased their income from other sources than mining, manufactures and agriculture. The East North Central

states have not gained as rapidly as the Middle Atlantic; they are highly industrial though agriculture is also an important industry. The West North Central states have not shared in the general improvement shown for the United States as a whole.

The Southern Atlantic region which in 1919 had a per capita income of \$445 has gained slightly since 1925. The Florida boom was a factor.

The East South Central group has gained but little since 1919, when the per capita income was \$345.

The West South Central agricultural income rose slightly and non-agricultural incomes declined since 1919. In the Rocky Mountain states, with less than four persons per square mile, incomes rose.

Pacific Coast states show as great an increase in total incomes as the Middle Atlantic states while its agricultural income declined. High salary incomes and incomes from property increased.

In this period of mass production it is of fundamental importance that mass buyers shall be ready to buy products. Mass buyers can come only from wage earning groups. It is obvious that the ideal situation would be for wages to increase in advance of others and thus stimulate as well as absorb production.

To be sure, organized workers have made a much better record but they represent the standard making group. They are handicapped by poorer conditions of the unorganized and may be pulled backward unless all groups are able to make greater progress.

Another factor to be carefully watched is the decrease in the number of workers employed in factories. There has been a similar decline in agriculture. We need to know what has happened to such persons if we would avert problems due to such sources.

It is the function of the organized labor movement to call attention to such problems.

A detailed table giving employment, pay roll and per capita earnings in 54 manufacturing industries, shows that employment has declined in 37, pay rolls declined in 26 and per capita earnings in 6. This record indicates some of the depression forces which have caused human distress in the midst of prosperity and great wealth.

TABLE 6.—EMPLOYMENT, PAY ROLL, AND PER CAPITA EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1922-1927<sup>a</sup>

Industry	Average annual rate of change in		
	Employment (per cent)	Pay rolls (per cent)	Per capita earnings (per cent)
Lumber and its products:			
Lumber, sawmills.....	-4.1	-0.7	+3.5
Furniture.....	+0.4	+2.9	+2.5
Lumber, millwork.....	-1.3	+0.6	+1.9
Stone, clay, and glass products:			
Glass.....	-0.4	+3.1	+3.5
Pottery.....	+1.5	+4.6	+3.0
Brick, tile, terra cotta.....	-0.4	+2.4	+2.8
Cement <sup>b</sup> .....	-3.3	-2.2	+1.1
Iron and steel and their products:			
Hardware.....	-2.6	+1.6	+4.3
Machine tools.....	+0.8	+3.8	+3.7
Iron and steel.....	+0.2	+3.0	+2.7
Foundry and machine shop.....	-1.3	+0.9	+2.2
Structural iron work.....	-0.4	+1.7	+2.1
Stoves.....	-4.8	-3.5	+1.5
Steam fittings, and steam and hot water heating apparatus <sup>c</sup> .....	-2.1	-0.8	+1.3
Cast iron pipe.....	-0.8	-0.8	0.0
Miscellaneous industries:			
Agricultural implements.....	-1.1	+6.1	+5.0
Rubber boots and shoes.....	-1.0	+2.5	+3.5
Electrical machinery, apparatus and supplies.....	+1.1	+3.7	+2.6
Shipbuilding, steel.....	+0.7	+3.2	+2.5
Pianos and organs.....	-0.9	+1.5	+2.4
Automobile tires.....	+1.3	+3.4	+2.0
Paper and printing:			
Printing, book and job.....	+1.4	+4.1	+2.6
Paper boxes.....	+1.0	+3.4	+2.4
Paper and pulp.....	-0.4	+1.9	+2.3
Printing, newspapers.....	+3.6	+5.6	+1.9
Food and kindred products:			
Confectionery <sup>b</sup> .....	-4.1	-1.8	+2.4
Ice cream <sup>b</sup> .....	-2.0	+0.2	+2.3
Baking <sup>d</sup> .....	+1.3	+2.9	+1.6
Slaughtering and meat packing.....	-3.6	-2.5	+1.2
Flour.....	-3.8	-2.8	+1.0
Sugar refining, cane <sup>b</sup> .....	-2.0	-1.7	+0.3
Chemical and allied products:			
Chemicals.....	+0.3	+3.8	+3.5
Fertilizers.....	-0.2	+2.7	+2.9
Petroleum refining.....	+0.6	-0.3	-0.9
Vehicles for land transportation:			
Car building and repairing, steam railroads.....	-3.8	-1.7	+2.2
Carriages and wagons.....	-4.3	-3.1	+1.2
Car building and repairing, electric railroads.....	-2.3	-1.5	+0.8
Automobiles.....	+3.1	+3.8	+0.7
Textiles and their products:			
Hosiery and knit goods.....	-0.2	+4.4	+4.6
Silk goods.....	+1.0	+4.0	+2.9
Shirts and collars.....	-4.4	-2.7	+1.8
Dyeing and finishing textiles.....	+0.6	+2.5	+1.8
Millinery and lace goods.....	-7.1	-5.6	+1.6
Cotton goods.....	-2.7	-1.0	+1.7
Woolen and worsted goods.....	-3.1	-2.3	+0.8
Clothing, women's.....	-4.6	-4.3	+0.3
Carpets and rugs.....	-0.4	-0.6	-0.2
Clothing, men's.....	-4.2	-5.5	-1.3
Tobacco products:			
Chewing and smoking tobacco and snuff.....	-2.6	-0.4	+2.2
Cigars and cigarettes.....	-4.9	-5.0	-0.1
Metal and metal products, other than iron and steel:			
Brass, bronze and copper products.....	-0.9	-0.7	+0.2
Stamped and enameled ware.....	-1.0	-1.9	-0.9
Leather and its products:			
Leather.....	-2.3	-0.4	+1.9
Boots and shoes.....	-2.4	-3.5	-1.1

<sup>a</sup> The data from which these rates have been computed were compiled by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The rates of change in employment and pay rolls were derived from the data as compiled; the rates of change in per capita earnings were computed from the employment and pay roll figures. Except where otherwise noted, the rates were computed from data for the period July 1922-December 1927.

<sup>b</sup> Series begins April, 1923.

<sup>c</sup> Series begins May, 1923.

<sup>d</sup> Series begins Sept., 1922.

<sup>e</sup> Series is for 1923-1927.

Another phase of prosperity is a record of rate change in corporation earnings. Nine out of nineteen industries show a rate of gain in profits exceeding ten per cent a year; six show a decline in profits.

TABLE 21.—CORPORATION PROFITS<sup>a</sup>

<i>Industrial Group</i>	<i>Number of Corporations</i>	<i>Average Annual Rate of Change, 1923-27 PER CENT</i>
Public Utilities.....	129	+14.7
Public Utilities, other than telephone.....	51	+15.0
Telephone companies.....	<i>b</i> 78	+14.2
Industrial and miscellaneous corporations.....	381	+9.0
Leather and shoes.....	9	+28.8
Motors.....	22	+22.5
Amusement.....	6	+18.2
Miscellaneous industries.....	58	+15.0
Machine and machine mfg.....	18	+14.9
Metals and mining.....	19	+13.9
Stores.....	19	+12.4
Chemicals and drugs.....	14	+12.3
Rubber.....	11	+11.3
Tobacco.....	16	+9.2
Oils.....	31	+6.7
Food and food products.....	39	+4.7
Steel companies.....	26	+0.4
Motor accessories.....	18	-1.0
Building supplies.....	19	-2.2
Paper.....	9	-4.4
Railroad equipment.....	12	-6.1
Clothing and textiles.....	24	-10.5
Coal.....	11	-48.6
Class 1 railroads.....	<i>b</i> 183	4.2

<sup>a</sup> The data from which these rates have been computed were compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

<sup>b</sup> The number of telephone companies and the number of railroads represented vary somewhat as a result of consolidations.

Supplementing this table is the following statement of rate of gains in dividend and interest payments:

<i>Series</i>	<i>Average Annual Rate of Change, 1922-27 PER CENT</i>
Total dividend and interest payments.....	7.0
Total dividend payments.....	6.7
Street railways.....	12.5
Industrial and miscellaneous corporations.....	6.8
Steam railroads.....	4.5

With expanding production and increasing profits the period between 1922-1929 experienced a decline in business profits at the rate of about one per cent per year, while the liabilities involved in such failures declined at the rate of more than five per cent per year.



### WAGE EARNERS PROGRESS

Wage earners, in addition to performing indispensable service within industry, have certain human and social necessities for which we must provide. The degree of success with which we meet these needs marks our progress in all basic relations of life. Our outstanding necessities are employment, income, leisure, and security for the future.

**Employment**—Although the past seven years have been regarded as a period of unparalleled business prosperity for wage earners, as a group and as individuals there still remains the problem of securing employment and stability of employment.

Without employment income is cut off. An opportunity to work is therefore one of the most important facts in the organization of a wage earner's life. If there are positions enough to provide employment for all who want work, there is present an element which is favorable for wage earners and general prosperity.

The outstanding characteristic of the present period is rapidity of technical change, which has made very rapid changes in employment opportunities. The actual number of persons employed in manufacturing industries, in agriculture and on the railroads has decreased since 1919. This is not due to business contraction as increased output in those industries demonstrates. In agriculture and in manufactures it is due to machinery displacing hand labor and to improved technical process.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Wage Earners in Manufacturing Industry</i>
1910	9,000,050
1920	9,288,050
1921	6,946,550
1922	8,136,050
1923	8,778,150
1924	7,935,450
1925	8,384,250
1926	8,663,074
1927	8,353,977
1928	8,125,963
1929 (first half)	8,498,475

Although production has increased over 40 per cent since 1919, employment has never again reached that high level. There has been a downward tendency because machines have taken the place of workers in industry. In 1928 employment reached a lower point than at any time since the depression year of 1924. In 1929, first half, there has been a recovery, and the increased demand for goods is bringing workers back into industry. It is significant, however, that although production was higher in the first half of 1929 than in 1926, employment did not reach the 1926 level. This shows that although workers are coming back into industry, new machinery is continually displacing others, so that gains are slow. There are 500,000 fewer wage earners in 1929 (first half) than in 1919.

Turnover in industry is not necessarily bad if workers displaced are able to find other jobs. We have no information showing what has become of these men. We have clues, such as new manufacturing industries, expanding industries and new service industries. Whether displaced workers find their way to these new employment opportunities or whether they have been unfortunate in competing with persons who have recently reached employable age, we have no means of knowing.

A very interesting study of 754 workers laid off from industrial plants in three cities shows that 32 per cent were out of work for six months or more; 60 per cent were out for three months or more before they found work. Thirty-five persons out of 754 were unemployed for a year or more.

At the time of the investigator's visit, 82 per cent of these workers had not been able to find work in their own industries; 36 per cent had found employment in new industries. Less than 10 per cent found work at their old jobs.

Most of those laid off (69 per cent) were not able to find temporary work of any kind to help them tide over the unemployment period. Of those who did find work again, 48 per cent had to take jobs at lower pay than they had had before.

We need more of such studies to disclose the consequences of this problem.

In addition to changes within the structure of industry, there has been accentuation of a management policy that has added to employment difficulties—discrimination against older workers. The increasing use of machinery, together with the pace of production, has resulted in a general demand for young persons with capacity to withstand nervous strain. More often than not, management asks for young workers without making job analyses to find whether young workers are necessary or whether it is possible to employ those who have lost the first resilience of youth but have gained other qualities of equal or greater value. This, Labor feels, is a very crude method, which results in very costly waste of our greatest social and industrial asset—man power.

The American Federation of Labor has received general and widespread reports of unemployment due to technical change and hardship and suffering by displaced workers who could not find employment. It is reasonable to expect continuation of technical progress and consequent industrial change. Trade unions have repeatedly called attention to the burdens and hardships which technical changes have placed upon them. Often our warnings have been misinterpreted as opposition to technical change. Labor realizes it is idle to oppose technical progress, but we lament the fact that technical progress has been permitted to usher in human want and suffering, so that in the past some wage earners have in despair even tried to destroy machines. Labor believes introducing machines without considering what the effect will be on employed persons and without planning to prevent hardships, is most regrettable and an unnecessary social and economic waste which retards progress. We believe that job analysis would disclose that younger persons are now exclusively employed for some jobs that older workers might perform equally well if not better. We believe that the period of readjustment can be mitigated and bridged. To that end we propose that efforts be made to stimulate study of the displacement problem and to urge conferences between workers, employers and other concerned groups prior to the introduction of the changes and thus provide against avoidable hardships.

The Executive Council suggests a two-fold attack on this problem:

- (a) Authorization of an effective federal employment service.
- (b) The establishment of municipal employment bureaus.

A federal employment service should be made responsible for gathering data on employment and unemployment and coordinating the placement work done by local bureaus. Such an agency would be able to anticipate problems and thus help to avert situations that make for business depressions.

We recommend that promotion of federal and state employment agencies be made a major project of the Federation for the coming year. There are organizations

and individuals interested in this field whose cooperation could be secured and who would be most helpful.

A federal employment system would not only help with special employment problems, but would give workers information of work opportunities available and to aid management in getting workers required. A public employment office is accepted as the best way of accomplishing these purposes. It has been made increasingly imperative by the decision of the Supreme Court invalidating legislation to regulate fees charged by private agencies.

Supplying employment information is of importance to the nation, the industry and the workers. Since it is a function which government can perform efficiently, the necessary legislation should be enacted.

**Incomes**—This period of progress has brought large increases in incomes in the United States. In terms of dollars and cents, national income was 35.7 billions of dollars in 1913, 65.9 billions in 1919, and probably about 89.0 billions in 1928. To study these increases, however, money income must be dealt with in terms of cost of living, for increased cost of living has made great differences in what a dollar would buy.

Taking these increases, then, in terms of 1925 dollars, representing equal buying power for the whole period, it will be seen that from 1913 to 1919 national income increased very little—from 60.3 billions in 1913 to 64.2 billion in 1919, or 6.5 per cent. The large increase has been from 1919 to the present time. In 1926 national income was 85.3 billion, as compared with 64.2 billion in 1919, an increase of 32.9 per cent. This has meant much larger sums for each member of the population on the average and per capita income, in terms of buying power, increased from \$611 in 1919 to \$733 in 1926—20 per cent. Preliminary estimates show that buying power of per capita income has increased a little since 1926.

**Wages of Wage Earners**—Real wages of wage earners have increased 24 per cent from 1919 to 1926. The following table gives trends from 1913:

Year	Average Annual Wages Per Wage Employee		Average Annual Salary Per Salaried Employee		Average Labor Income Per Employee		No. of Wage Workers	No. of Salaried Employees
	Current Dollars	1925 Dollars	Current Dollars	1925 Dollars	Current Dollars	1925 Dollars		
	Relative to 1913 as 100 Per Cent						Millions of Persons	
1913...	100	100	100	100	100	100	21.9	5.2
1914...	93	92	102	101	96	94	22.5	5.3
1918...	158	101	119	76	152	97	21.7	8.9
1919...	173	95	136	75	168	92	22.4	8.0
1920...	214	103	163	79	203	98	23.2	6.7
1921...	165	93	159	89	169	95	23.8	7.0
1922...	170	103	161	97	173	104	24.3	7.0
1923...	194	114	172	102	192	113	24.9	7.2
1924...	191	113	178	105	193	114	25.6	7.5
1925...	198	115	183	106	199	115	26.2	7.7
1926...	201*	118*	190*	109*	205*	119*	26.8	7.9
1927...	203*	119*	196*	114*	208*	122*	27.3	8.3

\*Preliminary

*Incomes of Other Groups*—Incomes of other groups have also increased. In tracing these changes for other groups, we shall use the statistics of income from the United States Income Tax returns. In 1926, 237,000 more persons were receiving incomes of \$5,000 and over than in 1919, an increase of 36 per cent. The total amount of money paid in incomes of \$5,000 or over increased 51.9 per cent by 4.5 billions of dollars. Increases were larger in the higher income groups. The amount of income paid to persons receiving \$100,000 a year or more increased 171 per cent, 3.1 billion dollars more. There were 4,056 more persons receiving an income of \$100,000 or more, 73 per cent increase, and their per capita income was 114 per cent higher.

*Incomes Over \$5,000*

Income group	Number of persons		Increase	
	1919	1926	Per cent	Number
\$5,000-25,000.....	601,336	807,279	34.2	205,943
\$25,000-50,000.....	37,477	57,487	53.4	20,010
\$50,000-100,000.....	13,320	20,520	54.1	7,200
\$100,000 and over.....	5,526	9,582	73.4	4,056
Total.....	657,659	894,868	36.1	237,209

*Money Value of Incomes*

(000 omitted)

Income group	1919	1926	Increase	
			Dollars	Per cent
\$5,000-25,000.....	\$5,366,413	\$7,499,575	\$2,133,162	39.8
\$25,000-50,000.....	1,277,364	1,954,653	677,289	53.0
\$50,000-100,000.....	896,497	1,389,339	492,842	55.0
Over \$100,000.....	1,169,553	2,384,090	1,214,537	103.8
Total.....	8,709,827	13,227,657	4,517,830	51.9

In 1926, 90 per cent of the population got only 67.1 per cent of the national income. The problem is to level up the incomes of those not so well off, so that incomes will furnish market demand for the products of industry and make possible capacity production. We propose to work for raising the lower incomes and therefore the total national income.

*What Are Wage Earners Living on?*—There are no figures which tell us exactly what incomes wage earners have to live on. We know that the average earnings of wage earners in 1925 were as follows:

Agriculture.....	\$537
Mining.....	1,318
Manufacturing.....	1,362
Construction.....	1,574
Transportation and public utilities.....	1,554
Banking.....	2,179
Merchandising.....	1,315
Government.....	1,585
Unclassified industries.....	1,408

All groups combined.....\$1,384

It will be noted from this table that in none of the occupations listed did the average wage reach \$2,380, the minimum budget necessary to support a family of five in health

and decency in 1925, as estimated from the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Since these figures are averages, it is obvious that many wage earners receive more than this amount and are able to support their families without help from wives or children. But even the average wage when paid to a man with a family of wife and three children, is not enough, and means that wives and children have to share in family support, and the millions who receive less than the average wage must endure much hardship, and often be forced to charity in emergencies of unemployment or sickness. We have no figures to show how many persons in the United States have failed to profit by the prosperity of the last decade, but what figures we have show the following:

In manufacturing industry in 1927, there were nearly 2,000,000 wage earners (1,960,000) whose average earnings were less than \$1,000 a year, or well under \$19 a week. In addition, there were 1,293,600 common laborers in manufacturing, and 593,900 bituminous coal miners, whose earnings probably averaged a good deal less than \$23 a week, or \$1,200 a year, either from low wage rates or lay offs in dull seasons. Many of them earned less than \$13 a week. There must also have been large numbers of sales persons in stores who had very low wages. This makes a total of nearly 5,000,000 people who received these very low rates. Secretary of Labor Davis stated: "Taken together with their families and their dependents, I would venture to say we have among us from ten to twenty millions of people who do not share as they should in the prosperity enjoyed by the rest of us."

*Various Industrial Groups*—It will be noted from the above table that wage earners in some industries have fared better than others. Income is very low in agriculture. In industry, trade and government, it is substantially higher. Employees in banks have the highest incomes and are the only group averaging over \$2,000 a year. Three groups average between \$1,500 and \$1,600 a year—government employees, wage earners in construction and transportation and public utilities. The lowest group, with average incomes between \$1,300 and \$1,400 are in manufacturing, merchandising and mining.

In manufacturing, incomes in certain industries are particularly low. The following are the most important where incomes average less than \$1,000 a year:\*

Industry	Number employees	Average earnings
	1927	1927
Cotton goods.....	467,500	\$815
Lumber and timber.....	418,100	989
Cigars and cigarettes.....	116,100	814
Knit goods.....	190,200	989
Shirts.....	57,200	751
Work clothing, men's.....	40,600	737
Men's furnishings.....	25,100	876

In the following industries employing over 100,000, wage earners' incomes are particularly high:\*

Industry	Number employed	Average earnings	
	1927	1927	1919
Bakery products.....	139,013	\$1,455	\$1,232
Repair shops, steam,railroad.....	397,088	1,512	1,419
Foundry and machine shops.....	397,814	1,486	1,290
Steel works and rolling mills.....	361,312	1,664	1,700
Automobiles.....	369,399	1,659	1,431
Printing and publishing.....	261,671	1,808	1,174

\*Figures from Census of Manufactures.

*Progress in Organized Trades*—Large increases in wages in some of these industries show that under union conditions technical progress can bring great advance for the wage earners. In the printing industry, where union agreements have determined the trend of earnings, printers in general have increased more than \$600 a year, or 54 per cent in the 8 years from 1919 to 1927. This is over three times the average wage increase for all industry in the same period, which amounted to 17 per cent. The bakers too have brought up the general level of their industry more than the average for all industry. In 1927, bakers earnings were over \$200 above 1919, an increase of 18 per cent for the trade in general. Foundry and machine shop workers have raised their earnings nearly \$200, and in the railway repair shops, where unions have had to meet serious opposition from the employers, earnings are nearly \$100 higher than in 1919. Union management cooperation has been a very important factor in bringing about this increase, both through higher wage scales and more stable employment. Wages in unorganized shops have followed the lead of union wage agreements, but were it not for the constructive work of the unions, workers would probably have had difficulty in holding their own. The steel industry shows that where employers have opposed organization, wage earners have suffered. In steel, earnings were lower than in 1919. In automobiles, wage earners have benefited by the high wage policy.

*Comparison With Union Wages*—In some industries it is possible to estimate union earnings and to compare them with the general level of earnings for an industry.\* The table shows that union earnings are far above the general level for each trade. Union members are sharing in recent industrial progress. This fact suggests a remedy for those who are still in the low wage group. The table shows that union earnings are far above the general level for each trade.

*Comparison in Yearly Earnings*

Industry	Average earnings of all workers, 1927	Estimated earnings of union members 1927-8 (average)	Estimated yearly loss from unemployment †
Bakers.....	\$1,455	\$2,388	\$472
Printers.....	1,808	2,206	104
Garment workers, Ladies.....	1,386	1,923	677

In each of these cases, although unions have done much to bring up general levels, the non-union worker is still far below the union scale.

In some industries it has been possible to compare wage rates. The following table shows that union scales are much higher:

\*Average union wage scales have been weighted by the average yearly unemployment. While this is only a rough estimate, and does not include part time work, the resulting figures are so far above the general average that even with a large error they would still be much higher. Only those trades are shown in which unions include all workers, skilled and less skilled.

†Figures in column 3 plus column 2, give yearly earnings for those who work the average union scale and lose no time through unemployment.

*Comparison of Wage Rates*  
Cotton Goods

Occupation	Average for U. S. (average full time earnings per week)*		Union wage scale (per week)
	Men	Women	
Card grinders.....	\$21.94	.....	\$27.90
Spinners, frame.....	19.59	\$14.60	19.75-24.60
Doffers.....	16.98	16.71	23.45-29.30
Loom fixers.....	25.88	.....	36.10
Weavers.....	20.93	19.37	25.00-31.00

MEAT CUTTERS  
(New York District)

Occupation	Average for U. S. (average full time earnings per week)*		Union wage scale (per week)
	Men	Women	
Laborers.....	\$16.44	.....	\$33.00
Splitters.....	36.51	.....	44.00
Ham Boners.....	28.70	.....	46.00

These figures are evidence of the value of unionism in raising the income levels of those who work for wages.

**Leisure**—We have made definite progress in getting social acceptance of the idea that every individual needs leisure. Formerly we thought of leisure only in connection with a leisure class. The workday was long and left only time for home duties and sleep. The workday was first restricted so as to prevent overfatigue and thus conserve human labor power. To accomplish this, we limited the hours of daily work. Then we began to see the possibilities of limiting the workweek—first the Saturday half holiday and then the five-day week. The five-and-one-half and the five-day week provide opportunity for something more than the usual routine of living—they provide something of leisure.

This opportunity for leisure comes through the increasing use of mechanical power and machine tools. Formerly the world's work meant long hours of drudgery for those employed. At first those who worked were slaves. In time they became free persons who contracted for their labor. By contracting intelligently they gradually set new limits to the work period and used technical progress as an opportunity to enable those who work to benefit also through leisure.

Leisure used to be looked upon as a chance to do nothing. The "leisure class" were regarded as idlers. We have been finding that leisure is essential to the full measure of living. Leisure is opportunity for that rounded development of body, mind and spirit that raises the plane of work and life and makes possible new standards of excellence.

Leisure is not something to be looked forward to at the end of work. As Dr. Richard Cabot has put it, we should focus our efforts upon work, play, love and worship for the interplay of those forces is the end of life.

The organized labor movement has been the agency that has continuously restricted the hours of daily work to the standards safeguarding the work capacity of

\*Figures from Bureau of Labor statistics.



the individuals and assuring sustained production under prevailing conditions of work. The labor movement, as spokesman for workers, has repeatedly challenged industrial regulations and appealed to social conscience and intelligence in order to make possible reductions in hours of work. Though these gains were not made without a struggle and sometimes industrial warfare, the shorter workday and workweek constitute notable social achievements. The labor movement has rendered valuable social service in raising civilization to that plane on which increasing millions have opportunity for leisure and the richness of life which it brings.

Progress in assuring the shorter workday and leisure to workers is quite unequal, due to industrial conditions and degree of organization of workers. That the eight-hour day and the five-day week have proved practical in industry and have been approved socially will make easier their wider application.

During the past year gratifying progress has been made in assuring one day of leisure to industrial workers and vacations with pay.

We are not unmindful of the fact that many workers are still working ten or even more hours, six days a week, and that unnecessary night work is still common in some industries. The first step toward helping these workers is to bring to them the message and opportunity of trade unionism. With organization, all workers can share in the opportunity for leisure which our civilization makes possible and which is necessary to further social progress.

*Five-Day Week*—Since our report to the New Orleans convention, the building trades unions have made substantial progress in securing the five-day week. It is estimated that twenty-five per cent have the five-day week. These unions are moving definitely toward putting the whole industry on the shorter workweek basis.

The recent victory in New York City gives the five-day week to about 150,000 building tradesmen. The St. Louis building trades established this standard for practically all crafts. Chicago and Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Niagara Falls, have made gains. On the Pacific Coast the five-day week for building tradesmen is the general practice. The Brotherhood of Painters still holds the lead for percentage of membership working the five-day week. The Cleveland Building Trades Council, with an aggregate membership of 50,000, has also secured it, as have the Building Trades Councils of West Palm Beach, Florida and Jamestown, New York. Jamestown was one of the first building trades councils to secure the five-day week, having secured it on May 1, 1928.

In addition to building tradesmen, printing craftsmen have the five-day week in a number of establishments. The women's garment unions have the five-day week for 12,000 members, while the men's garment unions have established it for 5,000. The fur workers of Boston, Chicago and New York have the five-day week; also, the cloth hat makers of Milwaukee, New York and Philadelphia, the wood carvers of Boston, New York City and Rochester; the upholsterers in Boston and New York City. Photo-engravers have the five-day week during summer months and under their agreements will successively increase its application until it extends throughout the year.

A number of local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, particularly the office employees' unions, are also enjoying the five-day week.

In an endeavor to secure authentic and detailed information concerning this latest development, a survey has been undertaken by the American Federation of Labor and it will take some months to obtain the full results. But it is evident that

as time goes by the number of workers securing the five-day workweek is growing in ever-increasing numbers. We predict that the five-day week will shortly be universal for building tradesmen.

*Vacations With Pay*—Very significant of the labor movement's appreciation of the value of leisure, is the mounting number of trade unionists who have vacations with pay. Such provisions make possible periods of rest and change without the problems created by stoppage of incomes.

We hope that this feature of work conditions secured by union agreements and legislation will make steady progress.

*Old-Age Security*—In addition to the job which assures income from day to day, the next big fear in the wage earner's life is the possibility of old age without income. The savings margin of wages is usually not large enough to provide for family necessities and emergencies and also provide for income for old age.

Experience under old-age pension laws also indicates the extent of need. We have a few clues to the extent of dependency. The National Civic Federation (1928) found that 32.9 per cent of the persons interviewed had incomes of less than \$300 and 37.9 per cent did not have property valued at \$1,000.

The Ohio Commission on Health Insurance and Old Age Pensions (1919) found: The number of aged persons aided by private families or by relatives and friends is unknown and can not be estimated. The Hamilton and Cincinnati surveys indicate that 15 to 25 per cent of people over 50 years were dependent upon relatives or friends. Nor can the number who are living an independent but precarious existence be accurately estimated.

The Pennsylvania Commission (1919) concluded that aside from the aged dependents found in almshouses, benevolent or fraternal homes, and those receiving public or private relief, there is a considerable proportion (43 per cent) of the aged population, fifty years of age and over, in the State, who when reaching old age have no other means of support except their own earnings.

The Massachusetts Commission on Pensions (1925) found that 32.8 per cent, or approximately one-third of the population of Massachusetts, 65 years of age and over, not in receipt of aid from public or private organized charity, have individual incomes of less than \$300, and 36.8 per cent have incomes of less than \$400 per year. Of those 70 years of age and over, 39.9 per cent have individual incomes of less than \$300 and 43.6 per cent have incomes of less than \$400 a year. Of the 17,420 persons 65 years of age and over interviewed by the Massachusetts Commission, 39.4 per cent owned property valued at less than \$1,000 while 30.8 per cent stated that they possessed no property at all. Accordingly, of the approximately 5,500,000 persons 65 years of age and over in the United States at the present, from 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 are supported in one way or another. Only a small proportion of these are under the care of organized philanthropy.

In Canada, where an old-age pension law was adopted by the Dominion government providing non-contributory provisions for persons of 70 years whose income is less than \$365 a year and who have resided in Canada for 20 years and in the province to which application is made the five preceding years, the maximum pension is \$20 a month, contributed equally by the Dominion and provincial governments. Adoption

of the plan is optional with the provinces. Alberta, Ontario, British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Yukon territory. Figures are available showing the pensioners under the law in the following provinces:

British Columbia	36.0 per cent of total population eligible
Manitoba	35.8 per cent of total population eligible
Saskatchewan	27.9 per cent of total population eligible

The report of the Australian Royal Commission on National Insurance states:

"Statistics indicate that of every 100 people born in Australia, approximately 50 will be living at age 65, and of these, 16 representing 32 per cent of the survivors at that age and 16 per cent of those born in Australia, will be claimants for the old-age pension." (First Progress Report, p. 22). "The commission found that this proportion had varied very slightly during the years the old-age pension act had been in operation and showed the need of adequate superannuation benefits in any scheme of national insurance. The commission recommended the establishment of a comprehensive national insurance fund, on a compulsory basis, the cost to be shared by the commonwealth, employers and insured persons."

In 1923, there were 78,090 persons in public almshouses. This gives no idea of the number of dependent, but in private institutions or receiving some other kind of assistance. The number of persons in almshouses varies inversely with the adequacy of the provisions which the community makes for those in need, on out-of-door relief, segregation of feeble minded, petty criminals, vagrants, etc.

The figures from the U. S. Pauper Census show a significant trend. Of the total number in almshouses the following per cent were 65 years or over:

1923.....	53.8
1910.....	42.7
1904.....	40.6
1890.....	31.8
1880.....	25.6

The steadily increasing proportion who are 65 or over, points to old age as becoming the major cause of dependence. This conclusion is confirmed by state commissions studying the subject in Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Unemployment, accidents, sickness, misfortune, either of the individual or members of his family, in addition to declining earning ability, cause dependency. In the early days of this country, the prevailing agricultural environment made it easier for a family group to take care of its aged. There was an abundance of space and food that reduced the difficulties of adding another member to the home. There were many chores that enabled the older persons to find work and feel themselves useful.

With growing industrialization and modern methods of production, the organization of modern homes, every additional member of the household means a proportionate increase in family expenses. Changed organization of the home does not provide the former opportunities for older persons to be useful. Modern standards of living all too frequently leave small margins for additional expenses or savings. These conditions together with the increasing difficulty of older workers in finding employment, have made the problem of income for old age increasingly serious.

Various and different methods of providing income for old age have been developed. Government employees now are accustomed to the practice of old-age retirement plans. For our veterans the pension method was used until the World War when insurance

was substituted. Federal employees, after years of urging, have secured the inauguration of a retirement fund and modest retirement provisions.

Some trade unions have pension plans. In cases where pension plans were not worked out on actuarial principles, they have become heavy financial burdens and a handicap to membership extension.

Some industries have created pension plans but these have not always been dependable.

The Industrial Relations Counselors of New York made a very careful study of pension plans which was completed this year. The American Federation of Labor cooperated in this study by supplying information. The study disclosed how inadequate present old-age pension plans are to provide for old age. There are in existence some 550 business, industrial and commercial pension plans. One hundred and fifty of these plans are informal, that is, provisions are made for workers after they reach the age of retirement though no specific plan is announced as a policy. There are two types of formal plans: the contributory and the non-contributory.

Employees must remain with the same company over a period of at least 25 years in order to benefit by pension. Railroad records show that of all workers on the pay roll from 3 to 6 per cent had been employed for 25 years. For typical industrial employment the chances for an employee to remain with the company until 65 years of age and eligible to pension are 1 to 5 out of 100.

Mr. Lattimer, of the Industrial Relations Counselors of New York, estimates that there are now 80,000 to 100,000 pensioners under formal plans receiving between \$50,000,000 and \$60,000,000 annually. Average annual pension in 1927 of 46,000 pensioners covered in survey was a little over \$590.

There are nine international unions and six local unions which have pension plans, paying nearly \$4,000,000 annually to about 11,500 pensioners.

It is obvious our present provisions are not adequate and that the problem is too large for private initiative. Society can not evade the problem and must provide either charity or an acceptable plan that respects personal independence and integrity.

Charity and pauper relief are most expensive methods socially.

*State Old-Age Pension Law*—We reported last year six states and the territory of Alaska had pension plans. Since that report another state has enacted pension legislation. However, some of these laws leave the establishment of the necessary provision optional with counties. We, therefore, recommend compulsory laws, requiring a pension commission for every county, paying a pension of at least \$300 annually. We recommended 65 years as the age for applicants.

We believe that in the coming year, a model compulsory old-age pension law should be drafted by the Federation and recommended to state federations of labor as a matter of first order of importance. We should then inaugurate an active campaign for the enactment of such laws in every state.

*Old-Age Retirement Provisions*—The federal government has established an old-age retirement plan for employees of the United States Government. Some municipalities have set up retirement funds for their employees.

There have been many state commissions appointed to study the problem of old-age dependency. What we need is a practical plan. Our social conscience is ap-

preciative of the injustice done by consigning them to poorhouses and charity, but we have no yet worked out the way to provide for older persons without incomes and unable to work. There are legal as well as industrial problems.

We believe the time has come to attack the problem of old-age retirement for employes in private industry, and recommend that we endeavor to secure the counsel and cooperation of sympathetic individuals and groups in an effort to work out constructive plans during the coming year.

## BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

Organization	BENEFITS PAID			
	Sick	Death	Unemployment	Old Age Pension
1 American Federation of Labor.....	\$1,217.35	\$3,190.19	\$41,722.43	
2 Actors and Artists of America, Associated.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
3 Asbestos Workers, Intl. Asso. of H. and F. I.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
4 Bakery and Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.....	133,913.95	24,297.50	\$ 40,601.00	
5 Barbers International Union, Journeymen.....	235,710.00	115,982.00		
6 Bill Posters and Billers of America, Intl. All. of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
7 Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and H. Int. Bro. of.....		13,800.00		
8 Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders & H. of A., I. B. of.....	3,406.22	a 249,000.00		
9 Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....		44,800.00	k 13,689.50	
10 Boot and Shoe Workers Union.....	70,019.73	35,500.00		
11 Brewery, Flour, Cereal & S. D. W. of A., I. U. of U.....	NO	INTERN	e 210.00	ATIONAL
12 Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers I. U. of A.....		371,463.33		a 1,020,174.20
13 Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	e 11,500.00	k 30,100.00		
14 Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Int. Asso.....		65,200.00		a 121,925.00
15 Broom and Whisk Makers Union, International.....		1,789.00		
16 Building Service Employees International Union.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
17 Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....		k 111,350.00		
18 Carpenters and Joiners of America, U. B. of.....		751,911.34		0.150
19 Carvers Association of N. A., International Wood.....		4,050.00	e 1,854.00	0.800
20 Cigarmakers International Union of America.....		145,421.00		
21 Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	100,000.00	156,000.00		3,231
22 Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....		287,870.35		
23 Clerks International Protective Association, Retail.....		7,950.00		
24 Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers, Int. Union.....			e 67,307.05	
25 Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....		31,000.00		
26 Coopers International Union of North America.....		2,250.00		6,000
27 Diamond Workers Protective Union of America.....	4,538.00	1,500.00	2,038.00	
28 Draftsmen's Unions, I. F. of T. E. A. and.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
29 Electrical Workers of America, Int. Bro. of.....		309,208.32		4,704.00
30 Elevator Constructors, Int. Union of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
31 Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive.....	80,279.21	3,225,880.00	e 161,273.90	b 1,831,971.00
32 Engineers, Int. Union of Operating.....	27,640.00	126,100.00		7,091
33 Engravers Union, Int. Metal.....		500.00		
34 Engravers Union of N. A., Int. Photo.....	25,184.00	78,000.00	e 104,336.55	
35 Federal Employees, National Federation of.....	NO	e 2,700.00	INTERN	ATIONAL
36 Fire Fighters, Int. Association of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
37 Firemen & Enginemen, Bro. of Locomotive.....	d 347,500.00	985,175.00		b 152,910.00
38 Firemen and Oilers, Int. Bro. of Stationary.....		12,150.00		2,649
39 Foundry Employees, Int. Bro. of.....		1,900.00		
40 Fur Workers Union of the U. S. & Can., Int.....		1,000.00		
41 Garment Workers of America, United.....		26,500.00		
42 Garment Workers Union, Int. Ladies.....				
43 Glass Bottle Blowers Assn. of the U. S. & Can.....		39,458.00		
44 Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A., Window.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
45 Gla Cutters League of America, Window.....		3,200.00		
46 Glass Workers Union, American Flint.....		15,662.75		
47 Glove Workers Union of America, Int.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
48 Granite Cutters International Assn. of A.....		54,991.00		17,738.00
49 Hatters of North America, United.....				
50 Hod Carriers, Bldg. & Com. Lab. U. of A., Intl.....		42,050.00		
51 Horseshoers of U. S. & Can., I. U. of Journeymen.....		INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
52 Hotel and Restaurant Employees, I. A. & B. I. L. of A.....	50,647.27	46,294.48		
53 Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amal. Assn. of.....		30,750.00		
54 Jewelry Workers Union, Int.....				
55 Lathers Int. Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....		88,222.25		
56 Laundry Workers International Union.....	e 740.00	e 2,100.00		
57 Leather Workers United, International Union.....	1,253.00	1,525.00		
58 Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	161,273.09	152,744.66		
59 Letter Carriers, Nat. Federation of Rural.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
60 Lithographers, I. P. & B. A. of the U. S. & Can.....		36,600.00	e 33,378.00	
61 Longshoremen's Association, International.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
62 Machinists' International Association of.....		216,351.88		5,500
63 Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....		175,866.85		
64 Marble, Slate & Stone P. R. & S., T. M. J., I. A.....		k 12,200.00		
65 Masters, Mates and Pilots of A., Nat. Organization.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
66 Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, N. A., Amal.....		21,800.00		
67 Metal Workers, Sheet, International Association.....		54,000.00		
68 Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Intl. Union of.....	e 11,559.00	e 3,800.00	155.65	



## INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1928

## GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

Stability	Miscellaneous	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week in hours and days	Number of Members having vacation with pay	Number of Members working a five-day week	
TS	\$860.00	\$10,526.14			1,290	860	1
TS		\$1.20 per hour	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		1,500	2
TS	1,200.00	\$40 per week	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days			3
TS	4,780.00	\$28 per week	10 hours	55 hours, 5½ days	7,750	12,900	4
		\$50 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			5
		\$80 per hour	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			6
	1,740.15	\$57 p. hr; \$13 p. da.	8 hours	R. R., 48 hrs., 6 da. Bldg., 44 hrs., 5½ da.	2,200		7
	1,456.61	Men, \$42 per week; Women, \$21 per wk.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days	1,000		8
TS	7,050.00	46,935.00		48 hours, 5½ days			9
TS	2,650.00						10
TS		\$1.50 per hour	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		22,500	11
TS		\$7.50 per day	8 hours	42 hours, 5½ days		3,200	12
TS		\$1.25 per hour	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		5,000	13
TS		\$7.40 per day	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			14
TS		\$40 per week	9 hours	52 hours, 6 days	2,200		15
TS	10,150.00	\$10 per day	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days	15,000		16
TS	50,800.00	\$1 to \$15 per day	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		600	17
TS	3,231.00	Piece work	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			18
		\$2,100 per annum	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days			19
		46.5 cents-61.1 cents per hour	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days	32,000		20
		\$20 per wk., women \$35 per wk., men.	9 hours	46 hours, 6 days	95,000		21
					6,000		22
		\$178.95 per month	8 hours	54 hours, 6 days			23
		75 cents per hour	8 hours	56 hours, 7 days			24
		\$80 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			25
			8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			26
			8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			27
			8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			28
			8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			29
		Outsidersmen, \$1 p. h.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days	2,000	30,000	30
		Insidersmen, \$1.35 p. h.	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		2,000	31
		\$250-300 per month	5 to 6 days. Work	on mileage basis and not daily or weekly	3,500	700	32
		\$55.60 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			33
		\$1.15 per hour	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days			34
		\$65 per week	8 hours	40-44 hrs., 5-5½ days		6,050	35
		\$2,240 per year	12 hours	42 hours, 6 days	32,250		36
			8 hours or less	78 hours, 6½ days	23,000		37
		100 miles or less	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days			38
		\$4.50 per day	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			39
		\$55 per week	8 hours	40 hours, 5 days		12,000	40
			8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		5,000	41
		\$8.12 per day	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			42
		\$50 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		350	43
			Cutters, 9 hours				44
			Flatteners, 8 hours				45
		\$8 per day	9 hours	52 hours, 6 days			46
	59,394.33	\$37.14 per week	8½ hours	46½ hours, 5½ days			47
		\$29 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			48
	9,640.00	\$9 per day	8 hours	40-44 hrs., 5-5½ days		5,000	49
		90-96 cents per hour	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		8,000	50
		\$8 per day	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			51
	81,451.56	On tonnage rates	8 hours	42½ hours, 5½ days			52
		\$35-60 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			53
		\$10.56 per day	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days		7,717	54
		Men, \$21-\$35 p. wk. Wom., \$15-20 p. wk.	8½ hours	48-52 hrs., 5½ days		21	55
		\$2.063 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			56
		\$1,800+4c p. mile	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days	45,000		57
	367,431.91	\$40 to \$75 per week	8 hours	46 hours	800		58
		\$30 per week	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days			59
		\$90 per hour	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days			60
	5,500.00	\$56 per hour	8 hours	48 hours, 6 days			61
		\$7.40 per day	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days	(j)		62
			8 to 10 hours	48 to 60 hrs., 6 days	(j)	2,140	63
		\$45 per week	8½ hours	51 hours, 6 days			64
	19,640.00	\$1 per hour	8 hours	44 hours, 5½ days	7,000		65
	1,800.00	\$6 per day	8 hours	35½, 56 hrs., 7 days 65%, 48 hrs., 6 days	20	18,000	66
							67
							68



## BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NAT

Organization	BENEFITS PAID			
	Sick	Death	Unemployment	Old Pension
69 Mine Workers of America, United.....	NO	\$1,000,000.00	INTERN	ATION
70 Molders Union of North America, International..	183,577.87	\$371,402.37	\$55,512.60	ATIONS
71 Musicians, American Federation of.....	NO	\$93,000.00	INTERN	ATIONS
72 Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery Wrks. of America..		7,000.00		
73 Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of A., Bro. of		\$263,936.07		\$6.00
74 Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....		4,576.00		
75 Pattern Makers League of North America.....	6,362.08	9,525.00		0.00
76 Pavers, Ram'men, Flag'ers, B. & S. C. S., I. U. of	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEF
77 Paving Cutters Union of the U. S. and Can.....		4,725.00		
78 Piano and Organ Workers Union of America, Int..	725.00	1,050.00	150.00	
79 Plasterers, Int. Assn. of the U. S. & Can., Operative		85,050.00		0.00
80 Plumbers & Steamfitters of the U. S. & C., U. A. of	155,240.00	134,678.90		
81 Polishers, Metal, International Union.....		10,125.00	2,500.00	
82 Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	7,780.72	20,900.00		
83 Powder and High Explosive Workers of A., United	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEF
84 Printers and Die Stampers Union of N. A., I. Plate		11,032.50		
85 Printing Pressmen & Assts. Union of N. A., Int..		135,523.96	\$25,806.13	\$6.00
86 Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill W. of the U. S. and				
Can., Int. Bro. of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEF
87 Quarry Workers International Union of N. A..	90.55	2,525.00		
88 Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of.....	\$56,590.48	2,787,985.16		202.33
89 Railway Conductors of America, Order of.....	\$30,000.00	1,679,762.63		0.00
90 Railway Emp. of A., A. A. of Street & Electric..	\$153,883.01	662,021.85	29,672.65	\$6.00
91 Railway Mail Association.....		\$60,887.50		7.00
92 Roofers, Damp & Waterproof W. A., U. S. T. & C..		15,000.00		
93 Seamen's Union of America, International.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEF
94 Siderographers, International Association of.....				
95 Stage Employes of America, Int. All. of Theatrical..	NO	\$16,000.00	INTERN	ATIONS
96 Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of N. A., Int..		24,100.00	\$7,377.00	
97 Stonecutters Association of N. A., Journeymen.....		21,450.00		
98 Stove Mounters International Union.....		9,250.00	3,161.25	
99 Switchmen's Union of North America.....		173,140.00		0.00
100 Tailors Union of America, Journeymen.....	13,814.35	9,472.00		
101 Teachers, American Federation of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEF
102 Teamsters, C., S., & H. of A., Int. Bro. of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEF
103 Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....		276,508.84		
104 Telegraphers Union of America, The Commercial...		3,850.00		
105 Textile Workers of America, United.....		\$13,000.00		
106 Tobacco Workers International Union.....	2,648.00	250.00		
107 Typographical Union, International.....		486,354.25	\$63,685.79	1,217.00
108 Upholsterers International Union of N. A.....		8,000.00		
109 Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.....	\$653.50	\$2,500.00	\$10,848.38	
110 Weavers Protective Association, American Wire..	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEF
Totals.....	2,377,746.38	16,623,585.93	665,279.88	4,712.84

## RECAPITULATION

Sick benefits.....	\$2,377,746.38
Death benefits.....	16,623,585.93
Unemployment benefits.....	665,279.88
Old age pensions.....	4,712,731.29
Disability benefits.....	3,285,578.46
Miscellaneous benefits.....	5,149,052.60

Total benefits..... \$32,813,924.54

## INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1928—Continued

		GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT				
City	Miscellaneous	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week in hours and day	Number of Members having vacation with pay	Number of Members working a five-day Week
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$6.10 per day.....	8 hours.....			69
ALBANY, N.Y.	\$158,257.17	\$7.50 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		70
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$4-\$12 per day.....	8-12 hours g.....	56-84 hours, 7 days.....	1,000	71
ALBANY, N.Y.	84,205.00	\$48 per week.....	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....		72
ALBANY, N.Y.	5,033.00	\$1.04 per hour.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	530	73
ALBANY, N.Y.	1,090.77	\$12 per day.....	8 hours.....	44-50 hours, 5½-6 da.....		74
ALBANY, N.Y.	802.95	\$1-\$1.75 per hour.....	8 hours.....	32 hours, 4 days.....		200
ALBANY, N.Y.		Piece work.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		76
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$11.52 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	20	77
ALBANY, N.Y.	33,918.00	\$11.50 per day.....	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....		23,664
ALBANY, N.Y.	4,455.00	\$1 per hour.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		80
ALBANY, N.Y.	37,573.65	Piece work.....		44-48 hours, 5½-6da.....		81
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$40-\$75 per week.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	(m)	82
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$35 to \$48 per week.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		83
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$4 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		84
ALBANY, N.Y.	139.93	65c to 90c per hour.....	8 hours.....	45 hours, 5½ days.....		85
ALBANY, N.Y.	2,747,097.29	\$6.56 to \$7.20 per da.....	8 hrs., 100 mi., frgt.....			n 200
ALBANY, N.Y.	239,616.30	\$65 per hour.....	8 hrs., 150 mi., pass.....			
ALBANY, N.Y.	f 271,107.89	\$2,479.94 per year s.....	8-8½ hours.....	54 hours, 7 days.....	14,500	90
ALBANY, N.Y.	2,000.00	\$1.40 per hour.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	16,500	91
ALBANY, N.Y.						92
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$50 to \$150 per wk.....				93
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$1.25 per hour.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		94
ALBANY, N.Y.	11,160.00	\$1.01 per hour.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....		95
ALBANY, N.Y.	20,150.00	\$6.62 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	1,250	96
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$36 to \$48 per week.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	n 300	97
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$38 per week.....	9½ hours.....	52 hours, 6½ days.....	300	98
ALBANY, N.Y.	2,508.50	66c per hour.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	800	99
ALBANY, N.Y.		\$18 per week.....	9½ hours.....	57 hours, 6 days.....	40,000	100
ALBANY, N.Y.	27,083.00	\$20 per week.....	8 hours.....	35% work 48 h., 6 da.....	5,000	101
ALBANY, N.Y.	25,000.00	\$42.50 to \$50.50 p. wk.....	7 hours.....	65% work 56 h., 7 da.....		102
ALBANY, N.Y.	394,882.40	\$12 per day.....	8½ hours.....	40 hours, 6 days.....		103
ALBANY, N.Y.	60,947.00	\$50 per week.....	8 hours.....	31 hours, 6 days.....		104
ALBANY, N.Y.		Piece work.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		105
ALBANY, N.Y.			Newspapers, 7½ hrs.....	48 hours, 6 days.....		106
ALBANY, N.Y.			Job, 7½ hrs.....	New., 46 hrs., 6 days.....	(h)	107
ALBANY, N.Y.			8 hours.....	Job, 44 hrs., 6 days.....		108
ALBANY, N.Y.			44-50 hrs, 5½-6 days.....	40-44 hrs., 5-5½ days.....		4,332
ALBANY, N.Y.			9 hours.....	50 hours, 5½ days.....	(g)	215
ALBANY, N.Y.	8.46	5,149,052.60			352,801	260,797

includes disability benefits.

includes widow's pensions.

at rate of \$30 per month to those unable to work and lack sufficient income for support.

unemployment benefits.

local union benefits.

includes \$192,127.00 paid by local unions as death, disability and old age benefits.

California, an eight-hour day, six-day week is observed.

Men in thirty-seven cities receive vacations with pay ranging from three to thirty days.

10 crossing watchmen and pumpers work 7 days per week with hours ranging from 8-13,

the majority working 8 hours.

Norfolk and Western grant M of W foremen 2 weeks. In Canada pumpmen receive two weeks.

includes local union benefits.

Side of men employed on railroad boats, members get from one to two weeks' vacation with pay.

Employees of one New York newspaper receive two weeks' vacation with pay.

12 months in year.

severance.

union only, although nine unions have provision for 5 night week in job shops.

members generally work 5 days during July and August.

includes \$14,872.00 for permanent disabilities.

average travel allowance is \$277.20. Overtime in 1928 was \$975,000.00 and 10 per cent additional

pay for night work amounted to \$2,000,000.00.

price is on annual basis of 306 days, 8 hours daily, instead of weekly basis.

Print Cutter members only.

### PROGRESS IN CANADA

In Canada, as in the United States, the period of reconstruction since the war has been one of rapid technical advance. Canadian industry has not only recovered from the aftermath of the war, but has forged ahead with astonishing rapidity. There have been wide reaches of undeveloped country to bring under cultivation, mining and forestry to develop, and a rich field for manufacturing industry to supply the needs of a growing farm and city population. Because the Dominion Bureau of Statistics covers the field of industry very thoroughly in gathering its statistical information, we can make a full rounded survey of developments in Canada in the last ten years. Not only are manufactures and railroads covered as in America, but in addition, records of employment are given for construction, service, trade, and communication, and wage rates for construction, electric railroads and common factory labor. If similar records were available in the United States we should be able to follow industrial trends with far greater accuracy.

In 1927 the different branches of Canadian industry ranked as follows:

	<i>Per cent of net value of all production</i>
Manufactures.....	42.0
Agriculture.....	38.0
Forestry.....	8.7
Construction.....	6.9
Mining.....	6.7
Electric power.....	2.4

Manufacturing is the most important branch of Canadian productive activity, and except for agriculture, employs the largest number of wage earners. Therefore, the progress of manufacturing industry and of the wage earners who work in factories is most important to the general welfare.

In the post war period, Canadian factories have applied science and research to the problems of production. As in the United States, great improvement in technical efficiency has resulted. Many of the industries of the United States and Canada are under one central control and technical improvements are applied throughout the whole industry regardless of political boundaries. American investments are truly international—Canadian capital invested in the United States amounts to \$939,000,000, while United States capital invested in Canada is \$3,313,512,000.

Production in Canada has increased far above even the peak of 1919, and the large volume of output has been produced with a smaller number of wage earners. From 1919 to 1926, the volume of production increased 30.8 per cent, while 29,000 fewer wage earners were employed, a decrease of 5.6 per cent. Production of each wage earner increased on the average 37.5 per cent. Earnings of wage earners in factories increased a little in this period, and the average wage was \$65 more a year than in 1919, 6.9 per cent increase. The wage earner's real income has increased more than this, however, for this has been a period of falling prices and cost of living was lower in 1926. Real wages increased 11.9 per cent.

#### Progress in Manufacturing Industry—

Figures from Canadian Year Book, Dominion Bureau of Statistics

Year	Number wage earners	Volume of production Index	Productivity Index	Average yearly earnings of wage earners		Real wages Index
				Dollars	Index	
1919.....	529,327	100	100	938	100	100
1926.....	499,745	130.8	137.5	1,003	106.9	111.9

The construction industry has reflected the strong advance of Canadian industry. New building was needed not only to make up war shortages, but to house new industrial plants and to make homes for the increasing number of people who were coming to Canada to work in the factories, mines, forests and farms. The value of contracts awarded has increased steadily until in 1928 the volume of building was nearly 2½ times that of 1919 and the value of contracts awarded exceeded any other year in history. Wage earners in the building trades have secured a good share in this advance and wage rates have increased until in 1928 they were 25 per cent above 1919. This is a far greater increase than in manufacturing and is due almost entirely to strong trade union organization.

Building—			
Year	Value of Contracts Awarded	Wages—Index	
1919.....	190,028	100.	
1923.....	314,254	115.1	
1926.....	372,947	116.3	
1928.....	472,032	125.4	

Railroads have not been behind the industries in their technical achievements. The period from 1919 to 1927 has seen noteworthy improvements in operating efficiency. Operating ratio decreased from 89.27 to 81.68. This improvement has been made in a period when railroads were feeling keen competition from motor transportation and passenger traffic was decreasing. Increased efficiency has made it possible to meet these difficult circumstances and railroads have emerged from this period in a healthy condition. Not a small part of the increased efficiency in maintenance of equipment has been due to union management cooperation. Through their cooperative agreements, wage earners in the shops have made important increases in their incomes. On the Canadian National they have also secured one week's vacation with pay yearly.

The average wage rate for wage earners on Canadian railways increased 7.9 per cent from 1919 to 1928. But this figure does not show the whole increase in wage earner's incomes, since substantial gains have also come from stabilization of employment. In four years alone, on the Canadian National Railway, average yearly earnings of shopmen increased \$150 a year by employment stabilization through the union management cooperation plan. This is twice as large an increase, in four years, as wage earners in manufacturing received in seven years.

Railroads—			
Year	Ratio of expenses to receipts	Wage rate—Index	
1919.....	89.27	100	
1926.....	78.91	101.4	
1927.....	81.68	107.9	
1928.....	-----	107.9	

Labor in other occupations has also benefited by the industrial advance. The table shows the increase in wage rates from 1919 to 1928. Except in coal mines and metal trades wage rates have increased for each group of wage earners. Wage increases have been largest in printing and in building, the two industries where union organization is highest.

## Wage Rate Indexes—

Year	Build- ing trades	Print- ing trades	Electric Rys.	Steam Rys.	Metal Trades	Coal Mining	Misc. Factory	Comm. labor Factory
1919.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1928.....	125.4	135.9	118.9	107.9	100	99.1	111.5	103.8

Since cost of living has decreased in this period, wage earners real incomes increased even more than these figures indicate. In 1928 you could buy for 89 cents what cost one dollar in 1919, and the workers' purchasing power increased accordingly.

**Employment**—Employment opportunities in Canadian industry have increased in general in recent years. After the boom of 1920, there was a period of severe unemployment, involving much suffering. Employment was especially low in the construction industry, and in manufacturing also many were thrown out of work. As industry recovered from the depression employment opportunities increased. The situation was affected also by the introduction of improved mechanical devices which reduced the number of workers necessary to carry on the processes of industry. The decreases in employment were most severe before 1925. After the depression of 1924, there was a general increasing tendency in all branches of industry; in transportation and mining the upward trend began a year later than in other branches of industry. In communication, trade and service the increase began in 1923 and employment has been higher each year. In manufacturing the up trend began in 1925, in transportation and mining in 1926. In 1928 employment was 16.5 per cent higher than in 1923.

Unemployment in trade unions shows these same trends. In 1921, during the depression, 14.2 per cent of the membership were out of work (average for the year) or nearly 44,500 persons. There was another period of somewhat severe unemployment in the depression of 1924, when 8.7 per cent or about 22,600 persons were thrown out of work. Since 1924, employment conditions have improved until in 1928 only 4.5 per cent or about 13,000 persons were out of work. This is the lowest unemployment for any year except 1919.

## Employment in Canadian Industry

Year	Manu- factur- ing	Com- muni- cation	Mining	Trans- porta- tion	Con- struc- tion	Trade	Service	All Indus- tries
1921.....	90.8	103.0	92.3	93.8	87.9	100.7	95.1	92.7
1923.....	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
1926.....	103.1	113.7	93.9	99.4	122.6	107.7	113.2	104.
1927.....	107.0	118.5	100.8	102.2	134.7	116.6	120.8	109.2
1928.....	114.	123.5	107.7	105.6	146.8	126.1	134.4	116.5

This table shows that the largest increases in employment from 1923 to 1928 have been in construction. This is due to the high activity in building which has been necessary to recover war time losses and to house new industry and population. Increases have also been large in service, reflecting the growing numbers of persons employed in gasoline stations, hotels, beauty parlors and other services; in trade where the growing importance of the salesman's work has given many employment and in communication where the use of telephone and of telegraph has increased rapidly. Manufacturing has increased somewhat, but not so much as these. Figures for unemployment in trade unions follow:

*Unemployment in Canadian Trade Unions*

1919.....	3.5
1920.....	7.6
1921.....	14.2
1922.....	5.9
1923.....	5.3
1924.....	8.7
1925.....	7.0
1926.....	5.0
1927.....	4.9
1928.....	4.5

**Union Membership**—Membership in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress has increased steadily since 1927. As in the United States, unions in Canada passed through a difficult period of reconstruction after the war. With the severe unemployment following the peak of activity in 1920, losses in membership were incurred. But as conditions improved union membership has increased. Since 1927, each year has shown greater federated strength than the year before. The following figures are members on whom affiliated organizations paid per capita tax to the Congress. It is estimated that the membership would be 20 per cent higher if all unions were in good standing and if those were included to whom free stamps were issued because involved in strikes, lockouts, unemployment, etc.

*Membership of Canadian Trades and Labor Congress*

1919.....	160,605
1920.....	173,463
1921.....	173,778
1922.....	132,071
1923.....	121,842
1924.....	117,060
1925.....	105,912
1926.....	130,037
1927.....	114,362
1928.....	119,243
1929.....	126,638

**ORGANIZATION WORK**

During the past year, the Federation's organization work was concentrated in three regions: the textile mills of the South, the oil fields of the Southwest, and rehabilitation of conditions for the unions in the garment industry in New York City.

**Awakening South**—An outstanding labor development of the year is the awakening of the South. It came in a spontaneous revolt. For the past thirty years the American Federation of Labor and the United Textile Workers have been trying to organize Southern textile workers. Some results of this work were shown in scattered organizations, but it was not until the stretch-out system lashed their sense of justice into action that they realized the need of unionism. Strikes in textile mills have not been uncommon, but this movement was different. It was general throughout the industry. Aggressive revolts occurred in Elizabethton, Tennessee, several cities in South Carolina, Georgia and North Carolina. The initiative to action came from the textile operatives. The Federation responded to their call for help by sending organizers to help direct efforts along constructive lines and by appeals for financial assistance from all unions.



Industrialization has progressed more slowly in the South than in most of the other sections of the United States. Unions had been generally formed in the printing and building trades and some other handicrafts. Such unions dealt largely with local companies and managements. With the industrialization of the South by textile, steel, tobacco, power, paper, furniture and other industries, has come the problem of dealing with large corporations, absentee capital, holding companies, mill villages, and related problems. Progress in power transmission has been followed by wider distribution of factories and has opened up factory employment to workers from agricultural and mountain districts. Thus the great majority of textile operatives in the South are persons not only with no union background but with no industrial experience or standards.

In a number of cases the company made an agreement with a committee of its employees. As these committees consisted mainly of leaders of new unions, the result was definite progress. These workers in the South are poor and they have suffered much by the recent strikes. It will take time to develop self-supporting unions. Responsibility of establishing higher wages and better conditions of employment must rest with national and international trade unions. The Federation can and has assisted with organizing literature, information, organizers, and suggestions. Upon national and international trade unions and local labor organizations must rest chief responsibility for sustained work.

It is a most opportune time for all organizations to strengthen their unions in the South. The development of unions simultaneously with further industrialization of the South, will assure sounder, better balanced progress. Permanent progress can not be built up on low wages, long hours, and special concessions. The South has raw materials, American workers, power resources, and a need for more industries. But unless these industries are prepared to give a square deal to workers they are not only pillaging the resources of the South but are sowing the seeds of class conflict in most dangerous soil. The Southern worker will not meekly bear injustice when experience teaches him standards of justice.

We urge all organizations to include in their organizing plans for the coming year definite provisions for work in the South.

Organizing work in the South can not stop until all industries are thoroughly organized.

**Oil Fields in the Southwest**—Unions in this section of the oil industry suffered a severe set back after the World War. The officers of the Oil Workers Union, which still held gains in California, asked for aid in a campaign to regain lost ground. This is an industry that has earned fabulous fortunes for many, but it wants to work its employes twelve hours a day for such niggardly wages that men can not afford wives and families. In addition to sending organizers to help in the campaign, the Federation prepared special literature for the workers in this industry.

Twelve new local unions have been organized and the membership of the International more than doubled.

**New York Needle Trades**—The Federation has given active support to the constructive efforts which unions in the needle trades in New York are making to regain former conditions in this industry. Due to situations in the industry and to a disruptive element among the garment workers, the needle industry has been going backward to a return of sweat shop conditions. Results of this work are now apparent. The fur



workers now have the best conditions that have ever existed in the fur industry and the women's garment unions have established joint machinery whereby constructive standards can be established and maintained.

By the rehabilitation of these unions we have established bulwarks against destructive forces.

## ORGANIZING METHODS

Where unions undertake definite organizing work their first question is, how shall we do it? Increasingly, there is appreciation of the importance of planning methods to suit locality, industry and prevailing conditions. Discouragement has often followed the use of wrong methods, whereas right methods and conditions result in new unions and increases in memberships.

In many localities of the North and Middle Atlantic and East Central states mass meetings are no longer an effective method whereas in southern communities they are a necessary part of all organizing work. Where mass meetings are not effective, the most successful way of interesting non-unionists has been distribution of literature as workers go to work. In a number of places organizers have been on the job at four, five and six o'clock in the morning, even during the winter months.

Philadelphia and Portland have used the method of meetings of paid representatives of unions to stimulate these responsible agents.

Los Angeles mapped out the city into districts, mobilized union members in teams for each district. Each team divided itself into five sections, each section to visit non-unionists one night each week. Card reports of all persons visited were sent to the Central Labor Union office, giving names, addresses, trades of persons visited, with suggestions for follow up. Cards of good prospects were then turned over to the appropriate union representative.

A number of places reported social features in their campaigns. Savannah had a spring festival which served a double purpose—pleasure and financial. A number of central labor unions and local unions have had social meetings, musical entertainments and educational features to interest members and non-members. Women's auxiliaries have played an important part in the social events of some unions.

Four states have reported state-wide campaigns. Two of these were educational in character. Ohio undertook a state-wide program of forums for central labor unions to study trade union principles and policies. The oil workers in the southwest provided educational opportunities for the executives of its new unions so that they might be familiar with the principles of unionism and thus able to help in organizing work.

Unions undertaking organizing work should make careful study of methods before deciding their plans and should just as carefully evaluate results so as to check up on their application. Organizing work will always be successful if efficient methods are used in the most intelligent, efficient manner. We urge all individuals and unions to keep careful records of methods and report experience with such methods to the American Federation of Labor for publication in the *American Federationist* in order that the whole movement may profit by their experience.

## ORGANIZATION PROGRESS

Not since war years has there been manifested such a spirit of interest and activity in the labor movement. The past ten years have been a period of remarkable change

in industry which has meant a degree of uncertainty to wage earners retarding union growth. The fear of losing a job, the necessity of finding new employment, failure to appreciate the value of organization in solving their problems, and above all the painstaking, aggressive and elaborate efforts of industrial corporations to devise substitutes for standard trade unions, were manifest handicaps to the growth of the union movement.

However, the elements of the new era are now taking definite form so that we no longer have to contend with fear of the unknown. We know that technical change is a thing to be expected in any industry at any time and that organized workers are in a better position to plan against the serious hardships that technical change and displacement bring to wage earners. There is a developing sense of responsibility on the part of industry for the welfare of those who give their personal resources to production. This is manifest in the efforts of industries to regularize employment. The whole business world is reaching that degree of interrelation in organization that brings appreciation of interdependence of interests and the function of consumers in maintaining the equilibrium necessary to business prosperity. The background of economic thought brings out clearly that real partnership should exist between groups engaged in production and the service which trade unions can perform in developing the method and spirit of partnership. It is only organization of workers that can use this opportunity to develop the constructive spirit of partnership and thus avert the impasse which results in class conflict between workers and management.

Development of satisfactory human relations in industry has not kept pace with progress on the material and technical sides. Industry is just beginning to realize the waste from not coordinating the full creative power of wage earners into the channels of thought control that constitute management in industry. The elimination of this waste of human intelligence will make it possible to gear industry to new standards of output and excellence of work.

But a more vital consideration is involved in the organization of wage earners than business prosperity, essential as that is to human welfare. There are involved the development of human personality, opportunity for continued growth, and the highest personal development of the masses of men, women and children living north of the Mexican boundary. Trade unionism enables the workers to reach and travel that road which leads to responsible freedom. Along this road workers march side by side with management to higher levels of endeavor and achievement. Organization of workers in unions is the first step toward this ideal of working together for the promotion of joint interests instead of conflict between groups or arbitrary authority imposed by management, and is the ideal which guides the American Federation of Labor in our efforts to spread the gospel of trade unionism.

The extension of unionism can not be accomplished at the will of the organizers. Workers must be convinced that the step is for their own best interests and they must be willing to take it. Joining a union means accepting a responsibility as well as an opportunity that revolutionizes life. Constructive organizing work brings in converts who become dependable members of union organizations. These new members must learn how a union works as well as their own duties as union members.

## UNION PROGRESS

Reports from central labor unions and district organizers show that the Double Union Membership campaign has brought substantial results.

We heard from 235 cities, representing probably well over half the membership of the Federation. In 149, or 63 per cent of these cities, organizing work was carried on and brought real gains in the strength of the labor movement. In nearly all cases there were substantial gains in membership. The campaign also brought lasting results in a closer knitting together of the labor groups; better affiliation with central bodies; reorganization of groups that were not functioning; new unions organized; better cooperation of all unions in organizing work and other additions to advance the cause of Labor; more friendly feeling in the community.

These campaigns did not depend for success on help from international or A. F. of L. organizers, although outside officers cooperated in many cases. The initiative to start the campaign, the constructive ideas which brought results and the steady, persistent effort which carried it through, all came from the local groups, with only occasional assistance. This year's results show the quality of our local leadership.

**Central Labor Unions**—We had reports from 136 cities covering 925,899 members, nearly one-third of the membership of the Federation. In 87, or 64 per cent, campaigns for membership or special organizing work were carried on. Of these 87 campaigns, only 8 failed to bring definite gains; the 87 cities showed a total increase in membership of 33,715. In the other 49 cities, where no campaigns were carried on, there were losses in membership in some cases, and on the whole the membership records for cities not carrying on special organizing work, show a decline of 2,333 since last year. The net gain for all cities reporting for both years is 31,382.

Central bodies have also gained in affiliation this year. The 125 cities reporting affiliation for both years showed 136 more locals affiliated this year than last, an increase of 5 per cent. In all, 3,067 locals were affiliated and 829 had not yet affiliated with central bodies.

**District Organizers**—A very important part of the active organizing work was carried on by the Federation volunteer organizers. We had reports from 155 organizers in 102 cities. In 50 cities they report new unions organized. There were 90 new unions in these cities with a total membership of 26,451. Taking the new unions reported by central bodies, but not by organizers, we find in addition 94 unions organized this year or a total of 184. Membership is not given for these 94.

The organizers also report 77 cities where unions increased their membership. In these cities 272 unions added 24,805 members. Thirty-one other unions also increased membership, but gave no figures, making a total of 303.

The Federation deeply appreciates the faithful services given by volunteer organizers.

**Organizing Plans**—One thing stands out with striking emphasis from this year's reports: Unity in the local labor movement and cooperation of all unions in organizing work are essential for full success. From Asheville, N. C., comes the report: "The entire union forces are now working harmoniously to organize each craft to its maximum strength. The increase in membership has come from this united effort." They have over 400 new members. Wilkes Barre, Pa., reports that the different local

unions worked together in organizing two unorganized crafts and one federal labor union and building up unions already functioning. They have over 600 new members. In Los Angeles, the rank and file, regardless of craft, have worked on committees to visit the unorganized and have increased membership by 6,000. All crafts benefit by these united efforts. Many other cities have sent in similar reports. In cases where organizing campaigns have failed or have not been fully successful, lack of co-operation or apathy in the local group has been the chief cause, except where business depression or resistance from employers made organizing difficult.

A number of those reporting stated that they had found home visits to the unorganized and personal interviews the most effective way to interest the unorganized. In Philadelphia, the molders increased their membership 33 per cent by house visitations. Other cities report: Denver, "The most effective method has been a personal canvas;" Windsor, Ont., "Visiting their homes in the evenings was one of the best." In some cases, rank and file members have cooperated in making personal calls, greatly increasing the number reached and making the work vastly more effective. A roster of all methods used shows the personal interview as one of the most frequent.

The use of personal letters, literature and the press have also been important. In some cities, special issues of the local labor paper, with articles on organizing, have been distributed to the unorganized and proved very effective. American Federation of Labor organizing literature, or pamphlets specially prepared, have brought good results. The printed work is especially effective because it can be re-read and studied, and can be delivered at houses where an organizer's call might arouse suspicion in a hostile community. Articles in city newspapers have also been effectively used to interpret the movement to the public and many report that they have been effective in creating friendly public opinion.

Open meetings, mass meetings, special meetings have also been widely used, but they are not always the most successful way to reach the unorganized. Several towns report difficulty in getting people to come to meetings, either because meetings are watched by hostile employers or because modern amusements distract attention. In such cases letters, literature, and personal calls proved more effective. But a large number of towns report good success from meetings addressed by local officers or organizers.

Weekly or monthly programs have been much appreciated and have aroused interest. Talks to schools, colleges, churches, clubs, business men's groups have built up community good will. Special activities to promote the union label have aroused interest in labor groups and increased sales of union made goods. A number of towns report label meetings, label shows and active work to increase sales. A business agent employed by the central labor union has liberated an active worker to spend his whole time on organizing work. Labor Day celebrations, socials, open meetings with band concerts have attracted attention and aroused enthusiasm and interest. In some cases, help from the women has been particularly effective.

**Other Local Activities**—Very prominent in local activity is the cooperation of unions with other community groups to promote the general welfare. Thirty-six towns report special cooperative activities. Sixteen have good cooperation with the chamber of commerce or merchants' associations, and many have representatives on the directing boards of these business organizations. Unions have also cooperated in getting bond issues to improve public schools, acting on schools boards, working for more parks and

playgrounds, and city beautification. They have taken interest in city transit problems, public health, housing, assisted in writing a new city charter, and have promoted legislation for the public welfare. Cooperation with churches, Y. W. C. A., Community Chest, Americanization committees has also given opportunity for community service. One local union cooperated in a safety program at a paper plant (Woodland, Maine) and reduced the number of accidents. By taking their place in the community as an active and often a leading group working for the common good, labor men and women are gaining the respect and confidence of their fellow citizens. Many reports show that community cooperation has increased understanding and created friendly feeling toward the labor movement.

A number of towns have carried on educational programs. Several have had regular monthly meetings addressed by local officers, persons prominent in industrial affairs, such as minimum wage commissioners or employers, persons informed on matters of civic interest such as city commissioners. One town (Asheville) held open meetings and invited employers, with excellent results. Several had workers' education classes or meetings addressed by international officers and able local speakers and invited the public. Another (Champaign, Ill.), cooperated with the public schools in starting a night school; eight crafts are enrolled with regular attendants and good results attained. Another (Denver), held a summer school in the country nearby (Pinecrest, Colo.). A few report work with the public library to get a shelf for labor books or increase the labor literature available to the public.

A great many towns report increased wages or shorter hours or progress in the five-day week. Forty-eight towns in all report advances for over 125 unions.\*

**Keeping Records**—The Executive Council feels that it can not emphasize too much the value of accurate yearly reports from local labor movements. They show progress made during the year, and the methods of work which have produced results; they point out matters needing particular attention where immediate action may forestall difficulties. They enable the labor movement to profit by the experience of thousands of local leaders. We need especially an accurate record of local membership. And here the reports are far from satisfactory. Central unions often have no accurate account of membership in affiliated locals and must rely on estimates. Large inaccuracies occur from this method of reporting, as our two years' experience with these reports has shown.

The Executive Council feels that for the report next year each central body, at least six months in advance of the end of our fiscal year, should ascertain the exact membership of all locals affiliated, either by letter or by personal interview with the officers.

**State Federations—Organizing Campaign**—Reports show that state federations of labor perform an indispensable service in organizing work. The nature of union organization makes the state federation logically the link between the American Federation of Labor and local groups for state-wide undertakings. In the past year some state federations stimulated organizing work, helping local groups to form organizing programs, keeping in touch with the work to give assistance in every possible way. Several methods were used. In Washington and in Wisconsin, a conference of local officers was called to plan the campaign. General policies were mapped out and arrangements made to start

\*Conservative estimate from reports given.

local campaigns. The interest thus stimulated was carried back to local groups, together with a practical work program.

The officers of the state bodies kept in touch with the progress of local campaigns and supplied help when needed. Several states furnished speakers for locals meetings. In Illinois, state officers kept in touch with local work by correspondence, as well as by furnishing speakers. The active interest of state leaders has shown good results. In Minnesota, over 30,000 leaflets were distributed to local labor groups, posters were used and a house to house canvas was carried on. A system of report cards made it possible to follow up prospective members.

Several states furnished special publicity through their state papers, and in some cases radio talks were given. This publicity was helpful both in stimulating interest in labor groups and building up a favorable public opinion.

Two states furnished a paid organizer. In New Hampshire an organizer was employed for four months, with the result in increasing local interest, and in South Dakota a special organizer was sent to complete organizing work already begun in one locality. Through his efforts charters were completed for five new unions. In Washington a certain sum was set aside from per capita tax to create a fund for organizing purposes. Such a fund may supply financial needs for such expenses as organizing literature, travelling, or a special organizer when needed.

In a number of states the officers of the state bodies stimulated activity by individual visits to local union groups. These visits were much appreciated and helped to stimulate activity and increase membership. Workers' education classes also helped to train members in organizing work, as in Ohio, where classes in trade union salesmanship were held.

Your Executive Council can not emphasize too strongly the important function of the state federation of labor in organizing work. Local unions look to their state federations for leadership. Personal contact with local leaders, help with local problems, is essential in organizing work. Because state federations of labor and central labor unions represent the combined strength of all crafts, united progress of the labor movement must depend on them.

We suggest that wherever possible special funds be set aside to help in this organizing work, to send special organizers into the field, to furnish publicity, letters and literature to local groups, to send speakers when needed and in every way to help the local unions in bringing new members into their organizations. We should like to urge that particular emphasis be placed on the organization of locals directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor as it is only through these locals that we can reach the large groups of unorganized workers who are not in the jurisdiction of any international.

*Porto Rico*—The Porto Rican Free Federation of Labor has carried on an active organizing campaign throughout the island. Committees have been appointed to carry on the campaign, thousands of leaflets and pamphlets have been sent out. Public meetings are held on Saturdays and Sundays in both city and country districts, addressed by the federation officers.

Organizing committees in the towns distribute literature, call on wage earners in their homes, and hold meetings. In San Juan, the carpenters have over 500 new members. New unions have been organized, including federal labor unions, laborers' protective unions, carpenters, plumbers, photo-engravers and others.



The Porto Rican Federation of Labor has organized forums throughout the island to study and discuss economic, social and industrial problems, using theatres and public halls for the meetings. Newspapers cooperate by publishing all news of organizing and special meetings and articles on industrial and labor problems from the officers of Free Federation of Labor.

The legislature has passed a resolution to study unemployment, and committees of all crafts are holding meetings in cooperation with engineers and business men to plan for study and relief.

*Progress During the Year*—We had annual reports from 29 state federations of labor, with a combined membership of 1,188,880 in their affiliated local unions, or over one-third the membership of the American Federation of Labor. There was a total increase in membership of 13,995 in affiliated locals in 27 states, or 1.4 per cent. Several states have made special efforts to increase the number of local unions affiliated and have met with some success. At present, according to estimates, nearly half the locals in these states are not affiliated to the state federations. Central bodies have a better record: 389 affiliated, and 91 not affiliated state bodies. These reports indicate an important field for activity next year. As one state body suggests, if these locals could all be affiliated, the fund provided would employ organizers to send into the local field and the strength of the labor movement would be immeasurably increased.

Several states show special increases in membership from their organizing activities this year: Illinois, 8,473; Pennsylvania, 5,000; New Jersey, 3,728; Kansas, 1,641; Wisconsin, 1,278; Colorado, 1,150; Minnesota, 1,000.

*Legislative Work*—This is a very important field of state federation of labor activity. The outstanding achievement is the Wisconsin act outlawing the "yellow dog" contract. We hope this may be a precedent for other states.

Twelve states report improvements in compensation laws; five report progress in child labor and compulsory school laws; six have strengthened old age pension laws; two have improved laws regulating private employment agencies; one has provided for free employment bureaus; two have perfected laws covering union group insurance. Progress also has been made in providing for enforcement of labor laws, improving safety laws for mines and safety codes in building. Kansas has reestablished its department of labor, and the Alabama Federation of Labor is working to create a department of labor in that state. Illinois has prevented the passage of a law designed to transfer from the state legislature to the courts the power of making all rules of procedure and practice and other authority which belonged to the legislature. This bill was a grave danger to the liberties of the people and its defeat was an important accomplishment.

*Other Activities Reported*—In Maine, unions cooperated in a safety conference called by the labor commissioner; in Colorado, a state summer school was held at Pinecrest; Delaware has cooperated with civic bodies to provide employment for those out of work; in Illinois, they are cooperating with the public schools for workers' education, and in New Jersey and Oklahoma cooperative arrangements with universities give workers educational opportunities. In New York, journeymen mechanics are trained to teach in vocational and continuation schools and about 25 are appointed each year.

The Illinois Federation of Labor performed valuable service in connection with



injunction cases. The officers of the federation in two outstanding instances proved the great social value of trade union activities.

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

**Flint Glass Workers—Machinists**—The New Orleans convention directed that the Executive Council should give consideration to this matter at as early date as convenient with the purpose in view of making still further effort to terminate the dispute upon the basis of decisions rendered by the American Federation of Labor. With this object in view President Green arranged a conference at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on April 10, 1929. The representatives of both organizations were in attendance. Secretary Morrison acted for the American Federation of Labor. Both parties to the controversy were desirous of reaching an understanding mutually acceptable and satisfactory. However, the conference adjourned with good feeling on both sides but without an understanding having been reached.

We recommend that the efforts of the Executive Council along these lines be continued during the coming year.

**Hod Carriers and Building Laborers—Tunnel and Subway Constructors**—From year to year it has been our pleasing privilege to report to our annual conventions the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between contending organizations, some of them of many years standing, all of which worked hardship upon the membership, and oftentimes interfered with securing agreements with employers in the industries involved. It is an especial gratification to record another such agreement, that of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union. The agreement is given herewith in full:

"After several conferences between the officers of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union and the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, represented by Secretary-Treasurer John J. Collins, President Joseph Moreschi and Secretary-Treasurer A. Persion, at which was discussed the report of the Executive Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, La., 1928, the following was agreed to for the purpose of amalgamation:

"First. That in taking over the several charters now under the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union, they shall all be included under one charter, as proposed by the report of the Executive Council which provides that the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union concede and recognize the jurisdiction of blasters, rock drillers and rockmen, as now organized.

"Second. That the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union recognize and grant one charter to a local union to cover all workers known as blasters, drillers, and rockmen in New York City, as previously recognized by the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

"Third. That in the transfer of the membership the funds now in the possession of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union will remain their property, to provide for their present benefits until such time as they shall come into full benefit, according to the constitution as provided by the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union.

"Fourth. All wage agreements now in effect shall be recognized and maintained.

*"JOHN J. COLLINS, Secretary-Treasurer,  
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.*

*JOS. V. MORESCHI, General President,  
A. PERSION, Secretary-Treasurer,  
International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union.  
WILLIAM COLLINS, General Organizer,  
American Federation of Labor."*

**Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers**—The New Orleans convention directed that President Green in person or through a representative, attend the meeting of the Executive Board of the Tobacco Workers' International Union in January, 1929, for the purpose of presenting to that organization the views of the New Orleans convention that it would be desirable to merge the Tobacco Workers' International Union with the Cigarmakers' International Union. President Green discharged this duty in person. Later we were advised that the Executive Board of the Tobacco Workers' International Union did not believe that it would be to the best interests of the Tobacco Workers to become part of the Cigarmakers' International Union at this time but that they believed the matter should be allowed to wait for a more opportune time for this action.

When opportunity has been presented President Green has continued his efforts toward amalgamation. We recommend that this policy be followed until the two organizations are finally brought together.

**Teamsters—Railway Clerks**—It is with feelings of genuine regret that the Executive Council is compelled to report that no definite settlement has been reached in the jurisdictional controversy existing between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. All efforts possible were put forth during the past year in trying to compose the differences existing between the two organizations and to effect a settlement which would be satisfactory and acceptable to all parties at interest.

For the purpose of supplying the officers and delegates at the convention with all the facts pertaining to this jurisdictional controversy, the Executive Council herewith submits a detailed statement of facts, in which there is set forth in chronological order the developments which took place in connection with the dispute which arose between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, beginning in August, 1924.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at a meeting held at Atlantic City in August, 1924, gave much thought and serious consideration to the jurisdictional dispute affecting the two organizations herein referred to and which at that time had reached an acute stage. After careful deliberation at this meeting, the Executive Council rendered the following decision:

"That jurisdiction over the men involved in this dispute properly belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America; that both organizations be notified to this effect and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be instructed to disassociate from its membership all drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen, and garage employees who are not mechanics, and helpers (the term helpers meaning all men who load and unload wagons and trucks), by transferring them to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, or disassociate them from membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks."

This decision was reported to the convention of the American Federation of Labor which met in El Paso, Texas, November 17-25, 1924.

During the period intervening between the 1924 and 1925 conventions no progress was made toward bringing about an understanding between the representatives of the two organizations. Every effort possible was put forth on the part of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to establish a basis of understanding acceptable to all parties at interest, but without avail.

The Executive Council therefore reported on this matter to the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Atlantic City, October 5-16, 1925, as follows:

"At our meeting at headquarters the latter part of July we gave this entire situation our most careful consideration. By our direction, President Green addressed a letter to the officers of the Railway Clerks, reciting the various endeavors which have been made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to induce the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to comply with the decision of the Executive Council, and advising them that in the event of their failure to comply prior to the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council will be constrained to recommend to the convention that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor until it shall have complied with the Executive Council's decision."

The committee to which this part of the Executive Council's report was referred submitted the following report:

"We therefore recommend approval of the recommendation of the Executive Council that 'the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor until it shall have complied with the Executive Council's decision.'

"Your committee recommends to this convention that the charter of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes, be suspended if within ninety days the officers and Grand Executive Board of that organization shall not have taken the necessary steps to put into effect the decision of the Executive Council, approved by the convention at El Paso, in November, 1924."

This report was adopted by a roll-call vote of 23,849 to 3,910.

Following this action of the convention, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor on January 25, 1926.

During a meeting of the Executive Council held at Miami, Florida, in January, 1928, information was submitted to the Executive Council showing that an agreement had been entered into between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks with the American Railway Express Company, which provided that in wage negotiations the American Railway Express Company would deal directly with the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America concerning wage scales for all persons employed in the vehicle department, and with the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks for all persons employed as clerks. It was further reported that this agreement herein referred to provided that should any question arise as to the interpretation of the agreement, or any question of jurisdiction develop between the two organizations, that the representatives of the two organizations should meet and endeavor to adjust it; failing to agree, it was provided that the dispute would be referred to an umpire for decision. If the representatives of the two organizations failed to agree upon an umpire, the company was empowered to select an impartial arbitrator within a period of from thirty to sixty days.

With these facts before it the Executive Council arrived at the conclusion that this agreement entered into between the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers and the representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks with the American Railway Express Company

provided a means of settlement of the jurisdictional controversy existing between the two organizations. Thereupon the Council rendered the following decision:

"On motion it was decided that on account of the agreement reported by the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to the Executive Council that this complies with the decision of the Atlantic City, 1925, convention, and this automatically reinstates the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in the American Federation of Labor."

It was decided that a telegram be addressed to the president and secretary and members of the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, conveying this information.

Pursuant to the instructions of the Executive Council, President Green on January 19, 1928, conveyed this decision by telegram to President E. H. Fitzgerald, Secretary George Levi, and the members of the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

On May 17, 1928, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was reinstated in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The fact of the reinstatement of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor was reported by the Executive Council to the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in New Orleans, November 19-28, 1928.

It developed in the consideration of this portion of the report of the Executive Council, relating to the reinstatement of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, by the Committee on Executive Council's Report, that a substantial difference and a serious misunderstanding had arisen between the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the American Railway Express Company regarding the agreement entered into between the American Railway Express Company, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, which agreement had been accepted as a solution of the jurisdictional problem existing between the two organizations. The committee found that while the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks had been reinstated into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, that the decision of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding jurisdiction had not been put into operation. After an extended hearing, the committee made the following recommendation, which recommendation was unanimously adopted by the convention:

"1. That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was reinstated to membership in the American Federation of Labor with the belief that the contents of a letter that five of its officers had signed constituted an agreement.

"2. That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks later canceled the letter, which letter was interpreted to mean an agreement.

"3. This committee recognizes that the decision appearing on page 84 of the proceedings of the El Paso convention is still the law and that the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers have jurisdiction over drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and garage employees (who are not mechanics) and helpers, and that we reaffirm that decision.

"4. That we now urge the Executive Council to arrange for a conference of the representatives of these two organizations to be held at a time agreeable to both parties with the hope of having an understanding reached that will settle this controversy."

In conformity with this decision of the convention, a conference of representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers

of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 25th and 26th, 1929. President Green and Fourth Vice-President James Wilson also attended and participated in this conference. A detailed report of this conference is herewith submitted.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, *March 25, 1929.*

"Pursuant to instructions of the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, a conference of representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks was held at the Havlin Hotel beginning March 25th, for the purpose of trying to bring about a settlement of the controversy existing between the two organizations.

"The president of the American Federation of Labor was present and presided over the conference.

"General President Daniel J. Tobin, General Secretary-Treasurer Thomas L. Hughes and Organizer John M. Gillespie represented the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

"Grand President George M. Harrison, Grand Secretary-Treasurer George S. Levi, Vice-Grand President Robert Morgan (Express), editor of the Railway Clerk, Phil E. Ziegler, Vice-Grand President Joseph Dunn and Vice-Grand President H. F. Baldwin represented the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

"Vice-President James Wilson of the American Federation of Labor was present at the invitation of the president of the American Federation of Labor.

"The conference met at 10 o'clock a. m.

"After a short preliminary discussion General President Tobin, in behalf of his organization, presented a request that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks recognize the jurisdiction of the Teamsters over chauffeurs, drivers and all those employed in the vehicle department of the American Railway Express Company. He insisted that the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, as set forth in the charter granted that organization by the American Federation of Labor, be recognized and respected.

"Grand President Harrison, in behalf of his organization, replied stating that his organization recognized the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, as set forth in the charter granted the Brotherhood of Teamsters, but stated that he was confronted with a practical problem and that he hoped that a fair solution of this problem might be brought about at the conference.

"All the discussion engaged in by those participating in the conference covered a wide range and during this discussion a number of suggestions were offered as a solution for the controversy.

"The conference recessed at 12.45 o'clock and reconvened at 2 o'clock.

"The discussion of the jurisdictional controversy was resumed at the afternoon session. General President Tobin urged the representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to disassociate from membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks express chauffeurs and drivers who come under the jurisdiction of his organization. Grand President Harrison stated that it was impossible to do this and suggested, in turn, that the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters over those employed in the vehicle department of the American Railway Express Company in certain cities be recognized by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

"In the discussion which followed reference was made to the correspondence which passed between the representatives of the two organizations and the representatives of the American Railway Express Company.

"At 5.30 o'clock the conference adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock the following morning.

"The conference reconvened at 10 o'clock, March 26th, with the representatives of the two organizations present. The president of the American Federation of Labor urged the representatives of the two organizations interested to arrive at an understanding and a settlement of the jurisdictional controversy existing between the two organizations.

"At this session General President Tobin suggested that an agreement be entered into which would provide that the Teamsters would be accorded jurisdiction over all employees in the vehicle department of the Railway Express Company in the Metropolitan District of New York and that the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks over platform men, clerks, time-keepers, messengers and others who are now holding membership in the Teamsters' Union in the Metropolitan District of New York, but who properly come under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks is conceded and recognized.

"This proposition was rejected by the representatives of the Railway Clerks.

"In return the Railway Clerks made the following proposition:

"1. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks recognizes that the charter granted to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters by the American Federation of Labor gives jurisdiction to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters over vehicle employees.

"2. That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks agrees that it will not accept into membership any vehicle employee now a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the following cities: San Francisco, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Newark, N. J.; Jersey City, N. J.; New York City, N. Y."

"This proposal was rejected by the representatives of the Teamsters' Union.

"After further discussion the conference recessed at 2 o'clock to meet at 3 o'clock, p. m.

"The conference convened at 3 o'clock p. m.

"At this session the President of the American Federation of Labor submitted the following proposition for the consideration of the representatives of the two organizations:

"For the purpose of making progress in the settlement of the jurisdictional controversy existing between the two organizations herein referred to, it is understood that in the City of New York and in the New York Metropolitan District the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters over men employed in the vehicle department of the Railway Express Company and the right to represent them in wage negotiations is conceded and recognized.

"On the other hand, the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks over clerks, platform men, time-keepers, messengers and such other employees as may come under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the right to represent them in wage negotiations with the Railway Express Company is conceded and recognized.

"The two organizations at interest will officially notify their membership of this agreement at the earliest possible date.

"It is the firm belief of the representatives of the two organizations that this understanding reached at this conference will serve to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the entire national jurisdictional dispute existing between the two organizations. Furthermore, it is firmly believed that this agreement will serve to bring about an adjustment of the unsettled condition now existing in the Metropolitan District of New York City.

"Further meetings will be held between the representatives of both organizations at such time and place as may be convenient; said meetings to be presided over by the President of the American Federation of Labor or some representative whom he may designate. At these meetings further efforts will be put forth in an endeavor to bring about a final settlement of the national jurisdictional dispute existing between the two International Unions."

"This proposition was considered but was finally rejected by the representatives of both organizations.

"General President Tobin of the Teamsters then submitted the following proposition to the conference as a temporary solution of the jurisdictional controversy:

"Agreement made and entered into by and between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.



"In order that the jurisdiction question between the above named organizations might be brought to an ending so that the interests of each organization may be protected and their rights preserved in accordance with the rules, laws and decisions pertaining to jurisdiction as adopted by the American Federation of Labor.

"It is agreed that first, that the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks shall disassociate from their membership immediately all drivers, chauffeurs, stablemen and helpers who are now members of their organization in the Metropolitan District of New York, and that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall disassociate from their membership all employees such as platform men, clerks, timekeepers, messengers, or any others who are now holding membership in the Teamsters' Union in the Metropolitan District of New York and who properly come under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

"In order to bring this agreement into practice immediately, each organization shall, within a period of not more than thirty days, notify their respective unions in the Metropolitan District of New York to immediately disconnect the classes above named or those coming under the jurisdiction of the respective organizations from membership in their local unions.

"It is further agreed that in order to enforce this agreement as it is intended it shall be done by the parties to the agreement, that local unions of either organization refusing to carry out the mandates of this agreement shall be suspended from their respective International unions, and the charters of said local unions shall be taken up by their respective international unions.

"Believing that this agreement will have a tendency in time to straighten out and adjust satisfactorily the entire international jurisdiction dispute between the two organizations above named, and further believing that the unsettled condition now in the Metropolitan District which has caused so much distress to both organizations and which has substantially injured the welfare of the employer, we, therefore, enter into this agreement and guarantee that same shall be carried out to the letter by the representatives of both international unions.

"It is further agreed that another meeting shall be held between the two international unions called by and presided over by President Green or someone delegated by him representing the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of discussing the question of further adjusting the jurisdictional dispute existing between both international unions."

"This proposition was rejected by the representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

"General President Tobin then proposed that the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Teamsters over the express drivers, and chauffeurs, in all cities of 100,000 or more be recognized by the Railway Clerks and that the Railway Clerks be accorded the right to represent employees in the vehicle department of the American Express Company, in wage negotiations, in all cities numbering less than 100,000; this to be considered as a temporary arrangement to continue for a period of two or three years.

"This proposition was rejected by the Railway Clerks.

"It became apparent that no agreement or understanding could be reached.

"President Harrison of the Railway Clerks stated that the Railway Clerks' organization would take no action which would further aggravate the existing situation or which would further intensify the jurisdictional controversy existing between the two organizations.

"The President of the American Federation of Labor expressed sincere regret that no agreement had been reached but expressed the hope that ultimately a solution would be found.

"At 5 o'clock the conference adjourned sine die."

The proceedings of this conference were reported to the Executive Council at a meeting held at Washington, D. C., during May, 1929. The Executive Council decided that the report be accepted, that it be included as a part of the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council, and that President Green of the American Fed-



eration of Labor be instructed to continue his efforts to bring about an understanding and an agreement between the representatives of the two organizations.

No further conferences have been held.

The Executive Council clearly understands the jurisdictional right of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers over chauffeurs, express drivers and helpers. President Harrison of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, stated at the Cincinnati conference that his organization recognized the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America as set forth in the charter granted that organization by the American Federation of Labor.

We submit all this information for the consideration of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, and for such decision and action as the convention may determine.

**Adjustments**—In some instances where agreements have been reached between national and international unions for the settlement of long-standing jurisdictional disputes friction has developed, misunderstandings have arisen which even threaten the continuation of the agreements. We have endeavored to meet the necessities of each such occasion whenever appealed to by the contending organizations. To the fullest limit of our ability we have tried to smooth out difficulties and maintain harmonious relations. It is a continuous source of pride and gratification to us that year by year we have been enabled to report the settlement of controversies, and to just that extent help the organizations involved in their efforts to meet modern industrial requirements in maintaining an effective agency for collective action in behalf of their members.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue these efforts to the end that our great labor movement may become more and more united and become more and more an agency of power and influence in behalf of the wage workers.

### **SLEEPING CAR PORTERS**

For several years the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters sought admission to the American Federation of Labor. After a number of conferences with all parties at interest and after extensive hearings before several meetings of the Executive Council, it was finally decided that the best interests of the labor movement demanded their admission to the American Federation of Labor. We did not agree to their admission as an international organization but we did agree to issue charters to them as local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We now have thirteen local unions of sleeping car porters. The sleeping car porters' organizations are located in New York City, Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Kansas City, St. Paul, Oakland, Washington, D. C., New Orleans, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Denver and Fort Worth.

### **PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT**

Section 3, Article 3 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that upon the opening of the annual conventions the president shall appoint 13 committees to serve during the convention period, one of these committees to be "The Committee on Boycotts."

We recommend to this convention that the constitution be so amended as to

substitute for "The Committee on Boycotts" "The Committee on Industrial Relations." This recommendation is made for the purpose of extending the work and service of this committee.

### OFFICIAL CHANGES

It is with regret that we bring to your attention that at the meeting of the Executive Council held in May, Fourth Vice-President Fischer tendered his resignation. While we deplore the necessity for that course on his part yet in view of the reasons he advanced therefor we felt constrained to accept.

According to established procedure of many years when a vacancy occurs by death or resignation in the office of vice-president of the Federation, each vice-president is advanced. Brother Fischer's resignation therefore made necessary and election to fill the office of eight vice-president. We thereupon selected Joseph Weber, president of the American Federation of Musicians to fill the position of eighth vice-president.

### LABOR'S SIGNIFICANT DAYS

It is fitting that year after year when the Executive Council submits to you its annual report of the affairs of Labor which you entrust to their keeping in the interim of conventions, special emphasis should be laid upon the proper observance of Labor's most significant days—LABOR'S MEMORIAL SUNDAY, the fourth Sunday in May; LABOR SUNDAY, the Sunday preceding Labor Day, and LABOR DAY, the first Monday in September.

The pioneers of the labor movement tirelessly struggled to secure recognition and acceptance by the federal and state governments of the first Monday in September as Labor's own holiday. Labor Day has now become established as an integral part of the social life of the nation, so much so that we as Labor's chosen representatives or as individual members in the ranks of Labor are prone to accept its observance solely as a great national holiday, a day of merry-making, pleasure and entertainment; for all, and to forget to emphasize its great significance as Labor's own day by governmental enactment, the day upon which we should stress its tremendous significance the labor movement and to pay tribute of grateful memory to those faithful unswerving pioneers of Labor who struggled in season and out of season until Labor of this country had been given that great recognition of one day in the year set apart as Labor Day, observed by the closing of government departments and the cessation of industrial activities. Let us strive year after year to make more fitting observance of this great day in Labor's history, this day which is American Labor's day and which is accorded to Labor by no other government.

The Sunday preceding Labor Day is now established and recognized as Labor Sunday. Each year the labor organizations should urge upon the churches of all denominations in their respective localities—for Labor recognizes no particular sect—that Labor Sunday be appropriately observed and emphasized as dedicated especially to Labor.

And on Labor's Memorial Day, the fourth Sunday in May of each year, Labor should not fail to take time to remember to pay tribute to Labor's sacred dead even as on Memorial Day, May 30th, we join in with other citizens in loving tribute to the nation's honored dead.

## NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The last session of the Seventieth Congress lasted less than three months, but Labor was successful in having the Hawes-Cooper convict labor bill passed and signed by the president. This is considered one of Labor's greatest legislative victories. It was the outcome of twenty-three years agitation by the American Federation of Labor to obtain a federal convict labor law that would make it possible to solve that problem and thus eliminate such labor from competition with free labor.

The fifteen cruiser bill, which provided that eight of them should be built in the government navy yards and arsenals also became a law. The bill passed the House in the first session of the Seventieth Congress, but when it was considered by the Senate committee an amendment was made which provided that the Secretary of the Navy be empowered to purchase any part of the ships outside of the navy yards and arsenals that he found would be advantageous to the government. The provision for building the eight cruisers in the navy yards and arsenals had been placed in the bill in the House through the efforts of Labor on motion of Representative Dallinger of Massachusetts.

The Senate amendment practically killed the intention of the bill as it would mean that nearly all of the parts that go into the cruisers would be bought from private concerns. When the bill reached the floor of the Senate the amendment to the Dallinger amendment was changed to read: "That the Secretary of the Navy could purchase from private concerns articles going into the ships that could not be supplied by the navy yards or arsenals." This was agreed to by the House.

The action on the convict labor bill and the Dallinger amendment was supported by members of both parties. The convict labor bill passed the House by a vote of 303 to 39 and the Senate by a vote of 65 to 11.

The special session of the Seventy-first Congress which began April 15, did not pass any labor legislation. The House was not organized. Only four of the committees were appointed. These are: Agriculture, Ways and Means, Rules and Account. While all the Senate committees were organized, there were only a few labor bills considered but never were voted upon in the Senate.

While 4,185 bills were introduced in the House, none of them was considered unless they referred to tariff or farm relief. If a bill, satisfactory to the administration, passed the Senate it would be considered in the House without reference to a committee. Laws affecting labor enacted:

1. Convict Labor enabling act—(Public 669).
2. Fifteen cruiser act—(Public 726).
3. Vocational Rehabilitation act extended to District of Columbia—(Public 801).
4. Vocational education extended to agriculture for payment of teachers, supervisors and directors—(Public 702).
5. Providing for two narcotic farms—(Public 672).

Other important legislative activities included the following:

**Immigration**—The immigration question was one of the outstanding issues in the last session of the 70th Congress and also in the first session of the 71st Congress.

In the 70th Congress bills passed both Houses in regard to immigrants who came into this country and have no record of their admission. Some were smuggled

in; others stole in, but they are here. The law provides that all who came before June 3, 1921, can register and then petition for United States citizenship by filing a second paper. There are many thousands of immigrants in this country who have no record of their legal admission. Those who came here before July 1, 1924, can not be deported after they have been here five years. The American Federation of Labor supported the legislation believing it better for these people to become citizens than to remain aliens.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the case of immigrants coming from Canada to work and return at night to their homes in that country settled a problem which had assumed serious proportions. The Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit had decided in the case of Cook and Danelon *vs.* Karnuth, that under the Jay Treaty an alien residing in Canada and coming here to seek employment and another alien also residing in Canada coming to continue work already obtained in this country, and both intending to return each night to their homes in Canada, were coming "temporarily for business," and hence were not immigrants and did not need an immigration passport and visa. The same decision applied to the Mexican border.

The Department of Labor had issued an order to carry out the Immigration Law of 1924 regarding border crossing, forbidding aliens living in contiguous territory to come into the United States outside of the quota, or for the citizens of those countries to come in without paying the head tax and visa fees. The decision of the Supreme Court overturned the decision of the Court of Appeals, and upheld the Department of Labor.

A bill making it a felony for aliens who have been deported to reenter the United States became a law.

The House Immigration Committee reported to the House an amendment to the Immigration Act of May 29, 1928, by adding in the preference quota clause, the following:

"Quota immigrants who, being trained and skilled in a particular art, craft, technique, business, or science, are needed by bona fide employers to engage in work to perform which persons so trained and skilled can not be found unemployed in the United States, and the wives, and the dependent children under the age of twenty-one years, of such immigrants, if accompanying or following to join them."

This passed the House but failed in the Senate. Senator Metcalf introduced in the special session a similar bill but with more protection for our people, as it provides that a hearing must be held by the Secretary of Labor to determine whether a bona fide employer needs persons so trained and skilled, and that such persons can not be found unemployed in the United States. This issue is of such importance that the provision referred to is given in its entirety, as follows:

"(1) Fifty per centum of the quota of each nationality for such year shall be made available in such year for the issuance of immigration visas to the following classes of immigrants, without priority or preference as between such classes: (A) Quota immigrants who are the fathers or the mothers, or the husbands by marriage occurring after May 31, 1928, of citizens of the United States who are twenty-one years of age or over; (B) in the case of any nationality the quota of which is three hundred or more, quota immigrants who, being trained and skilled in a particular art, craft, technique, business, or science, or in agriculture, are needed by bona fide employers to engage in work to perform which persons so trained and skilled can not be found unemployed in the United States, or who are needed to engage in such work independently or as an employer in the United States, and the wives, and the dependent children under the age

of twenty-one years, of such immigrants if accompanying or following to join them. Preference under clause (B) of this paragraph shall not be given to any alien claiming to be so trained and skilled unless the Secretary of Labor, upon application of any person interested and after full hearing and investigation of the facts in the case, determines that a bona fide employer needs persons so trained and skilled and that such persons can not be found unemployed in the United States, or that it is desirable that such alien be admitted to work independently or as an employer in the United States. The Secretary of Labor shall inform the Secretary of State of such determination, and the Secretary of State shall then authorize the consular officer with whom the application for the immigration visa has been filed to grant the preference. Such determination by the Secretary of Labor shall constitute an exemption of the alien from the contract-labor provisions of the immigration laws."

There should be at least one amendment to this bill, that is, that alien technicians admitted to assist in establishing new industries should be limited to a stay of six months and devote part of their time to training citizens of the United States in their particular work. If those who come here refuse to accept this condition they should be barred.

The question of restricting immigration is gaining more and more converts. Nearly 200 bills and joints resolutions were introduced in the special session. The only one that became a law was to make effective the national origins provision of the 1924 immigration act. The continued increase in unemployment because of the continued introduction of labor-saving machinery makes it imperative that immigration should be limited to a minimum.

Chairman Johnson of the House Immigration Commission declared in a statement made July 19, 1929, in the Congressional Record that "the demand for more exclusion and better selection persists and will not down." He added:

"More than one-half of the Senators and more than two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives favor still sharper restriction than we now have. The demand for restriction of immigration from Mexico is so insistent that all that seems to remain is the writing of a workable bill. Congress will pass any reasonable act but the measure will meet much opposition, nevertheless, which will cause every possible delay."

The Executive Council urges the convention to take a strong stand on the question of immigration and insist that immigration from the Latin countries be reduced to a minimum.

During the fall of 1928, posters were displayed in Manila and other cities urging Filipinos to come to the United States to enjoy the great prosperity existing here. Great numbers rushed to the boats to come to the United States. Scores of them died on the way from spinal meningitis and other diseases. They were thinly clad, travelled in the steerage and when a cold climate was reached they became ill. Many were buried in the ocean and when the vessels arrived in the United States the passengers still alive were placed in quarantine.

President Green took the matter up with the War and Navy Departments, the Public Health Service, Senators from the coast states, the Labor Department, and used every other means to stop the Filipinos from coming here. All of the public officials interviewed said they realized the danger but that under the laws nothing could be done, that everybody was helpless, as Filipinos are neither citizens nor aliens.

Nevertheless the Public Health Service, which is to be commended, investigated the matter thoroughly and recommended to the President of the United States that

no persons should come from China, including Hongkong or the Philippine Islands, because they were subject to malignant diseases, unless permitted to do so by the Secretary of State. President Hoover issued an executive order to that effect and the indications are that it will remain in force for a long time.

A representative of the Philippine Islands has an office in Washington and he conceived the idea of having the Filipinos in this country work in the beet fields. The railroads made concessions as to fares and many of the Filipinos were shipped to work in the beet fields. At the same time circulars were distributed in San Francisco calling upon Mexicans and Filipinos, single or married, to go to the beet fields of Iowa, Minnesota and other states. Information has reached us that this plan was originated by the American Beet Sugar Company.

The national origins law increases immigration from Russia, Italy, Poland, Greece and other southeastern European countries and decreases immigration from Scandinavian countries, Germany, the Irish Free State and other countries whose people are more to be desired than are those of the countries increased.

Senator Black of Alabama introduced a bill to prohibit immigration for five years, but providing for the admission of all those who now come in under the sub-divisions of Section 4 of the immigration law of 1924. This is not acceptable, as it permits citizens of the Latin nations to come in as non-quota immigrants on the payment of a head tax and visa fees. There either must be an attempt to repeal the national origins act or to base further demands for immigration restriction on that act.

Senator Harris introduced a bill to reduce the quota provision to 1 per cent, but of course any bill of that kind can not be considered now as the national origins law is in effect. Representatives Johnson of Washington also believes that there should be restriction of immigration of negroes. There are many of them in this country who are unemployed and according to Representative Johnson leading negroes have suggested that he submit a bill restricting their admission in the future.

Organizations of beet sugar growers, cattle raisers, cotton growers, citrus raisers and other combinations of that nature in Arizona, California, Colorado, Wyoming, Texas and New Mexico have informed the Senate Committee on Immigration that they are opposed to placing Mexico under the quota law. It is authoritatively stated that there are more than 2,500,000 Mexicans in the United States at the present time and that half of them are here illegally. The Department of Labor states authoritatively that 10,000 Mexicans come into this country every year to work in the harvest fields alone, and few of them return.

The Commissioner of Immigration believes that the best law that could be enacted which would be of practical effect would be to provide for who should come into the country. "Immigrants," he said, "should measure up to a standard that would make them a proper addition to our population. This would keep out the Filipinos, the Indians from Mexico and the negroes from the West Indies more effectively than any quota law."

The Executive Council at its meeting in February declared in favor of suspending all immigration for ten years. Investigations made since then have shown that it would be impossible to obtain such radical legislation. Provision must be made for the entry of relatives and such other persons as would not come into competition with the workers of this country. The Executive Council, therefore, recommends that efforts be made to further restrict immigration from the eastern hemisphere at least one-half. The



number that can enter the country now is 153,685 per year. It also recommends that all countries below the Rio Grande and adjacent islands be placed under a two per cent quota, based on the census of 1890. This would admit 1,557 from Mexico, according to the Immigration Bureau. This will not be easy of accomplishment if we have opposition from the Secretaries of State, Agriculture and the Interior. The Secretary of Labor favors placing Mexico under the quota law.

Another matter of great moment is the necessity of increasing the border patrol. The few hundred men who are now engaged in that duty are insufficient, as they cover thousands of miles. Many aliens are smuggled across the Mexican border. Aside from the many thousands coming in surreptitiously from Mexico there are many aliens smuggled in from Cuba and Canada also. As the temper of Congress seems to be favorable to limiting immigration to meet the disastrous conditions brought on by unemployment, the convention should adopt a policy to restrict immigration still further. The increased use of machinery with the attendant decrease in employment makes further restriction of immigration imperative, but whatever law is passed it must be accompanied by a provision for the employment of a sufficient number of border patrol to carry out the legislation.

Our Canadian members are also menaced by assisted immigration, which, if carried out, will have an unfavorable influence on the United States. It is proposed by the Government of England to transport several hundred thousand citizens of that country to Canada. Efforts of this nature in the past two years have proved tragic. It is hoped that our Canadian brothers will be able to prevent another influx from across the sea which will bring competitors to a land where unemployment is acute. There is also danger that many of them will eventually come illegally to the United States. Every aid should be given the labor movement of Canada to prevent such an undesirable condition.

Another menace which faces our people is the persistent agitation of the Japanese to send immigrants into the United States. This is an issue that can not be too closely watched, as every conceivable scheme for the purpose of breaking down our immigration law as it refers to Japanese is being worked.

A bill was also introduced in Congress to admit Polynesians and Hindus. It is, therefore, necessary for the convention to place itself on record in no uncertain terms by declaring against the passage of any of these measures. Although they are undoubtedly unconstitutional as the people affected are not white, it does not mean that we should cease eternal vigilance.

**Registration Certificates for Aliens**—The act of June 29, 1906, provided that all immigrants should be registered at port of arrival and be granted certificates of such registration with the particulars thereof. For some reason this law was not enforced until recently. But the United States Immigration Bureau is doubtful as to the legality of the enforcement without further legislation.

It is estimated there are approximately one million aliens in the United States who can not prove their lawful entry.

The 70th Congress enacted a law permitting all aliens who entered the United States prior to June 3, 1921, who had no records of their admission, to register and make application for citizenship. Any alien in this country for more than five years before 1924 can not be deported on the ground that he is here unlawfully. But if he



came in since July 1, 1924, he can be deported at any time. It is now proposed to enact legislation that will permit those who have no record of their admission voluntarily to ask for registration certificates.

The Executive Council for a number of years has had this subject under consideration. Under present conditions it is not always possible for the immigration authorities to prove an alien has entered the country unlawfully. Therefore, if every such alien in the United States should be given the privilege of voluntarily registering and obtaining a registration certificate it would eventually be helpful in discovering new immigrants who have been smuggled in. We, therefore, recommend that the convention approve a measure that will permit all aliens to voluntarily apply for a registration certificate.

The Executive Council is also firmly of the belief that in order to protect our immigration laws Congress must require the immigration officials to register and give certificates of the lawful admission into the United States of all immigrants. If those who are now here would voluntarily register, and all who come hereafter be given registration certificates, it would be possible in a few years to determine which aliens are here unlawfully.

**Conscription**—For several years the War Department has been preparing two bills, one for the conscription of labor and the other of material resources. The latter bill provides for the taking over of property and paying "just compensation" for it. This bill, however, has not been introduced. The other bill which was introduced cannot be approved. Section 1 provides:

"That during any national emergency declared by Congress to exist, which in the judgment of the President demands the immediate increase of the armed forces of the United States, the President be, and he hereby is authorized to select for induction and to induct into those forces, in accordance with this act, such male citizens of the United States and such male persons who have or shall have, declared their intention to become citizens of the United States as he may deem necessary. *Provided, further,* that no persons between the ages of eighteen years and thirty years, or such other age limits as the President may fix, who may be liable to service in the public armed forces, shall be deferred from such service on account of occupation, unless, in the judgment of the President such deferment is necessary in the national interest."

This section is most objectionable. The words "national emergency" are susceptible of many definitions. A national strike might be construed as a national emergency and then the President could conscript male citizens of the United States or those who declare their intention of becoming citizens, into the armed forces. Section 2 takes from Congress and gives the President the power to conscript persons between the ages of 18 and 45. This is too much power to give one man. It leaves the impression that it is not alone for war purposes or strike purposes, but for conscription in peace times. Section 8 also is dangerous. It provides:

"That nothing in this Act shall be construed as preventing the President, when in his discretion the national interest requires it, from calling immediately for duty in the public armed forces any persons subject to registration who is liable to service, however classified or wherever residing."

That would make more apparent the object of the first section of the bill referred to above, as it sustains the belief that these persons could be conscripted in peace times.

The Executive Council wishes to make it plain that it does not endorse the American

Legion Universal Draft bill. This provides for the drafting of persons engaged in "industrial occupation." It does not draft professional men but does draft wage earners in industry and agriculturists. The commander of the American Legion in testifying before the House Committee on Military Affairs said:

"The bill did not draft capital as that would be unconstitutional without just compensation."

In telling the committee the intention of the bill the commander of the American Legion said:

"This bill, as I understand it, would keep all people at the same rate they were receiving before war was declared."

This means that when the President believes war is "imminent" he may issue a proclamation that all prices of all commodities shall remain the same from that time on and that the wages received by wage earners shall be the same from that time on, and that no increase in either shall occur during the war.

It is not difficult to realize that such a condition of affairs would be wholly impractical and unworkable.

The Kellogg pact outlaws war and its first victory was to prevent conflict between Russia and China. It also has caused the President of the United States and the Premier of England to consider a reduction of naval armaments. At the same time the President has declared expenditures for the army and navy must be decreased.

Undoubtedly, other big nations will fall in line as it is not likely that the influence of two such great nations will be lost on the other countries. In the event these desirable conditions are brought about, it should not be necessary to enact any universal draft law.

If the nations that sign the Kellogg pact are sincere and will respect its declarations what is the need of a conscription law that will create an enormous fighting force? We have voluntary military training that has proved successful. Thousands of citizens attend these training camps every year. And there always will be a sufficient number to officer any army.

The Executive Council wishes to repeat its question, Why should there be any conscription?

**Coal Legislation**—Extended hearings were held by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the Senate, but no definite legislation was suggested in the 70th Congress nor in the special session. This is an issue that compels the most earnest consideration. The coal industry has suffered more than any other for many, many years. Only through legislation can the conditions be changed.

Congress has adopted a policy to place agriculture on its feet. If that can be done, it is certain that the coal industry can be cured of the diseases that are slowly leading up to its demoralization.

The Executive Council is alarmed at the apparent intention of those in power to ignore relief for the coal industry and thereby force it to work out its own salvation. Nevertheless, the Executive Council will continue to give every assistance to the United Mine Workers of America in securing such legislation as will make the coal industry profitable.

**Slavery Convention Reservation**—The Slavery Convention signed at Geneva in 1926, contained a most glaring clause favoring slavery for "public purposes." Presi-

\*dent Green entered a protest to Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. The clause objected to was as follows:

"It is agreed that (1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labor may only be exacted for public purposes."

The Finance Committee recommended and the Senate concurred in the reservation "that the Government of the United States adhere to the convention except as to the clause quoted." This was a most important reservation. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared against involuntary servitude of any nature.

**Unemployment**—The unemployment problem\* was raised in the last and present Congress and several bills looking to a cure were introduced in both houses.

Hearings on an unemployment bill introduced by Senator LaFollette were held by the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate at which President Green appeared. The hearings were quite extensive. In its report to the Senate, the committee analyzed the suggestions and recommendations made, as follows:

"1. Private industry should recognize the responsibility it has to stabilize employment within the industry. The government should encourage this effort in every way, through sponsoring national conferences, through publishing information concerning the experience had by industries in this work, and through watching every opportunity to keep the thought of stability uppermost in the minds of employers.

"2. Insurance plans against unemployment should be confined to the industry itself as much as possible. There is no necessity and no place for federal interference in such efforts at this time. If any public insurance scheme is considered, it should be left to the state legislatures to study that problem.

"3. The states and municipalities should be responsible for building efficient unemployment exchanges. The government should be responsible for coordinating the work of the states so as to give a national understanding of any condition which may arise and so as to be able to assist in any national functioning of the unemployment exchanges.

"4. The existing United States Employment Service should be reorganized, and every employe should be placed under civil service.

"5. Efforts should be made to provide an efficient system for obtaining statistics of unemployment. The first step should be taken by the Bureau of the Census in 1930, when the Bureau should ascertain how many were unemployed as of a certain date and how many were not seeking employment and yet were unemployed as of that date.

"6. The government should adopt legislation without delay which would provide a system of planning public works so that they would form a reserve against unemployment in times of depression. States and municipalities and other public agencies should do likewise.

"7. Further consideration might well be given to two questions, the effect had on unemployment by industrial developments such as consolidation of capital, and the necessity and advisability of providing either through private industry, through the states, or through the federal government, a system of old-age pensions."

The recommendation that a census of unemployment be taken, has been arranged for in the census law, and the report will be of incalculable aid in securing legislation to cure unemployment.

**Unemployment Census**—After much urging the Senate Committee on the Census included in the census bill a provision to investigate unemployment. It passed the Senate. When it reached the House two provisions for taking a census of unemployment were stricken out. This was a day before the committee arose to report the bill back to the House. The Legislative Committee immediately began a fight to

have the unemployment feature replaced in the bill. Only a short time was given to accomplish results. Twenty-four hours after the word was eliminated the bill was reported to the House and friends of Labor insisted on its being replaced in the measure. The leaders of the House were opposed to a census of unemployed, but by a vote of 189 to 188 the word was put back in the bill in the first section, but later on it was stricken out of another section. When the bill went to conference the conferees restored "unemployment" to the measure and both Houses approved of the report.

President Green was appointed a member of a commission by Secretary of Commerce Lamont to determine the questions to be asked in collecting all the information provided for in the census law. The information to be gained in finding out how many are unemployed will be of incalculable value. It will have an effect on immigration legislation and make it possible to secure more restrictive immigration laws.

**Sales Tax**—The agitation since the war to relieve the well-to-do from taxation and place the burden upon those least able to bear it through a sales tax is reaching its height and demands will be made upon Congress to establish that principle in taxation.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly condemned the sales tax as a means of raising funds to conduct the government. For several months public propaganda has been spread broadcast, and some of our local unions have been deceived by it, calling upon Congress to reduce the tax on earned incomes. The Revenue Act of 1928 thus defines earned incomes:

"'Earned income' means wages, salaries, professional fees, and other amounts received as compensation for personal services actually rendered, but does not include that part of the compensation derived by the taxpayer for personal services rendered by him to a corporation which represents a distribution of earnings or profits rather than a reasonable allowance as compensation for the personal services actually rendered. In the case of a taxpayer engaged in a trade or business in which both personal services and capital are material income producing factors, a reasonable allowance as compensation for the personal services actually rendered by the taxpayer, not in excess of 20 per centum of his share of the net profits of such trade or business shall be considered as earned income."

In "no case," the law states, is "the earned income to be considered to be more than \$30,000." According to the Secretary of the Treasury 97.8% of the population paid no federal income taxes whatever in 1928 for the year 1927. Nevertheless the 2.2% who paid Federal taxes had previously passed them on to the 97.8% in whole or in part. Of the 114,000,000 in the United States in 1927 only 2,453,101 paid an income tax. Of these 2,120,312 paid on incomes of \$10,000 or less. It will therefore be seen that very few wage earners pay an income tax.

The sales tax means that a certain tax is placed on every sale—everything the manufacturer sells to the jobber, the jobber to the retailer and the retailer to the consumer, in fact between the producer and the consumer every person who handles a product and sells it will pay a certain tax. Of course this tax is passed on to the consumer. It should not be called a sales tax. The right term is a "nuisance tax," as all such taxes placed on certain articles during the war were so designated. It is an indirect tax and those who advocate it say the people will not object because they do not know they are paying a tax. Of course we pay an indirect tax on everything we buy at present but to increase this tax in order that the well-to-do may shift practically all taxation to approximately 98% of the people is a most vicious proposal.

A reduction of 25 per cent is now permitted on certain earned incomes. Among

the 2,453,101 persons who made returns in 1927, there were many who paid no tax as their exemptions made them immune. Nevertheless they had to make a report. Wage earners now pay an income tax only on a small portion of their income because of these exemptions, but if a sales tax were established they would pay a tax on every purchase they made of the necessities of life as well as the luxuries. Accordingly they would pay more tax under the proposed change to the "sales" tax than they now do because it generally requires all their income upon which to live. The Executive Council has repeatedly warned the American Labor movement of this surreptitious scheme of placing taxes upon those who find it difficult to pay and relieving those who are well able to pay.

**Retirement Act and Forty-Four-Hour Week**—The failure of the bill to liberalize the Federal Retirement Act tells a story that is suggestive. It was passed by the Senate May 3, 1928, in the first session of the 70th Congress. When the bill reached the House it was referred to the Civil Service Committee which reported it favorably, after a long delay. Finally, the Rules Committee was induced to grant a rule to permit a vote upon the measure. The chairman held the rule in his pocket until the first session adjourned.

When the second session met in December the chairman still carried the rule in his pocket and it was not until February 26, that the House was permitted to vote upon the retirement bill. It was freely bruited about the House that President Coolidge would veto the bill and for that reason the chairman of the Rules Committee would not permit it to come to a vote.

The insistence of members of the House that a vote be had made it imperative for the chairman of the Rules Committee to give in.

This was not done, however, until February 26, five days before adjournment, which would permit the President to give it a pocket veto, and this he did. The bill had passed both Houses unanimously.

President Coolidge in his message to Congress in December had intimated that he would not sign either the retirement bill or that for the reduction in hours on Saturdays for federal employees. He said the employees of our government were better off than the employees of any other. He referred to the leave of absence and sick leave and other conditions which he thought also raised federal employees above employees in private employment.

The forty-four-hour week bill for postal employees passed the Senate and was reported favorably in the House, but it was not permitted to come to a vote. There is no doubt that all the forty-four-hour week bills, which practically affect all federal employees, would pass Congress if the members were allowed to vote upon them, and if they were vetoed by the President they could be passed over the veto. The retirement act undoubtedly would have been passed over the veto if the President had not made it impossible to put it to a vote.

**"Equal Rights"**—Sponsors for the "equal rights" amendment to the constitution, ridiculously entitled "equal rights for women," are using every means to gain converts. An international conference was held recently in England and objections were made to laws that would prohibit night work for women or their employment in any occupation, even if hazardous. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate held a hearing on

the subject during the last session of the 70th Congress and from intimations made by the members scant courtesy will be given to the proposed amendment.

One suggestive question was asked the representative of the National Women's Party who appeared, which gives reason to believe that such an amendment will never pass Congress. The witness was asked by a Senator:

"Is it the object to throw all legislation in relation to women into Congress? If the amendment were adopted every state law in reference to women would have to be enacted by Congress."

There was no answer. It readily can be seen that members of Congress consider very deeply whether they would be in favor of repealing all state and federal laws for the protection of females of every age in the United States, and enact new legislation demanded by the National Women's Party. Nevertheless, the Executive Council believes that the convention should strongly reaffirm its stand against this most outrageous proposed amendment intended to destroy all protective laws for women.

**Aid for the Farmers**—Congress enacted a law for the relief of the farmers of the country. President Green appeared before the Agriculture Committee of the Senate and urged that every practical means be used to protect the farmers from the ills they have suffered for years. He urged that every relief possible be given them. The bill provided for the establishment of a Federal Farm Board to permit the effective merchandising of agricultural commodities, and \$500,000,000 was appropriated to carry out the provisions of the act. The law directs the Farm Board—

"(1) To promote education in the principles and practices of cooperative marketing of agricultural commodities and food products thereof; (2) to encourage the organization, improvement in methods, and development of effective cooperative associations; (3) to keep advised from any available sources and make reports as to crop prices, experiences, prospects, supply and demand, at home and abroad; (4) to investigate conditions of overproduction of agricultural commodities and advise as to the prevention of such overproduction; (5) to make investigations and reports and publish the same including investigations and reports upon the following: Land utilization for agricultural purposes; reduction of the acreage of unprofitable marginal lands in cultivation; methods of expanding markets at home and abroad for agricultural commodities and food products thereof; methods of developing by-products of and new uses for agricultural commodities; and transportation conditions and their effect upon the marketing of agricultural commodities."

**Wage Revision Bill**—The bill introduced during the special session by Senator Brookhart to remedy the mistakes made in the Welch Federal Wage Act of the 70th Congress was reported favorably by the Committee on Civil Service. There is no doubt that the bill will pass both Houses if the Steering Committees permit votes to be taken upon them.

**Child Labor**—That the child labor amendment to the constitution is still a live issue is evidenced by the fact that resolutions providing for its ratification were introduced in nine states during the past year. The Nebraska Senate passed a resolution ratifying the amendment, but it was indefinitely postponed by the House.

Resolutions were also introduced in Colorado, Connecticut, Kansas, Nevada, New York, Oregon, Tennessee and Utah. Some of these state legislatures had in previous sessions rejected the amendment in both houses but the people are aroused to the necessity for the amendment.



Those who clamor about state rights, we find, are the most bitter opponents of child labor bills introduced in their respective legislatures. We believe that by an aggressive and persistent crusade the amendment will yet be ratified by a sufficient number of states.

Since its formation the American Federation of Labor has never weakened or defaulted in pressing legislation that is of such benefit to our nation. The Executive Council feels that by sincere work a sufficient number of legislatures will be convinced of the justice of our cause. There is nothing so sacred as children who can not protect themselves. With proper and uniform legislation throughout the entire United States the exploitation of children in industry will cease.

**Child Health Day**—May 1 has been declared Child Health Day by the United States Congress. It is intended to create sentiment for the year-round protection of the health of children. The President of the United States has been directed to issue a proclamation each year calling the attention of the people of the country to that day.

Child Health Day was created by Congress at the request of the American Federation of Labor. It is for a most worthy purpose, and every means should be used to thoroughly acquaint the citizens of our country with its benefits.

The American Child Health Association is exceedingly anxious to impress upon every home the necessity for celebrating May 1. To that end it is desired that the state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions urge public officials to display the American flag on May 1. Legislatures also should be urged to adopt resolutions declaring May 1 Child Health Day.

Meetings should be held and as much publicity as possible should be obtained, as the benefits to be gained for our children are incalculable. It is also believed that a world-wide effort should be made for all governments to set aside May 1 as Child Health Day. The Executive Council has under consideration that subject.

We feel sure that there can be no opposition to such a splendid movement as there is no issue so great as that which will give healthy bodies and minds to the children of the world.

#### NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL POLICY

The non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor has proved its worth more and more each year. The last election of members of the House in 1928 resulted in the success of 135 Representatives with 100 per cent legislative records on measures of interest to Labor. There were also 110 members elected whose records were exceedingly fair.

It is not generally known, but it is a fact that 39 members of the United States Senate also have 100 per cent labor records. Fourteen of them were elected in the last election. Fifteen other Senators are considered most fair. Thirty-two Senators have unfavorable records and it is rare for them to vote for labor measures.

It will be seen that a majority of the members of the House and the United States Senate, irrespective of politics, are friendly to Labor. It is regretted, however, that some of the leaders of the House are unfavorable to Labor. They are powerful enough to prevent remedial measures from coming up on the floor for a vote. A small number



decides what shall be done and unfortunately are classified as extreme reactionaries.

In the last few years the Senate has adopted the same policy of leaving to a steering committee which bills should be considered, but it is not so reactionary. The Senate is the most democratic branch of Congress. The Executive Council does not join with the croakers who are continually denouncing the United States Senate. We have found the Senate more receptive than the House because of the suppressive tactics of the latter's leaders. The campaign for members of Congress will begin as soon as the convention adjourns. Practical steps will be taken by the Executive Council to stir the members to action on the candidates in their respective districts. All members of the House must be reelected and one-third of the members of the Senate.

As the years go by we find greater interest among the officers and rank and file in the elections for members of Congress. This promises much for the future. All city central bodies should have legislative committees to aid their respective state federation of labor in carrying out their legislative programs. All local unions should also have legislative committees to work in harmony with city central bodies. They can become non-partisan campaign committees during election campaigns.

The political campaign of 1930 will be in an "off year" as there will be no election for president. In the past the votes cast in an "off year" are hardly more than fifty per cent of those cast in presidential years. The Executive Council desires to urge every member of every trade union and its officers to take a deep interest in who should be elected to Congress next year. To that end we urge that the Executive Council be kept informed of all candidates. The records of those who have been in Congress are kept at headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and will be furnished to any member on request. But candidates enter the field who never have been in Congress and we, therefore, request that the officers and members of unions in the respective congressional districts send all information they possess of the labor records of new candidates to the president of the American Federation of Labor.

If Labor expects to eliminate labor injunctions from the federal courts it must have sufficient number of friends in Congress to bring about that result. We feel, also, that aggressive campaigns should be made against those leaders of Congress who have by their acts placed themselves in an unfavorable position. We intend to make an active campaign against them and urge the most earnest help on the part of our members to bring about their defeat.

#### CONVICT LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE STATES

Now that the Hawes-Cooper convict labor bill has become a law it is necessary to outline a program for legislation in the states. This is a much more difficult problem than would first be recognized. The bill provides that goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced or mined by convict labor shall come under the laws of the state into which they are shipped. It has never been the intention to interfere with farm products. Only manufactured goods come in competition with free labor in the factories and workshops of the country.

The question that arises is how shall legislation in the states be worded and what is to be its intent. The Hawes-Cooper act provides that convict labor products shall be divested of their interstate character in certain cases. This permits each state to enact a law prohibiting the importation within its borders of convict made goods from other states.

The two important amendments that should be made in all states that have not the state-use system are:

1. The establishment of the state-use system.
2. Prohibition of the importation within their respective borders of convict made goods of other states.

States now having the exclusive state-use system should have the second proposed amendment incorporated in their state laws. This would require the repeal of all laws providing for the branding of convict made goods placed on the open market. The objective is to prohibit the sale on the open market of every state in the Union of convict made goods no matter where manufactured. The convict labor law gives the power to the states to accomplish this most desired result.

A great danger threatens from the fact that various outside organizations contemplate going to the state legislatures with bills to protect their individual businesses. Others will have bills to carry out some hobby. Therefore, the officers of all state federations of labor should be asked to oppose any convict labor bill that has not been approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

The Hawes-Cooper Act does not become effective until January 19, 1934. In the meantime state legislatures should be asked to adopt the state-use system where it is not now the law. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey now have the exclusive state-use system. These states should be asked to amend their convict labor laws to prohibit the sale of convict made goods from other states on the open market.

If these four states should take action in 1930 to prohibit the sale of convict made goods in the open market after January 19, 1934, it would tend to cause states that now sell convict made goods in those states to change their laws to the state-use system for self-protection.

There is one important principle to be observed in referring to convict labor legislation and that is that the prison industry is a state problem. The Department of Commerce appointed a committee of public citizens of which the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were members, which in its report stated:

"The prison industry problem is essentially a state affair. Since nearly all the prisons are state institutions supported, where necessary, by appropriations made by their legislatures and since the punishment of crime is mostly the responsibility of the several states, the methods of care, of discipline, and of rehabilitation of prisoners must necessarily be in each state a state problem linked closely with its legal code and its organization for the administration of justice. This is particularly true because of the great differences in laws in the several states, differences in the methods of dealing with criminals, in the use of the parole, in the extent of segregation of the various kinds of convicts, and even in the legal and public attitude toward the problems of prison administration."

Another principle established by this committee is the following:

"Any remedy or remedies which are suggested for the solution of the prison labor problem must take into account the political factors involved. There are relatively few penal institutions which are under the control of the federal government. The main problem lies in the state institutions which are subject, in each case, to the laws of their respective states. This fact makes it difficult, even if desired, to arrive at any standard solution which will indicate that it is difficult for any one state to experiment in the solution of its own problems unless it can control prison products from other states when they enter its borders."

It is therefore imperative that the American Federation of Labor must confine itself strictly to having each state solve its own convict labor problem. There have been suggestions that the federal government should arrange to sell convict made products to or exchange with state governments and state governments to sell convict made products to or exchange with other state governments.

A committee was appointed by the House of Representatives to investigate federal prisons. The investigation was made during the recess and a report was written in January of this year. It was discovered that the report contained a very objectional clause. It recommended that new industries should be introduced in the federal penal institutions and the products should be sold to or exchanged with the various state governments. The legislative committee objected to this clause and it was eliminated by Representative Cooper, chairman of the committee. It would have been a violation of the Hawes-Cooper act and the present federal law providing that all articles made by federal convicts or prisoners shall be for federal use only.

The American Federation of Labor should therefore consider that in any legislation under no circumstances should convict products of one state be sold to the institutions or on the open markets of another state.

Few people realize how far-reaching is the Hawes-Cooper act. It is the most effective legislation ever secured by Labor and unless the American Federation of Labor maintains control of all legislation sought in the states it might just as well have not been passed.

The American Federation of Labor must assume the leadership in suggesting legislation in the states.] It can not afford to permit any outside organization to take away that leadership. At the same time if any outside organization offers its sincere aid to the American Federation of Labor in securing the proper state legislation it should thankfully accept it.

In the preparation of a pamphlet to be distributed throughout the United States an explanation should be made of the provisions of the Hawes-Cooper Act and it should contain a new model bill based on the state-use system. The model bill adopted three years ago is too long and complicated. Committees of legislatures find that it goes too much into administrative duties. As the convict labor problem in no two states is alike, it is necessary that a new bill simply amending present acts and providing for the state-use system should be prepared based on fundamental principles. The following model amendments to be introduced in the state legislature for amending convict labor laws are recommended:

"1. The superintendent of the state prisons shall not, nor shall any other authority whatsoever, make any contract by which the labor or time of any prisoner in any state prison, reformatory, penitentiary or jail in the state, or the product or profit of his work shall be contracted, let, farmed out, given or sold to any person, firm, association or corporation except that convicts may work for and the products of their labor may be disposed of to the state or any political division thereof, or for or to any public institution owned or managed or under the control of the state or political division thereof.

"2. After January 19, 1934, no goods, wares, or merchandise, manufactured or mined by convicts or prisoners of other states, except convicts or prisoners on parole or probation, shall be shipped into this state to be sold on the open market, or sold to, or exchanged, with an institution of this state or with any of its political subdivisions.

"3. The superintendent of state prisons is authorized and directed to furnish all the proper tools, machinery and equipment necessary to carry out the provisions

of this act. When the same is completed and ready for operation for this purpose there is appropriated from the general funds of the state a sum not to exceed.

"4. The superintendent of state prisons may employ or cause to be employed convicts confined in the state prisons in the repair of state and county highways at any place within the state upon request of the state commission of highways. The construction or improvement of state or county highways constructed or improved by any board of supervisors or town board under a contract with such commission of highways and also in the improvement or repair of any state highway.

"5. No articles or supplies manufactured under the provisions of this chapter by the labor of convicts shall be purchased from any other source for the state or its institutions unless the superintendent of prisons shall first certify that such articles can not be furnished.

"6. The state superintendent of prisons shall make suitable provisions and rules so that all materials manufactured within the penal institutions shall be standardized as far as possible.

"7. That all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with these amendments are hereby repealed.

It may be necessary to change the title of the person in charge of penal institutions or there may be a board or commission that handles prison matters. In that event the necessary changes can be made in the proposed amendments.

#### **"YELLOW DOG" CONTRACTS**

During the year several bills to make "yellow dog" contracts legally null and void were introduced in various legislatures. Most earnest agitation was conducted in California, Illinois, Ohio and Wisconsin. But the latter state was the only one in which there was success. The bill that became a law in Wisconsin followed the principle of the Ohio bill and then extended it to similar contracts made by cooperatives in agricultural, horticultural and dairy products. It makes illegal any contract or agreement to join or not to join a member of any cooperative association.

Most sincere thought has been given to the construction of legislation to make illegal "yellow dog" contracts. Some of the most prominent attorneys favor the Ohio bill. The attorney general of that state in an extended analysis declared it to be constitutional. While on the face of it the Wisconsin law appears to be worded to meet any court proceedings some lawyers contend it will be declared unconstitutional. The consensus of opinion, however, is that both laws are constitutional.

The Executive Council is of the opinion that as the evidence in regard to the wording of the bills being constitutional preponderates over the objections that it would be wise for the Ohio bill to be introduced in all the state legislatures.

#### **WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS**

During the past year North Carolina, one of the five states without a workmen's compensation law, enacted such legislation. Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina are still lacking in such protective legislation. Reports from practically all states whose legislatures met during 1929 tell of progressive efforts being made to have workmen's compensation laws improved.

According to Secretary of Commerce Lamont, there are approximately 10,000,000 accidents in the United States every year. These he designates as fatal, serious, or otherwise. The fatal accidents alone, and he quotes "accidents," is close to 95,000. One person out of every twelve, he said, is injured or killed through accidental causes

every year. These accidents are divided between: Automobiles, fires, home tragedies and industries. In a radio address on the subject of "Safety as a National Problem," he declared: "The cash value of human sacrifice every year—the price tag on carelessness—is \$3,200,000,000." Of this tremendous amount, Secretary Lamont "charged off in red—blood red—\$1,000,000,000 each year" for accidents in industry.

Estimates made by representatives of the Department of Labor give the following statistics of accidents in the mechanical industries: Killed, 20,000; permanent total disability, 1,627; permanent partial disability, 100,000; temporary disability, 2,500,000, making a total of 2,621,627. These figures do not include accidents in the automobile industry, or in agriculture. In fact, there are no definite figures as to the number of accidents. The persons who carry out the workmen's compensation laws have no definite view as to what constitutes an accident. What is an accident in one state is not an accident in another; but from information gathered from many sources it can be authoritatively stated that at least 3,500,000 accidents of all kinds occurred in all industries in the past year.

These are astounding figures and should awaken the people of Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina to the dangers of ignoring these facts.

Many improvements in compensation laws have been made this year in various states. While the North Carolina law is not what we desired, it is a long step in advance, and in the future changes can be made that will more thoroughly protect the victims of accidents in industries.

The Executive Council believes there is not enough publicity regarding the tragic number of accidents in industry. The people should be awakened to the tremendous number killed or injured during their employment. It is only by bringing the truth home to the people that they can be aroused to the necessity of demanding safety laws for the protection of the workers as well as more liberal compensation acts.

It is indeed a shame that four states still throw the burden of care for victims of accidents on themselves or charity. The convention should call upon the people of those four states to remedy this great evil and place their commonwealths in line with other states that have passed compensation law legislation.

The meetings of the state federations of labor and city central bodies should have a special order of discussion on compensation laws. At each meeting the number of accidents that have occurred since the previous meeting should be announced and discussion follow as to the best means of securing proper legislation.

#### PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

The New Orleans convention requested the Executive Council to investigate private employment agencies to determine the best method of protecting the unemployed who may seek employment.

According to a decision of the Supreme Court state legislatures can not fix the fees of private employment agencies. The court said they did not differ in substantial character "from the best of real estate brokers, ship brokers, merchandise brokers or ticket brokers." The court said, however, that the states can require a license and regulate the business of employment agencies.

The American Federation of Labor declared in 1894 for free employment agencies similar to those that had been established in Ohio. Many times since conventions have declared against private employment agencies and efforts made to abolish

them by law. In 1914 the convention declared for a state and federal employment bureau with branches in every city to aid the unemployed and secure employment at prevailing wage rates. It also demanded the abolition of "shark" employment offices. In 1917 the Executive Council was requested to urge the creation of a national free employment bureau in the United States Department of Labor.

As private employment agencies can not be abolished by law the Executive Council believes that their vicious practices can be controlled by compelling them to take out licenses only after being able to prove the responsibility of the agents. The proper location of the agencies must also be considered. Wisconsin enacted a law which will carry out the suggestions made herewith. The law is as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the industrial commission, and it shall have power, jurisdiction and authority to issue licenses to employment agents, and to refuse to issue such license whenever, after due investigation, the commission or a majority of the members thereof finds that the character of the applicant makes him unfit to be an employment agent, or when the premises for conducting the business of an employment agent is found upon investigation to be unfit for such use, or whenever, upon investigation by the commission, it is found and determined that the number of licensed employment agents or that the employment agency operated by the United States, the state or by the municipality or by two or more thereof jointly in the community in which the applicant for a permit proposes to operate is sufficient to supply the needs of employers and employees. Any such license granted by the commission may also be revoked by it upon due notice to the holder of said license, and upon due cause shown. Failure to comply with the duties, terms, conditions or provisions of sections — to —, inclusive, of the statutes, or with any lawful orders of the commission, shall be deemed due cause to revoke such license.

"The commission shall have power, jurisdiction and authority to fix and order such reasonable rules for the conduct of the business of any employment agent as may be necessary adequately to carry out sections — to —, inclusive, of the statutes;  
 . . . ."

#### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST OLDER WORKERS

The rapidity and the extent of industrial change in the recent past have been accompanied by great human wastes. We were accustomed to the expression "this is an age of young men." It was accepted that new industries and new methods necessitate new workers—workers without experience in the old ways. Just what sort of a problem this practice was developing was not at first apparent.

Many industrial undertakings have adopted policies fixing the age at which workers could be employed. Without very much consideration or study and no technical information, they assume that younger workers are more profitable than older ones. Some industries have fixed the age limit at 35, others 40, others 45, etc.

In 1925 the National Industrial Conference Board recognized the tendency to discriminate against older workers:

"Nearly one-half of all the plans studied expressly fix an age limit for persons entering into the employ of a concern for the first time. Such an age limit serves several uses, one of which is to permit a sufficient period of service before superannuation. Another is that of relieving the pension fund of extraordinary demands upon it. By enforcing a relatively low hiring age an employer is able to keep down to a certain extent the average age level of his active force and, consequently, the number of applicants for retirement pensions in any given year."



During the past year the National Association of Manufacturers made public the summary of a survey which found that

"Seventy per cent of the manufacturing plants of the country have no maximum age hiring limits . . . and only about 8 per cent of the total place an age limit for new men at 45 years." "Thirty per cent of the manufacturing plants do have maximum age hiring limits and many of them make exceptions in the case of former employes. . . . the most frequent limits are 45 for the unskilled and semi-skilled and 50 for the skilled."

The statement does not give an element essential to interpret the figures: the total number of employes employed by the 70 per cent of the manufacturing industry.

The American Federation of Labor endeavored to secure from affiliated national and international unions, central labor unions, and all possible sources, information on regulations and practices discriminating against older workers. It is most difficult to get conclusive evidence of policy, for such regulations are often effectively carried out but are not made a matter of record. However, reports from all sections of the country indicate that 45 is a pretty definite deadline for new employment.

Discrimination against older workers takes two forms: Fixing the maximum age at which workers can be employed and discharging employes who reach a maximum age. It is quite obvious that for certain jobs youth is an asset; for other jobs, however, the qualities developed through experience are more important; and there are still other types of work which can be done by aged workers.

It is most ironical that while medical science is lavishing research and care to prolong human life, industry is establishing practices to restrict the productive years while society makes no provision for old age income. It is quite obvious that in many cases restriction of the age limit for employment is nothing more than the mechanical application of a policy regardless of waste involved and regardless of the fitness of the application. However, there can be no justification for forced retirement of workers in the prime of life. It is as unwise industrially as it is socially.

We believe that the American Federation of Labor should endeavor to secure adequate analysis of jobs to indicate employment possibilities for older workers. Such information at the service of employment agencies and guiding the efforts of trade unions to protect wage earners, would contribute to the reduction of this serious human waste.

Data sent this office from various sources make it clearly apparent that there is a widespread discrimination against older workers in practically all industries and trades. It exists in the United States Government and in our state, county and municipal governments. Outside of these governmental fields the practice is strongest where the trades and industries are poorly organized or where the control of such industries is in the hands of large corporations.

A number of causes to which the practice has been attributed are: old age pensions, workmen's compensation risks and group insurance, pace of industry set by machine, difficulty in retaining older workers. In some places discrimination exists to the extent that young unmarried, foreign labor is preferred to married, domestic labor, and laborers with small families are preferred to those with large families. These latter regulations are charged to the inequalities existing in some of our state workmen's compensation laws.

But very few of the bureaus devoted to the interests of labor and industry have



spent any considerable effort upon this growing tendency in industry. As a result of the inquiry made by the American Federation of Labor a few departments of labor initiated inquiries. Several of our state departments of labor, or the appropriate division thereof, have stated that no discrimination is practiced in their states towards older workers. Others state that while rumors are abroad to the effect that discrimination exists, nothing of a definite nature has been brought to their attention. Others, however, are clearly of the opinion that such discrimination does exist and in many instances have cited illustrations of it. It is difficult to obtain copies of rules governing the employment of workers. Many men past the age of 45 are known to find it exceptionally difficult to obtain employment although they are able to furnish excellent references testifying to their past experience, ability and reputation.

In the State of California, for instance, the subject of such discrimination has been presented to the governor on different occasions. In the Governor's Council meeting, June 27, 1928, a report, "The Age Factor in Employment" was presented. It was pointed out that there was a growing tendency to keep lowering age limits for those in, or seeking employment, and that experienced workers in the prime of life were sometimes the subjects of discrimination. Word had reached the Department of Industrial Relations that a large California corporation had notified its employees that they would be automatically discharged on reaching 50 years of age if they had been in the service less than 10 years.

The same subject was again taken up with the Governor's Council meeting on August 29, 1928. The Department of Industrial Relations of that state is continually urging employers and citizens to take a broader view of this matter and to consider employment on the ability to do the work.

While some workers in the state are displaced upon reaching 45 years of age, the tendency to discriminate is more pronounced when application for reemployment is made. Employers take the position that they are not obligated to employ workers displaced by other employers on account of age. In many instances, however, employers retain employees on the pay roll after reaching 45, although refusing to hire new workers over this age.

The Department of Labor and Industry in Pennsylvania reported that it had no record of such discrimination existing within the state and at the same time furnished a booklet in which was contained the names of firms which do not bar men from employment on account of age. From the reports coming to us from other sources it seems that some of the firms listed therein were either erroneously included or have changed their attitude upon this question since its listing.

A copy of an order dealing directly with the employment of a man over 45 years of age was sent this office. The Illinois Central Railroad is a most extensive system, extending from Chicago on the Great Lakes to New Orleans on the Gulf. It is assumed that the same employment provisions prevail everywhere throughout the system. On December 14, 1928, the road master at Freeport, Illinois, addressed a mimeographed letter to "All Concerned," and the first two paragraphs are quoted verbatim:

"We just recently had a case of a foreman on this Division employing a man who was 55 years of age, which is contrary to existing instructions.

"To avoid any further misunderstanding it should be understood that no person over 45 years of age and no person not experienced in railway work over 35 years of age shall be taken into the service."

The fourth paragraph is as follows:

"However, there shall be no exceptions to this rule insofar as employment of persons over 45 years of age are concerned, without first obtaining permission from this office."

The same condition prevails, it is safe to say, on every railway system in the country employing a vast number of workers.

In general it can be said that the railroad industry, the oil industry, the rubber industry, the automobile industry and the steel industry, all controlled by vast corporations, refuse to employ workers who have reached the age of 45.

Federal and state employment bureaus were requested to give information upon this subject. In some instances such information was given freely. In some instances there was a reticence upon their part to furnish information and further to permit the source of information when given to become public. These free employment bureaus are in competition with the fee employment bureaus and consequently can not endanger such amicable relations as now exist between them and the employers. Such employment agents, both state and federal, report that no discrimination is shown. Our trade union reports do not uphold these statements. One Federal Employment Service reported that it did not wish to divulge the names of companies refusing employment to workers over 45 for reasons obvious to those in placement work. Reports from one city indicate that approximately 20 per cent of the local industries refuse to employ workers over 45. Two state-city employment bureaus in Ohio report that no company openly refuses to employ workers over 45. In these two localities the industries will not admit that they displace their older workers or refuse employment to them, providing they can pass a physical examination, although it is noted that few workers pass such a test.

The Michigan Department of Labor and Industry, through its Bureau of Statistics, Division of Industrial Safety, made a comparative study of the frequency of accidents with relation to ages of workers. The study found that the personal accident frequency was 59 per cent greater for workers whose ages ranged from 20 to 24 years than for workers between 44 and 65 years of age.

If all state labor agencies would study their accident data to find whether or not older workers are an additional accident hazard they might get facts that would dispel an impression prejudicial to older workers.

From an authentic source it is reported that the Bethlehem Steel Company will not hire new help who are over 45 unless a physical examination is passed and unless such applicant has had a record of at least five years' previous employment in the plant.

A United States Employment Bureau reports that while employers state they do not bar men over 45, there are many men in the office who say that they were let out of these places because they were getting too old.

Our central labor unions have been most active in securing information for this survey. In St. Paul, Minnesota, an affidavit has been secured from a member of a carpenters union in which he stated that when laid off by the Armour Packing Company he was told that he would not be reemployed as the firm refused to employ anyone over 45. The large rubber plants in Akron, Ohio, deny that they practice this discrimination but the secretary of the Central Labor Union advises that it is an out-

standing fact that it is impossible for a worker over 45 to secure employment in any of the rubber plants.

The Senate Committee on Education and Labor had hearings on unemployment starting in December, 1928, and running to February, 1929. Many large employers were called upon to testify. From a few of them we have direct proof that their concerns practice this discrimination. Mr. Henry S. Dennison, President of the Dennison Manufacturing Company at Framingham, Massachusetts, is quoted as saying:

"In our own shop in 1905 we would not take a man of 45 if we could get a man at 25. It is less expensive to break in a man of 25 than it is a man of 45, whose habits are set—except in a very few cases where there is a trade knowledge that comes with the increase of years and which makes up for the lack of physical activity. I think it (discrimination) is slightly worse than it used to be but still it is not yet a problem of major size. Nevertheless, it is very difficult and very discouraging for the individuals concerned."

Mr. Dennison, in the summer of 1928, had conducted a survey of 100 concerns upon this question. He said that while there were a few more practicing this discrimination than there used to be, he could not find any evidence that they were as great as popularly supposed.

A. C. Bennett, Office Manager of the Packard Motor Car Company at Detroit, Michigan, stated:

"Each man who is employed who is over 50 years old must have the approval of the head of the department. We have a system of physical examinations. If the man applying for work has previously been with us we are very generous in putting him back on the job if he has been off for only a comparatively short time. There is practically no exception to that. If he is an entirely new man, we question him. His fitness for production, as to whether or not he can get it out, and the fact that he might be injured in his employment. Those are the things considered."

J. M. Larkin, Chief Assistant to the President of the Bethlehem Steel Company, made the following statement:

"We have, in this respect (discriminated) that we aim to employ new men—that is, men who have never had any connection with the company, men who are not taken on on the basis of being rehired under certain rules. The rules in those cases are that the men shall be subjected to a physical examination, that they shall be able to qualify from the standpoint of physical and mental and work ability and that they shall not be over the age of 45, excepting in special cases where that rule may be waived by the management."

James T. Loree, Vice-President and General Manager of The Delaware and Hudson Railway Company, stated that his company declines to give employment to a man when he is over 40 years of age. According to Mr. Loree, of all the older men who are out of work, 10 per cent are of such low mental efficiency level that they will not remain on the job either efficiently for the company or for themselves. He also stated that if the railroad was hunting for men the rigid rule pertaining to an age limit might be relaxed.

A summary of the reports furnished this office by our national and international unions, state branches and city central bodies indicates that many companies practice this discrimination and that the policy is national in scope and extends wherever such firm has a plant or agency.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR UNION OLD AGE BENEFITS

The New Orleans Convention recommended that the Executive Council make additional study of existing trade union benefit systems with a view to developing information and data to guide organizations in establishing and maintaining old age pension plans on a sound basis.

In our study last year we gathered data which indicated certain fundamental weaknesses in existing plans. It would not be possible to work out the actuarial details of a plan which could be automatically followed by organizations. Each organization must necessarily determine the plan which is suited to its specific requirements. We would like, however, to recommend a few specific principles which may be useful to organizations considering pension plans.

Old age pension plans should be undertaken only with the greatest caution. Plans developed without adequate knowledge of the particular circumstances to be met may involve the union in serious financial difficulties. It is possible for instance for a union to pay pensions to members over 65 for several years after the plan is inaugurated without heavy tax on the membership, because dues from the younger members who form the large bulk of the membership are paying for those pensioned. But when these younger members reach the pension age in larger and larger numbers, it will be found impossible to support the fund without assessments beyond the ability of the membership to support, unless provision has been made beforehand. Such a situation would work unfairness to the younger members who have contributed to the pensions already paid but risk losing their own.

Therefore, a pension plan should be so arranged that each member pays for his own pension over a period of years.

To develop a financially sound plan for old age pensions, the advice and assistance of an actuary are essential. Available actuarial tables of mortality rates together with a detailed study of the membership will enable the union to determine the probable sum of money for which it will be liable and the necessary tax on the membership. These can be determined with sufficient accuracy to make the plan financially sound. The actuarial study should cover the following points:

- Age distribution of the membership
- Mortality rate among active members
- Withdrawal rate
- Mortality rate among pensioners.

If disability pension is to be provided for those disabled before reaching the pension age:

- Disability rate
- Disability rate among pensioners

After the actuarial study is made, the information assembled should be kept up to date by careful office records, so that changes in any of the above items may be known and provided for. There should be a card for every member showing:

- Date of joining union
- Dates of birth, leaving, death
- Date of granting pension
- Date of disability, if disabled.

The following figures will give an idea of the cost of pension payments. Allowing

for the above provisions, the cost to each member of a pension of \$30 paid from age 60 to his death would be approximately as follows:

If he enters at age 25, about \$4.25 monthly

If he enters at age 35, about \$7.50 monthly

If he enters at age 45, about \$16.00 monthly

If he enters at age 55, about \$60.00 monthly

If the pension age is 65, the cost will be considerably lower, and lower still if the pension begins at 70.

A union introducing a pension plan will have to consider the problem of providing pensions for older members for whom the cost will be very high. By spreading the cost over the entire membership or by providing a special fund, these members may be relieved of bearing the whole cost themselves.

Because the payment of pensions will require large assessments from the membership, the union should see that their members are thoroughly informed before the plan is submitted for adoption. Members will probably know very little about the cost involved. Figures like those given above will be helpful in educational work and literature explaining the proposal should be furnished to every member.

#### PARTICIPATION IN IMPORTANT UNDERTAKINGS

The American Federation of Labor as the representative of the point of view and experience of a very large proportion of citizens of the United States, has participated in the work of the following committees or commissions:

Committee on Recent Economic Changes.

White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

Committee Conference on Census of Unemployed.

Committee Conference on Census—Distribution and Manufactures.

Board of Traumatic Surgery of the American College of Surgeons.

National Educational Commission.

National Conference on Street and Highway Safety.

Service of this type enables Labor to participate in the development of important programs and principles which influence and control development in the future.

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK

During the past year the Federation has given special time and emphasis to its literature designed for educational service. We believe that the facts of labor problems are convincing and that a major factor in effective work is to know what the facts are and to prepare them for most telling use. This we try to do through our various publications: *The American Federationist*, a monthly; the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service, a weekly; the Legal Information Service, monthly during six months; the Business Survey, a monthly service. These periodicals are supplemented by pamphlets, reprints, organizing literature, as well as special information published from time to time.

**American Federationist**—The American Federationist is the official organ of the American Federation of Labor, and reaches that wide group of persons who are interested in labor developments and problems. The editorial purpose of the magazine is to keep workers informed of trends and developments in the field of Labor and to

interpret the labor movement to employers, business men, and all persons interested in economic and social problems.

We can not emphasize too strongly the educational value of our monthly magazine. It serves as a watch tower to discover and make known the signs of labor progress in every field. On unemployment, work conditions, education of workers and all other matters vital to Labor, our practice is to seek out the most advanced thinking, and to bring to labor leaders information on new measures to improve working conditions, better human relations and promote the physical, mental and spiritual advancement of working men and women. The American Federationist gives what every leader needs—the inspiration of great minds, and the practical information which points the way ahead.

**A. F. of L. Weekly News Service**—Three thousand, three hundred copies of the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service are printed every week.

This Service gives a brief summary of important matters affecting Labor. The weekly labor press and official national and international magazines are forwarded copies without cost under first-class postage that prompt delivery may be made to these journals. Copies are also forwarded, under second-class postage, to national and international and state federations of labor officials, to all A. F. of L. organizers, to many libraries, colleges, economists and newspapers sympathetic to the trade union movement.

A summary of the proceedings of our New Orleans convention, last year, was printed in a special four-page issue of 37,000 copies. Our entire jurisdiction was informed of action taken on every subject through copies forwarded to secretaries of all locals of national and international affiliates, local building and metal trades councils, railway shop federations, union label leagues, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local labor unions directly affiliated to the A. F. of L.

Its publication makes it possible for the labor press, official magazines, trade union officials, and all A. F. of L. organizers to keep in close touch with developments in the organized labor movement and in related subjects.

**Survey of Business**—The Monthly Survey of Business is a new service which the President of the Federation began with the month of July. This four-page bulletin gives the latest available information on business conditions compiled from the most reliable sources, shows the trends of business and indicates how these trends will affect Labor.

The business world is increasingly using statistics and economic data showing business trends as a basis for planning and determining policies. Discussion of all business and production problems, including labor relations, involves familiarity with business facts and conditions. To assist every union executive to keep posted on such information is the purpose of the Business Survey.

**Statistical and Information Service**—On the request of affiliated organizations, we have made a few special studies of wages and hours. We have also made special studies by request of member organizations on development of hours and wages. Two of these, "A Scientific Basis for Shorter Hours of Work," and a "Comparison of Wages North and South" are available for general distribution.



The Federation hopes to supply information and to respond to special requests of unions. Washington is the center for much labor and economic information collected by governmental bureaus and private agencies. To make this information of service to unions, practically all of it must be adapted to our specific problems.

It is equally the Federation's responsibility to keep these various agencies advised as to Labor's needs and point of view. Research, like other undertakings, must rest upon a balanced understanding of all factors involved. Probably the chief reason why Labor has not benefited more through government fact-finding is because we have not been more insistent in pointing out inadequacies and shortcomings of labor statistics. Following the interest and concern the Federation has shown in recent months for getting labor information from the statistical material of the Census Bureau, the Secretary of Commerce appointed representatives of the Federation on the advisory committees on manufactures and distribution and on unemployment. These committees made recommendations as to questions to be included in questionnaires to be used in the coming census.

**Library**—The American Federation of Labor Library is also an important source of education material. Within the last few years the library has been added to and built up until it now includes the more important recent books on labor subjects as well as a very good selection of older literature. A particular effort has been made to secure all publications of the federal and state bureaus, which contain material of Labor interest. These documents are valuable as sources for figures on wages and hours. The library also undertook to complete its files of trade union publications, going as far back as it has been possible to secure copies, and to have them bound.

**Organizing Literature**—As an aid to the DOUBLE UNION MEMBERSHIP campaign, the Federation has steadily added to its organizing literature folders and fliers for general use as well as material especially prepared for central bodies and directly affiliated local unions and unions needing special help. These organizations have told us that they are finding the literature of great value in their work and this is proved by the quantities ordered. From December, 1928, to August 15, 1929, we sent out 521,011 leaflets on order from our member organizations. Unions have found that leaflets sent in the mails and distributed at mill gates will reach non-union workers who could not be visited personally. The message of unionism is thus brought to them and kept before their minds and when the more intensive organizing work begins, with meetings and personal contacts, they have an understanding of the trade union which makes them ready to respond.

This literature makes special use of facts to appeal to the intelligence of workers and demonstrate the value of union membership as a business proposition as well as as humanitarian movement.

We suggest that each union should compile the facts of the service it renders which demonstrates the value of unionism. Union gains in wages, reduction of work time, better conditions of work and improvement in work status as contrasted with former conditions, constitute a most convincing proof of the value of union dues as an investment.

**Labor Literature and Public Libraries**—In order to make publications most effective, the necessary thought must be given to distribution. The most direct method is to see to it that our publications are sent to the libraries of all communities, so that



they may be available for consultation and reading by all the community. School children, students and general readers make continuous use of public school libraries and a volume filed in such centers gives maximum service.

The Federation has been urging local organizations to get in touch with their public libraries and arrange to have Labor's publications put on the shelves—both through subscription and as gifts. The response has been general and gratifying.

We urge that the Education Committee of each central labor union be given responsibility for having the American Federationist, and our more important pamphlets included in public libraries and the more important school libraries.

**Broadcasting**—Unless Labor finds a way to get its message on the air, it will be excluded from what has come to be a method of communication that now rivals the press. Practically every live organization makes use of local broadcasting stations to bring its cause to general attention.

Well planned radio programs would add to Labor's standing in the community and would get wider understanding for trade union ideals and purposes. Broadcasting that conforms to the ethics of advertising business, presenting the facts as to Labor's position, would make for that mutual understanding of related problems that promotes industrial peace in the community.

Labor is represented in this new field by WCFL, which is owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor. The station is available for the use of trade union organizations and their officials. WCFL has a program for improved service that would make it an educational factor of nation-wide consequence. It is important that Labor should have an opportunity to tell its story and for this purpose WCFL has asked for an exclusive wave length with unlimited opportunity for broadcasting. At present WCFL divides its time with a Seattle station, thereby losing evening time when wage earners are most likely to be home.

The American Federation of Labor and affiliated unions are supporting the Chicago Federation of Labor in its efforts to secure an exclusive wave length. We believe that adequate presentation of Labor's position is necessary to well informed public opinion.

While only one central labor union is fortunate enough to have available for its use a labor broadcasting station, it is possible to get broadcasting services from other stations. It is less difficult to make such arrangements if high grade programs can be assured. Speakers should be provided with facts effectively and concisely presented. But if organized labor does not take the initiative to secure time on the radio, Labor will be practically excluded from this important field.

Arrangement of a broadcasting program is not a matter to be undertaken without a committee to plan and carry it through effectively, but some plan should be undertaken when possible.

Among broadcasting undertakings reported to us during the past year are the following:

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Rochester, New York, had an arrangement with WHEC for a half-hour program on Wednesday and Friday evenings during the months of January, February and March.

The Union Label League of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, the first labor body in the Dominion to use the radio, has an arrangement for bi-weekly broadcasting over the local station, CKOC.

The Kenosha Trades and Labor Council during part of the winter had one hour each week donated by Station WCLO.

The Topeka Federation of Labor was tendered by Senator Capper the use of his radio station, WIBW, for one-half hour weekly.

The Central Trades Council of Greater New York arranged radio talks over Station WLWL.

The Union Lable Trades Department of Philadelphia, arranged for a radio program running through three weeks, broadcasting over Station WCAM.

The Federation will be glad to give as much help as possible in the arrangement of local programs.

**Legal Information Bureau**—During the past year the Bureau has continued the publication of the Legal Information Bulletin, making available to our organizations and membership the more important legal decisions of our federal and state courts.

In comparison with other years the injunctions issued against our organizations and brought to the attention of our Bureau have been few. One injunction which has attracted more attention than any other in the past year was that issued by Federal Judge Wayne G. Borah, of New Orleans, against the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America upon the application of the New York Trust Company and others. At one time during the strike, and with the knowledge and permission of Judge Borah, a large number of United States Deputy Marshals were permitted to ride the street cars and to act as guards and watchmen of the properties of the street railway.

During the past year the Bureau attempted to secure copies of the various injunctions issued from time to time against trade unions and officers thereof. As a result of the cooperation of union executives, the Federation's file of injunctions is constantly growing. If the same measure of cooperation is extended in the future as has been given during the past year, we will be in possession of as complete a file of injunctions as it is possible to obtain. The sustained support and cooperation of all are solicited to this end.

From the material already assembled in the Federation office an effort has been made and is being made to compile a list of all persons fined or imprisoned for contempt of injunctions issued in industrial disputes. A large number of instances has already been collected and the material is being compiled.

The Legal Information Bulletin was published monthly, from January through June. Approximately fifty decisions have been published—a number of these being decisions by the United States Supreme Court, affecting the labor movement directly in most cases and indirectly in others. A brief summary of some of the more important decisions is outlined here.

In *Northern Coal and Dock Company and General Accident, Fire and Life Assurance Corporation vs. Strand*, the United States Supreme Court has held that a worker employed upon the docks and assisting in unloading vessels is a maritime worker and compensation for his death must be had under the provisions of the Longshoremen's Compensation Act and not by virtue of any State Compensation Act. In this case Strand was an employee of a dock company and was accidentally killed while assisting in the discharge of the cargo. The widow secured an award of death benefits under the Wisconsin Compensation Act, which award was later affirmed by the state

courts. On a writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court of Wisconsin the United States Supreme Court reversed the judgment and held that the employment and tort were maritime and that the rights of the parties must be ascertained upon a consideration of the maritime law and not under a state compensation act.

In *Jordan vs. Tashiro*, the United States Supreme Court has decided that subjects of Japan residing in California are entitled to construct and operate a general hospital and to lease land for that purpose under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Japan proclaimed April 5, 1911.

A price-fixing statute of the State of Tennessee proposing to fix prices at which gasoline might be sold within the state was held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, as not within the power of the State Legislature to enact. In this case, *Williams vs. Standard Oil Company of Louisiana*, the court held that dealing in gasoline was a business not affected with the public interest and that a state legislature could not constitutionally fix prices at which commodities may be sold unless the business or property involved was so affected.

In *Frost vs. Corporation Commission of the State of Oklahoma*, an Oklahoma statute which provided that licenses to establish a cotton ginning plant were to be issued to cooperatives without the showing of public interest, was held by the United States Supreme Court to produce an arbitrary classification and that this provision placed a greater burden upon an individual or corporation than upon cooperative associations and was in violation of the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. Three justices, Brandeis, Holmes and Stone, dissented from the majority opinion.

In *Karnuth vs. United States*, the United States Supreme Court has held that alien residents of Canada who visit the United States to perform labor for hire are quota immigrants. In this case two aliens, one a British subject born in Scotland, and the other an Italian, sought admission to the United States as non-immigrants. Prior thereto one had crossed from Canada to the United States daily for a period of three weeks to engage in work. On this occasion she was out of employment but desired admission to look for work. The other immigrant had been working in the United States for more than a year, crossing daily by use of an identification card. He sought admission to resume work. Both were denied by the immigration inspectors. In a habeas corpus proceeding the Federal District Court for the Western District of New York sustained the action of the immigration officials and dismissed the writ. On appeal to the circuit court this judgment was reversed, the circuit court of appeals holding that an alien crossing from Canada to the United States daily to labor for hire was not an immigrant but a visitor for business within the meaning of Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924. In reaching this decision the Circuit Court seemed to be of the opinion that if the statute was construed so as to exclude the aliens it would be in conflict with Article 3 of the Jay Treaty of 1794. The Supreme Court reversed the decision of the Circuit Court and held that temporary visitors to the United States to perform labor for hire, were not temporary visitors for business and to so construe the word "business" as to include labor for hire would oppose the intent of Congress when enacting immigration laws. It also held that the Jay Treaty provision was abrogated by the war of 1812 and the fact that free crossing was allowed for a long period of time thereafter did not revive this provision providing for such free crossing.

In *London Guarantee and Accident Company vs. Industrial Accident Commission*

of California, it was held that an employe who was drowned while attempting to save a boat which had gone adrift was governed by the maritime jurisdiction and not by the state compensation laws. The fact that the seaman was not on the vessel at the time was immaterial since the jurisdiction of an admiralty court does not depend upon the injury being suffered aboard a vessel but upon it having been committed on the high seas or other navigable waters.

In *United States vs. Schwimmer*, the United States Supreme Court has refused naturalization paper to one where the applicant stated that she would not take up arms personally in defense of the country, where she also held opinions and beliefs opposing military service and where she is an uncompromising pacifist with no sense of nationalism.

In *St. Louis and O'Fallon Railway vs. United States*, the United States Supreme Court held that the Interstate Commerce Commission had used an improper method in ascertaining the values of properties of this railroad because it failed in fixing the value to take into consideration the present cost of construction or reproduction. Three Justices, Brandeis, Holmes and Stone dissented.

The Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, in the case of *Carpenters' Union vs. Citizens' Committee*, upheld the issuance of an injunction which restrained the Citizens' Committee to Enforce the Landis Award from interfering with the union. The Citizens' Committee had attempted by various ways to interfere with the union and its members. An injunction was asked for and denied by the court of first instance and this decision was affirmed by the Appellate Court for the First District. Upon an appeal to the State Supreme Court, however, the decisions of the lower courts were reversed and the injunction allowed.

In *Goins vs. Sargent* the Supreme Court of North Carolina allowed recovery by Goins against the North Carolina Granite Corporation because it notified other persons, firms and corporations that it would not deliver stone to any such who employed or retained Goins in their employment. Goins was thus prevented from securing employment in the state and was compelled to secure employment elsewhere. The defendants demurred to the complaint and it was overruled. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court the decision of the lower court was affirmed.

The United States Court of Claims, in *Russian Volunteer Fleet vs. United States*, dismissed the suit brought against the United States and held that since the Soviet government had not been recognized by the United States a citizen of it may not maintain a suit in the Court of Claims. The question of whether there is such a government known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was held to be one for executive determination and not for the judiciary.

The above decisions represent but a small part of those appearing in our bulletins. If anyone wishes to secure a complete copy of any of these foregoing cases, he may do so by making a request to the Legal Information Bureau.

**Committee on Education**—The A. F. of L. Committee on Education during the past year has consisted of the following: Matthew Woll, chairman; George W. Perkins, Charles L. Baine, John P. Frey, Henry R. Linville, Thomas Kennedy.

Due to the fact that it seemed best to concentrate our resources on organizing work, it was not possible for this committee to meet during the past year and its deliberations were carried on through correspondence.

Under the direction of the chairman of the committee, the survey of text books used in teaching social sciences, was completed. The majority of publishers were most cooperative, realizing that such a review as the Federation had undertaken, was a service to them as well as to the schools. Our reviews of these school texts show that books now in use are much more comprehensive and balanced than was the case when the Federation undertook this work in 1920-1921. We think that our work has been to a considerable degree helpful in indicating what was necessary to make texts more comprehensive.

The method has been to point out inadequacy or inaccuracy in that part of texts dealing with economic or labor matters. A number of publishers have safeguarded their books by asking the Federation to read manuscripts so that they could benefit by criticism in advance of publication.

The committee has continued its work of stimulating the creation of committees on education by central labor unions and suggesting to these committees matters which should receive attention. It has emphasized the need of labor representation on boards of education and directors of public libraries and especially the need for labor participation in the directing of vocational education.

**Commission on Workers' Education**—The New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor recommended that a commission be appointed to review progress in workers' education and to recommend policies for the future. The commission appointed consists of Matthew Woll, chairman; Gertrude McNally, and Victor A. Olander. The commission has outlined its work and has begun gathering material. It has invited a few prominent educators to act in advisory capacity. At this time the committee reports progress.

#### AMERICAN RED CROSS

As the agency upon which our government and our people rely for sympathetic, highly trained, effective aid and help in every national disaster where the health and lives of our citizenship are threatened the American Red Cross maintains a position in our body politic to which none other is comparable. Not only is its unique service nationally extended but in times of great world disaster it functions as an international source of succor and relief.

As a matter of official record we give herewith a resolution adopted by the delegates of Chapters of the American Red Cross at the final plenary session of the eighth convention on April 25, 1929:

"WHEREAS, the men and women who perform the nation's work in the factories, in the mines and in the manifold trades and industries support the services of the American National Red Cross locally, nationally and internationally through annual membership, and from time to time utilize the Red Cross as their agency for extending sympathy and substantial aid to their fellow men and women in all ranks of life stricken by disaster; and

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, the representative of the organized labor of the nation, extends the invitation of the Red Cross at each Roll Call period to the great mass of working men and women and their families through the channels of organized labor; and

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has assured the American Red Cross of its continued support; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the delegates of Chapters of the American National Red Cross assembled in convention from all parts of the United States and its territories express to the American Federation of Labor and to all its affiliated organizations and to the

individual workers, its most heartfelt thanks for the moral and practical support which has been given to it and which it feels assured it may depend upon at all times."

### INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

**International Federation of Trade Unions**—There has been no progress in establishing international labor relations. The conditions that made necessary our withdrawal from the International Federation of Trade Unions still maintain.

The American Federation of Labor is appreciative of the value of constructive machinery for dealing with problems and relations. Such agencies are essential to orderly progress in relations between nations and special group interests, and organization in furtherance of constructive principles means progress in advancing related interests. Workers in each separate country gain by higher wages and higher standards of living for the workers in all other countries.

**Pan-American Federation of Labor**—The Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor will be held in Havana, Cuba, on January 6, 1930. We are looking forward to this meeting, which we believe will be one of the most important and outstanding held so far.

The convention call, sent in April, 1929, laid down the following fundamental principles which are the basis of our aims, activities, and relations with the labor movements throughout the Americas:

"We hold this to be fundamental—no relations between the Pan-American countries can be permanent that are not based upon the will of the masses of the people and in accord with their concepts of justice.

"We deem it an essential step toward democracy and justice that there shall be established for the masses who have hitherto been without regular agencies for expressing their views and desires, opportunities that will enable them to have a voice in helping and determining international affairs.

"The labor movements of the various countries constitute the instrumentalities that can best accomplish this purpose and give expression to national ideas and convictions that have been too long inarticulate and impotent."

In the past years we have followed very closely these principles and we have had the gratification of obtaining the confidence of almost all the labor movements south of the United States. It has been a hard task for the Pan-American Federation of Labor to have its aims and purposes known and understood in Latin countries of the Western Hemisphere. There have been many forces put into action to try to undermine our influence in these countries.

Our desire is to help working people in these countries. Through a resolution approved in the Fifth Congress we have been able to bring about the creation of bureaus or departments of labor in Costa Rica and El Salvador. In Chile, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Peru we have interested the governments in the establishment of these departments and they have the matter under consideration. In Cuba a sub-commission to study labor problems has been created.

It has always been the wish of the officials of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to send a commission to the Pan-American countries in order to be in closer contact with the labor organizations of these countries and to find the most convenient way to help them. We have had requests from all of the countries concerned to send this commission.



The labor organizations of Cuba, Peru, Bolivia, United States, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Chile, Venezuela and Porto Rico have already selected their representatives to the Sixth Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. We have never seen a greater enthusiasm for a Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor than is manifest at present. Our actions in the Fifth Congress have added much to our prestige in the Latin countries.

## CONCLUSION

This report of work and progress during the past year shows gratifying achievements and developing opportunities. We find in the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor sound constructive policies and that attitude toward labor problems that promises well-ordered development and progress.

We urge every affiliated organization to continue during the coming year our campaign to DOUBLE UNION MEMBERSHIP. A splendid basis has been laid and renewed efforts will enable us to realize appreciably greater results. Organizing work involves educating workers and rousing them to do what is to their own best interests. There may be considerable time between the sowing of the seed and the harvest but the results are cumulative. We urge, therefore, that every national and international organization, every central labor union, state federation of labor, every local union or division, undertake a definite organizing campaign for the purpose of DOUBLING UNION MEMBERSHIP in the coming year.

Faternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
*President,*

FRANK DUFFY,  
*First Vice-President.*

T. A. RICKERT,  
*Second Vice-President.*

MATTHEW WOLL,  
*Third Vice-President.*

JAMES WILSON,  
*Fourth Vice-President.*

JAMES P. NOONAN,  
*Fifth Vice-President.*

JOHN COEFIELD,  
*Sixth Vice-President.*

ARTHUR O. WHARTON,  
*Seventh Vice-President.*

JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
*Eighth Vice-President.*

MARTIN F. RYAN,  
*Treasurer.*

FRANK MORRISON,  
*Secretary.*  
*Executive Council,*  
*American Federation of Labor.*



Following is a list of subjects in the Report of the Executive Council assigned by President Green to the appropriate committees:

**Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report**

Relations Between National and International Unions.  
Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.  
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers—Tunnel and Subway Constructors.  
Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers.  
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.  
Adjustments.  
Sleeping Car Porters.  
Official Changes.  
"Yellow Dog" Contracts.  
Workmen's Compensation Laws.

**Referred to Committee on Resolutions**

Industrial Progress.  
Present Economic Trends in United States.  
Not Prosperity for All.  
Wage Earners Progress.  
Employment.  
Incomes.  
Wages of Wage Earners.  
Incomes of Other Groups.  
What Are Wage Earners Living On?  
Various Industrial Groups.  
Progress in Organized Trades.  
Comparison With Union Wages.  
Old Age Security.  
State Old Age Pension Law.  
Old Age Retirement Provisions.  
Progress in Canada.  
Discrimination Against Older Workers.  
Suggestions for Union Old Age Benefits.  
Participation in Important Undertakings.  
Broadcasting.  
Non-Partisan Political Policy.  
Private Employment Agencies.  
Legislation:  
Unemployment.  
Unemployment Census.

**Referred to Committee on Laws**

Proposed Constitutional Amendment.

**Referred to Committee on Organization**

Organization Work.  
Awakening South.  
Oil Fields in the Southwest.  
New York Needle Trades.  
Organizing Methods.  
Organization Progress.  
Union Progress.  
Central Labor Unions.  
District Organizers.  
Organizing Plans.  
Other Local Activities.  
Keeping Records.  
State Federations—Organizing Campaign:  
Porto Rico.  
Progress During the Year.  
Other Activities Reported.  
Conclusion.

**Referred to Committee on Education**

Labor's Significant Days.  
Educational Work.  
American Federationist.

A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.  
Survey of Business.  
Statistical and Information Service.  
Library.  
Organizing Literature.  
Labor Literature and Public Libraries.  
Legal Information Bureau.  
Committee on Education.  
Commission on Workers' Education.  
American Red Cross.

**Legislation:**

Child Labor.  
Child Health Day.

**Referred to Committee on State Organization**  
Legislative Work.

**Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday**

Leisure.  
Five-Day Week.  
Vacations With Pay.

**Referred to Committee on Legislation**

National Legislation.  
Immigration.  
Conscription.  
Coal Legislation.  
Slavery Convention Reservation.  
Registration Certificates for Aliens.  
Sales Tax.  
Retirement Act and Forty-four Hour Week.  
"Equal Rights."  
Aid for the Farmers.  
Wage Revision Bill.  
Convict Labor Legislation in the States.

**Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations**

International Labor Relations.  
International Federation of Trade Unions.  
Pan-American Federation of Labor.

President Green announced that the time limit for introduction of resolutions would expire at 12 o'clock midnight, Tuesday, October 8.

**RESOLUTIONS**

**Compensation for Canal Zone Pilots**

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John J. Scully, of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America:

WHEREAS, Section 4 of the Act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection and operation of the Panama Canal and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone, approved August 12, 1912, provides that salaries and compensation of employees necessary to the maintenance, protection and operation of the Canal fixed by the President or by his authority shall in no instance exceed by more than twenty-five per centum the salary or compensation paid for the same or similar services to persons in the employment of the government of the United States; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson, under date of February 2, 1914, issued an Executive order providing conditions of employment for the

permanent force for the Panama Canal, pursuant to the Act, and containing the same restriction; and

WHEREAS, The Canal was opened to traffic August 15, 1914, with twelve pilots employed, and the traffic has increased to such an extent that seventy pilots are necessary to pilot vessels through the canal; and

WHEREAS, There are no pilots employed by the government of the United States other than Navy Yard pilots, who pilot only naval vessels and whose compensation is fixed to correspond with that of experienced tug boat captains in general commercial service in the ports where the Navy Yards are located; and

WHEREAS, The pilotage of passenger and freight vessels into and out of the ports of the continental United States is done by pilots appointed by Pilot Commissions of the various states and whose compensation is by fee system according to tonnage and draft of vessels, netting each pilot of any port where the traffic most nearly approaches in volume the traffic through the Canal a sum considerably in excess of that paid to Navy Yard Pilots; and

WHEREAS, The majority of vessels passing through the Canal are passenger and freight vessels and the Canal pilots must possess the same qualifications in skill and alertness as the pilots of the various ports of the continental United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention at Toronto, Canada, endorses and supports a change in the law regulating employment in the Canal Zone, in so far as it relates to Canal pilots, which will permit comparison for purposes of fixing the base compensation of the pilots with the average net compensation of pilots performing similar service in the ports of continental United States and regulated by state laws.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Reaffirming Declaration Favoring the Placing of Mexico Under Quota Provisions of Immigration Law.**

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Business interests as represented by the Chambers of Commerce of various beet raising states have declared in opposition to the passage of the Box Bill to place Mexican nationals under the quota provision of the Federal Immigration law, alleging that this avenue to cheap labor must remain open or business interests will suffer; and

WHEREAS, Wage-earners not alone of the states bordering on Mexico, but some far removed, find the introduction of these workers contributing to increased unemployment and diminished standards of wages and hours of labor, tending to peonize unskilled workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its convention held in the city of New Orleans, November, 1928, went on record as favoring the enactment of legislation placing Mexico under the provisions of the quota law; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm our position as expressed in our 1928 convention, instruct our incoming Executive Council to exert every reasonable effort to secure the enactment of this legislation, and, further, that every national and international union, local and state central body be urged to correspond with its senators and congressmen asking their support of same, to the end that American standards of life may not be threatened for American labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Urging Enactment of Old Age Pension Legislation in All States.**

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Several states have enacted legislation providing pensions for aged residents, under certain conditions; and

WHEREAS, We believe this legislation will prove helpful in eliminating the worst features of "County Poor Farms" and "Poor Houses," whose operation in many states have been exposed as heartless, as well as humiliating to those whose loss of earning power or inability to provide for the requirements of old age force them to accept these provisions for their maintenance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the 49th, annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we affirm our belief in social legislation of this character and call upon the justice-loving people of all states not yet having such legislation to work for its enactment, with compulsory provisions that will not leave its application optional with Boards of County Commissioners or other county officers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge State Federations of Labor to use all possible efforts to co-operate with all other agencies or fraternal organizations to secure the enactment of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Urging Amendment to American Federation of Labor Constitution Making Affiliation of Local Unions With Central and State Bodies Compulsory.**

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Despite continued communications from President Green of the American Federation of Labor addressed to National and International Unions, and, in turn, letters from

officers of these to their subordinate locals, many of these continue to withhold their affiliation from regularly chartered local and state central bodies; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we so amend our constitution as to make such affiliation compulsory on subordinate local unions in affiliation with the national and international unions comprising this Federation, to the end that the full co-operation of the entire labor movement may be available for the work of these organizations.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

#### **Urging Demand for Union Retail Clerks**

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates John B. Schulte and C. C. Coulter, of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association:

**WHEREAS**, There yet remains a large number of employees in retail stores throughout the country who are not organized, in spite of the efforts of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association to bring all of these wage-earners into affiliation with the labor movement; and

**WHEREAS**, There are many committees in which the other crafts are strongly organized but where there are but few if any Union Retail Clerks; and

**WHEREAS**, Such a situation is wholly inconsistent with the principles of organized labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That all members of organized labor be urged to insist upon the services of Union Clerks when making purchases in retail stores, and to continually bear in mind that the demand for union label merchandise should be coupled with the demand for Union Clerks; and, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this the Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all delegates here assembled to use their influence to extend organization among retail store employees, to create new local unions where the Retail Clerks are unorganized, and to strengthen existing local unions by patronizing stores displaying the Union Store Card and Union Clerks wearing the Monthly Working Button; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention instruct that a message be sent from the office of the American Federation of Labor to every affiliated organization and to all organizers, stressing the importance of strongly supporting the efforts of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association to organize all Retail Clerks, recognizing that such support from the organized crafts is essential in order that the Retail Clerks and their employers may be convinced that union men and women will not be satisfied to spend a large proportion of the money earned by them under union conditions, in retail stores where no Union Clerks are

employed; and further recognizing that the remedy for non-union stores where same exists lies in the proper exercise of the buying power of union men and women.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

#### **Proposing Abolishment of Capital Punishment.**

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America:

**WHEREAS**, The Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America adopted the following resolution for consideration by the representatives of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor;

**RESOLVED**, That capital punishment, a relic of the ancient Mosaic law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, should have no place in the jurisprudence of the twentieth century and should be abolished; and

**RESOLVED**, That we urge the representatives of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to give this question their serious consideration, and instruct the Executive Council to do what in their judgment is best to end this blot on present-day civilization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Urging Assistance to Secure Wage Standards for Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers.**

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Paul Vaccarelli, of the Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers Union No. 17958, of New York City:

**WHEREAS**, We have not received any relief from Resolution No. 37, which was unanimously adopted at the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Los Angeles, California, for the purpose of urging legislation to secure wage standard for the Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers, of New York City, who are indirectly employed by the City of New York, under a contract which was awarded by the Department of Street Cleaning to the highest bidder, Messrs. Carizzo & Izzo, this being a contract where the contractor agrees to pay the city a certain sum of money each week for the privilege of picking from the refuse on the land fills and waterfront dumps of Manhattan and the Bronx; and

**WHEREAS**, The contract signed by the City of New York with the present contractors to do this work on the land fills of Manhattan and the Bronx has a clause, on page 19, section R, of the original signed contract, which reads as follows:

"The contractor agrees that he will comply with the provisions of 'The Labor Law.' He further agrees that no laborer, workman, or

mechanic in the employ of the contractor, subcontractor, or other person doing or contracting to do the whole or a part of the work contemplated by this contract shall be permitted or required to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency caused by fire, flood, or danger to life and property. That the wages to be paid for a legal day's work to all classes of such laborers, workmen, or mechanics upon public work or upon any material to be used thereon shall not be less than the prevailing rate for a day's work in the same trade or occupation in the locality where such public work is being constructed. Each such laborer, workman, or mechanic shall receive the prevailing rate of wages. This contract shall be void and of no effect unless the person or corporation making or performing the same shall comply with the provisions of Section 222 of the Labor Law"—

and which we know has not been enforced by the Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning, although representatives of the American Federation of Labor as well as representatives of this Local Union have repeatedly called upon the Commissioner for the enforcement of the above clause, so that the contractors would be compelled to pay the prevailing rate of wages, and to also sign a working agreement with Local 17958, of the American Federation of Labor, as has been done by every other contractor that preceded them, which the members of this Local Union have worked under for a number of years; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with Resolution No. 37, which was unanimously adopted at the Los Angeles Convention, the New York Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, Messrs. Hugh Frayne, Edward F. McGrady, and William Collins, have been unable to obtain a personal interview with the Mayor of the City of New York, so as to bring it to his attention, as we know that to be the only real remedy for relief, as the Mayor of New York, the Hon. James J. Walker, would immediately put a stop to such disgraceful conditions as soon as he is aware of it; and

WHEREAS, The New York Representatives of the American Federation of Labor have done everything possible to bring that about in order to obtain a personal interview with the Mayor of the City of New York; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor will correspond directly with the Mayor and the Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning, of New York, bringing to their attention the facts as set forth in this Resolution, so that some relief can be had for the members of this Local Union, who are compelled to work ten hours or more per day, and some of them receiving less than one-half of the prevailing rate of wages, the minimum of which is seventy-five cents per hour. Affidavits to this effect are now on file in the office of the American Federation of Labor, in New

York City, which were signed and sworn to by a number of the men who were employed by the land dump contractors, and were later discharged for retaining their membership in our Local Union, and also because they demanded union wages; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be mailed to the Mayor of the City of New York, and the Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning, of the City of New York, with a request that proper steps be taken by them so that the recognition of this local union by the contractors who are doing the work for the Department of Street Cleaning will continue as heretofore, with a signed agreement guaranteeing that the prevailing rate of wages will be paid by them, and respect the eight-hour law of the City and State of New York, so that our members may enjoy the fruits of their labor, as well as other organized bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the contractor be compelled to live up to the Labor Laws of the State of New York, and all other provisions called for in his contract with the City of New York, awarded to such contractors that are at present doing this class of work, and all other contractors that may follow.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Fire Prevention.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Donald Dear, of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The efficacy of continuous community campaigns to reduce the fire losses has been amply demonstrated in many American and Canadian cities; and

WHEREAS, The safeguarding of industrial plants and factories from fire is essential to their uninterrupted operation and employment of labor; the American Federation of Labor hereby

RESOLVED, That the period of the educational campaigns of Fire Prevention Week promoted in the United States and Canada by the National Fire Protection Association and its members should be utilized to inaugurate in all cities of these countries a continuous and effective fire prevention movement aimed at the complete elimination of conflagration dangers and the promotion of fire-safe conditions in all places of public assemblage and buildings in which labor is employed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Social Insurance

Resolution No. 9—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The development of our trade and the specialization and speed-up systems in industry generally throw thousands of workers out of employment yearly; and

WHEREAS, The employers are discriminating against middle age men, and, as a result of that, members of our Brotherhood, as well as workers generally, are suffering misery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this fourteenth convention of the B. of P. D. & P. goes on record for a federal system of social insurance, unemployment, old age, sickness, etc.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to bring before it a resolution that the Federation as a whole go on record for this law of social insurance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Conference in the Interest of the People of Porto Rico.**

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, the various conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the last twenty years have requested and called for a thorough Congressional investigation of the affairs and conditions of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, while Congress never appointed any official Commission to go to Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation on conditions there, the Legislature of the Island approved a resolution to do it, and other private institutions voluntarily did the same, including the American Federation of Labor, the Brookings Institute of Economics, the Foreign Policy Association and other prominent economists and individuals; and

WHEREAS, All the facts and data that could be gathered at this time by the Legislature of Porto Rico and those institutions and individuals that already have finished their reports, which are available to be used in Congress, very properly, in behalf of the people of the Island, provided the best information is given to the press and the public opinion of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled, that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed and authorized to help the people of Porto Rico by causing a gathering of all the heads of the institutions and prominent economists, representatives of labor and citizens who may be interested in the affairs and conditions of Porto Rico, residing in Washington, New York or Porto Rico, inviting them to a round table conference to be held in Washington to discuss ways and means, and agree to a plan, to remedy the situation of the people of that Island, to be presented to the President and Congress next year.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Recommendations in Interest of the People of the Virgin Islands.**

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State Federation of Labor on behalf of the Federal Labor Union No. 17261, A. F. of L., St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, of the United States, to the Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Canada:

WHEREAS, The Report of Joint Commission appointed under the authority of the Concurrent Resolution passed by the Congress of the United States, January, 1920, maintains that in the Virgin Islands of the United States: "The conditions under which the laboring men and their families live are not good"; and

WHEREAS, It further maintains, commenting on the temporary form of government that still obtains, that: "The time has arrived when some more permanent provisions should be made for their government"; and

WHEREAS, The Report of the Federal Commission appointed by the Secretary of Labor, February, 1924, to investigate Industrial and Economic conditions in the Virgin Islands, U.S.A., recommends: "In order to stabilize wages, protect the native workers from harmful competition with alien laborers, and to generally assist in the relief of industrial depression, it is recommended that the Department of Labor appoint for service on the Islands a Commissioner of Conciliation who shall also enforce the Federal Immigration Laws"; and

WHEREAS, Said Commission further recommends that "A new organic act should be passed, so as to authorize the adoption of a new Code of Laws based upon American ideals and calculated to insure an administration and enforcement of the laws in keeping with American practices"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Forty-ninth Convention assembled goes on record endorsing the recommendations of and pledging its support to the Joint Commission on Insular Reorganization appointed by the Seventy-first Congress, with the Senator from Connecticut, Hiram Bingham, Chairman; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to send to the Virgin Islands of the U.S.A. qualified organizers to assist in the organization of the workers there, to study the economic conditions that obtain, report same to the Executive Council, and the President to use all influences at his command to bring these conditions to the attention of the Congress for remedial legislation thereof.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Federal Bills on Pensions for Spanish War Veterans

Resolution No. 12—By The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has in its ranks many members who volunteered and fought for the United States in the Spanish-American War; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the United States Government should be liberal in its appreciation of the loyalty shown by these men in the War of 1898; and

WHEREAS, These men as patriotic citizens and Brotherhood members gave all the manhood they possessed in that war; and

WHEREAS, There are now pending in the Congress of the United States of America two bills known as House Bill 2562 and Senate Bill 476, which bills will equalize the present pensions paid Spanish War Veterans; be it

RESOLVED, That the 14th General Assembly of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, assembled in Denver, Colo., this 2nd of September, 1929, go on record in favor of the passage by Congress of said bills; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the A. F. of L. to support those bills.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Protest in Re Naval Appropriations Bill of 1912

Resolution No. 13—By The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Naval Appropriation Bill of 1912 provides, "That no work shall be done by enlisted men except that which can be done at sea or in a foreign port"; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a fair interpretation of the above act means that only emergency work, painting of bottoms or making minor repairs, is the scope of the work on naval vessels to which enlisted men may be assigned; and

WHEREAS, This clause was inserted in the bill referred to, at the request of organized labor, to stop the practice of enlisted men performing work properly belonging to the civilian employees of the navy yards and naval stations; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy has continued to allow the enlisted personnel to perform a large part of work on naval vessels which we believe rightfully belongs to the civilian employees, after repeated appeals for its discontinuance and the assignment of such work to the civilian employees have been made to the Secretary of the Navy; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy has held that he is within his rights in assigning such work as interior painting and much other work to the enlisted personnel; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, in convention assembled, does hereby go on record as believing that the position of the Secretary of the Navy in permitting enlisted men to perform a large portion of the repair work, modernization and painting of naval vessels is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Naval Appropriation Act of 1912; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Virginia State Federation of Labor bring this matter to the attention of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor and request it to again bring the matter to the attention of the Navy Department and ask for a reversal of the Department's past attitude, and that in case the Department refuses to modify its practice that such other steps as may be necessary be taken to get a satisfactory settlement of this dispute.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Veterans Preference Law

Resolution No. 14—By The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, There has been repeated and continued violation of the very intent of the Veterans Preference allowance in Federal Service; and

WHEREAS, All appeals have been without avail in finally regulating the injustices incurred; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has formally recognized this discrimination against veterans, in their rightful allowances, and has conferred with government officials and protested against this unjust discrimination; and

WHEREAS, Members of both Houses of Congress have offered to sponsor legislation to rectify unjust treatment of veterans, as presented to them by veterans and trade unionists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the unanimous vote of this Convention be given the Preference Law herewith submitted to you for action, that each Camp Adjutant be urged to write its Congressional Representative, that the delegates from Pennsylvania to the Denver encampment bring this law before said Convention asking their unanimous action and that all Camps work to advise other veteran bodies that their fullest co-operation may be had and Veteran Preference in Federal Service be made a reality, and that the newly elected State Commander be and is hereby charged with the responsibility of forwarding the intent of this resolution.



## A BILL

**GRANTING PREFERENCE IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE** to Veterans of the several wars we have been engaged in, both as to entry into service and retention therein.

**BE IT ENACTED** by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled—That veteran preference be made mandatory by law to all veterans passing Civil Service Examination, with passing mark as at present allowed, ten points preference if disabled, and five points preference if not disabled. Veterans, if disabled, to be placed at the top of the list.

**RETENTION IN SERVICE**—After appointment, by serving the six months' probationary period required by Civil Service, to prove an efficiency, his permanency is then assured, except that charges only can remove him, with right of hearing and appeal, with counsel, on said charges. That passing of examination and serving of probationary period, with passing average, is to constitute "Good" on entry, and is to be considered to constitute "Good" during his entire service.

**SERVICE CREDITS**—That "service credits" shall be granted for every full year's service, whether civil or military. Preference employees to have all posted lists.

**FURLONGHS**—In case furlough becomes necessary in his group, that he shall only receive his pro-rata share of furlough necessary to his group.

**PROMOTIONS**—In examining for promotion, that veteran be given same preference as in original examination, ten and five points preference, and that examinations be held under civil service regulations as are examinations for "Master."

**RULES**—That no rules shall be made contradictory of intent of enacted law.

**HEARING ON CHARGES**—That hearing on charges be heard before a Board of three members, one member to be chosen by party filing charges, one member to be chosen by party charged, the two members then chosen to choose the third member of the Board, he to be Chairman of Board.

**RECORD OF CHARGES**—Complete record of charges, hearing and evidence on charges to be kept, same to be forwarded to Department Head at Washington, D.C. Findings of Board to be final except that appeal may be taken.

**APPEAL**—Appeal from decision of Board must be taken within thirty days after decision of Board is rendered, to Head of Department at Washington, whose decision in writing, with reasons therefor, are final.

This law to apply to all war veterans, their wives and widows, now granted preference and those who may, under existing law, become eligible to preference.

**PENALTY FOR VIOLATION**—Penalty for violation of the Veteran Preference Law, upon conviction, to be one year in the Federal Prison, or \$1,000.00, or both.

That all acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby annulled and amended only in so far as and to the extent provided and stated.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Air Craft Department of the A. F. of L.**  
Resolution No. 15—By The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

**WHEREAS**, The automobile and air craft industry has grown and is now a fixture in our every-day life; and

**WHEREAS**, The several trades employed have not organized, due to their inability to keep in touch with the organizations having jurisdiction; and

**WHEREAS**, Organizations that have jurisdiction have failed to keep pace with the growth of the industry because of their fixed division of members into the Building Trades Department, Railway Department and Metal Trades Department; and

**WHEREAS**, There is great need of an Auto, Aircraft Department; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Brotherhood go on record favoring the establishment of such a department in the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

## WCFL

Resolution No. 16—Submitted by The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

**WHEREAS**, Organized Labor is entitled to a national, cleared and unlimited time channel for its official radio broadcast station, owned, controlled and operated by the labor movement and designed solely to promote the industrial and humane welfare of the workers and their families in maintaining American standards of living, and in the public interest, convenience and necessity; and

**WHEREAS**, The Federal Radio Commission has not and will not give to Labor the fair and equitable consideration it is justly entitled to; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, in regular convention assembled, hereby places itself on record as recommending to the American Federation of Labor, at their forthcoming convention, that appropriate action be immediately taken in petitioning Congress for remedial legislation in securing for WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," and Farmer, a free and untrammelled wave-length, with adequate power



of 50,000 watts for their new, national, super-power radio broadcast station, so much desired by the American Federation of Labor, representing Organized Labor, together with other features so necessary to carry the human message to every worker in every part of the North American Continent.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Urging Employment of Union Accountants

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, The 48th Annual Convention, 1928, of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, La., resolution No. 35, introduced by the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, "Urging the employment of union accountants by the affiliated unions," was unanimously adopted; and

WHEREAS, A number of unions co-operated in the request, and employed union accountants who, according to reports received, commended their services as highly satisfactory; and

WHEREAS, We again submit that non-union accountants do not and cannot have the same psychology toward a union or its principles as have the members of a union, therefore the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646 again appeals to the unions affiliated with us in the American Federation of Labor to employ union accountants whenever required;

RESOLVED, That this 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Canada, October 7th, 1929, endorses this request.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### To Assist Bookkeepers and Stenographers' Union, New York City, in Securing Five-Day Work Week.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, The 48th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, La., unanimously adopted resolution No. 32 urging affiliated unions to introduce the five-day work week for the whole year; and

WHEREAS, Signal progress has resulted, many unions having tried the five-day work week as an experiment with good results; and

WHEREAS, with the mechanization of the industry, the introduction of office machinery has increased the menace of unemployment, in many cases resulting in a decrease of salaries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Canada, to give its full support and

co-operation to the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, to introduce the five-day work week in all offices under its jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

#### Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate H. A. McConaughey, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, thousands of aliens are employed in the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defence, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries, with whom we might conceivably be at war, to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled protest against the employment of aliens in positions of responsibility on the Panama Canal, and approve the principle that all positions on the Canal above the grade of laborer or messenger be filled by American citizens; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every legitimate means to have the principles approved in the preceding paragraph adopted by the administration of the Panama Canal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Saturday Half-Holiday for Canal Zone Government Employees.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate H. A. McConaughey, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Employees of the United States Government employed in the District of Columbia are now granted a Saturday half-holiday four months during the year; and

WHEREAS, Legislation will be introduced in the 71st Congress providing for Saturday half-holidays throughout the year; and

WHEREAS, Employees of the United States Government in the Canal Zone do not receive the Saturday half-holiday privilege now prevailing for Government employes in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal administration is making strenuous efforts to have employes of the Government on the Canal Zone excluded from the benefits of any Saturday half-holiday legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have employes of the Government on the Canal Zone included within the scope of the proposed bill.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing Endorsement of Retirement Measure for Canal Zone Employes.**

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Retirement Laws relative to the civilian employes of the United States Government are entirely inadequate; and

WHEREAS, Special legislation is urgently needed to provide adequate retirement for civilian employes of the United States Government in the tropics; and

WHEREAS, A bill which properly provides for the retirement needs of the Panama Canal and its employes will be introduced in the first session of the 71st Congress; and

WHEREAS, The proposed legislation has been approved by the Governor of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the proposed bill; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, who have in the past supported this legislation, be instructed to continue their efforts to secure the passage of the proposed bill.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Providing for Employment of American Citizens in Government Construction Work on Canal Zone.**

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy, of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The plans of the United States Army and Navy provide for the expenditure of approximately \$28,000,000 in construction work on the Canal Zone during the next ten years; and

WHEREAS, In so far as is practicable the expenditure of these funds should provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the United States Army and Navy should pay the prevailing rates of pay in the locality for all work performed by or for them; and

WHEREAS, The War Department has recognized the principle of paying rates of pay prevailing in the locality where work is being done in the Baker-Gompers agreement of June 19, 1917; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as approving the principles set forth in the preceding paragraphs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best efforts to see that American citizens are employed on this work in all positions above the grade of laborer or messenger, irrespective of whether this work is performed by hired labor or by contract, and that rates of pay shall conform with rates paid by the Panama Canal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Protesting Activities of Catholic Union of Quebec, Canada.**

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates W. B. Fitzgerald, William Taber, T. Regan, Neil McLellan and M. J. Murray, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America:

WHEREAS, Through the attempt of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America to organize the street and electric railway employes employed upon the Street Railway Employing Property of Quebec, Que., there came to the knowledge of the A. A. OF S. & E. R. E. OF A. the fact that there exists in Quebec, Que., a so-called Catholic Union, the policies, principles and intent of which are to serve to prevent organizing wage workers in Unions affiliated with and of the American Federation of Labor. This knowledge was brought forth from results developing within the ranks of wage workers employed upon the Street Railway Employing Property of Quebec, Que., and where it appears to have become cognizant to certain of said employes that their wages, working conditions and privileges could be better served and improved by their affiliation with organizations complying with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor and they did so affiliate with the A. A. OF S. & E. R. E. OF A. and were summarily dismissed from service upon petition of associate employes acting in accord with the principles, policies and teachings that maintain the said Catholic Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That by the delegates of the A. A. OF S. & E. R. E. OF A. who attend the forthcoming American Federation of Labor Convention there be presented to said A. F. of L. Convention the importance of the American Federation of Labor giving attention

to this so-called Catholic Union as existing in Quebec, Que., and that the American Federation of Labor Convention instruct the Committee, or the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use its endeavors in destroying this Union-antagonizing institution known as the Catholic Union and establishing conditions under which the wage workers of the entire Province of Quebec may not be antagonized in organizing in American Federation of Labor Unions; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That said delegation representing the A. A. OF S. & E. R. E. OF A. at said Convention be provided with the report upon this Catholic Union procedure which has been submitted to the General Executive Board by an Investigating Committee, that the same may be used in such a way as may serve said delegation of the A. A. OF S. & E. R. E. OF A. to the purpose of this Resolution in its presentment to the A. F. of L. Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Legislation to Secure Re-Classification of Postal Laborers' Work.**

Resolution No. 24—Introduced by Delegate E. G. Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS,** The Postal 'Laborers' Local Union of St. Paul, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has appealed to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and to the American Federation of Labor for assistance in securing a re-classification of its work in the Post Office Department so that there may be a distinction between those employees now classified as laborers, who handle and distribute mail, and messengers, watchmen and janitors, who have no such responsibility; and

**WHEREAS,** This group has also appealed for assistance in securing a better wage scale; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Minnesota State Federation of Labor requests on its behalf the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, to urge the enactment by Congress of a re-classification of this branch of the postal service, and an increase in compensation for such group.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Civil Service Court of Appeals**

Resolution No. 25—By Central Trades and Labor Council of Bremerton, Washington:

**WHEREAS,** Frequently in civil service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials, and from whose judgment the employees affected have no adequate appeal; and

**WHEREAS,** This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

**WHEREAS,** The fundamental of civil service employment is permanency of tenure if the employee is competent to perform the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees;

**THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,** That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of government employees to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a civil service court of appeals, independent of any existing government agency, to which employees may appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Occupational Dermatitis.**

Resolution No. 26—By The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

**WHEREAS,** The membership at large have experienced an alarming increase of Occupational Dermatitis contracted in the Painting industry; and

**WHEREAS,** Local Union No. 487 of Sacramento, Calif., concluded from analysis that materials used are directly responsible for the disease; and

**WHEREAS,** After compensation insurance has been paid for Dermatitis, the insurance companies consider the risk a greater liability, and opportunity for re-employment of the individual is jeopardized; and

**WHEREAS,** After a member becomes so sensitized from an attack of Dermatitis, he becomes so susceptible to a recurrence that eventually he is eliminated from the trade and in many instances becomes a burden on society; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, in the 14th Quadrennial General Assembly, assembled in Denver, Colorado, initiate measures to present to the Congress of the United States that will safeguard the workmen and determine the causes of this disease and eliminate the products from the painting industry; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the 49th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. endorse the principal involved and the Executive Council be requested to lend assistance in securing such legislation as will eliminate this abuse.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

At 4:10 p.m., on motion of Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 8.

## Second Day---Tuesday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario.

October 8, 1929.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Tuesday Morning Absentees

Dullzell, Mullaney, Kasten, Nelson, Schulte, Coulter (C.C.), Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Beardsley, Bryan, Bock, Turnbull, Rode Gorman, Lane (Dennis), Kelly (M.J.), Lewis (J.L.), Murray, Kennedy, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Burke (J.P.), Sullivan (H.W.), Bennett, Soderberg, Watt (J.), Evans, Wood (J.B.), Gross, Phillips, Lewis (J.C.), Campbell (J.C.), Robertson, McGaff, Taylor (J.A.), Norrington, Jennings, Kelly (J.), Johnson (J.W.), Laude, Taylor (J.T.), Hoffman, Becker, Augustino, Southall, Watt (R.J.), Curran, Smethurst, Wright, Darrington, Kromelbein, Power, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Gallagher, Carrozzo, Caldwell, Lawson, Campbell (E.), Mitchell (T.), Portway, Vaccarelli.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Joyce submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials desire to advise that we have received credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Jersey City, N.J., Central Labor Union of Hudson County--Jeremiah J. Buckley, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams and communications:

Los Angeles, Calif., Oct. 7, 1929.  
Frank Morrison,  
American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Hotel Royal York, Toronto, Ont.

Union Labor Post, American Legion, No. 352,  
Los Angeles, sends greetings to the 1929 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and best wishes for its success.

C. J. HYANS,  
Adjutant.

Smith's Falls, Ont., Oct. 7, 1929.

Wm. Green,  
President, American Federation of Labor, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ont.

Will be delighted to attend your Convention tomorrow, 8th.

A. F. WHITNEY.

Ottawa, Ont., Oct. 7, 1929.

Wm. Green,  
President, American Federation of Labor, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ont.

Please accept cordial fraternal greetings on

behalf of the Canadian Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and my sincere wish for a successful convention.

WM. L. BEST,

Vice-Pres. National Legislative Representative.

Toronto, October 7th, 1929.

Wm. Green, Esq.,

President, American Federation of Labor,  
Royal York Hotel, Toronto 2.

Dear Sir:--On behalf of this organization allow me to express our fraternal greetings, and to wish that your Convention now in session here in Toronto, Ontario, proves to be one of the most outstanding and successful in the history of the American Federation of Labor.

This being the first convention for a number of years of the American Federation of Labor in Canada, we have hopes that it will be the means of showing the unorganized worker that there is greater need than ever for a solid organized front so as to achieve a humane standard of conditions.

Again expressing our fraternal greetings to yourself, your officers and the delegates and visitors, I am, fraternally and sincerely yours,

D. H. LAMB,  
Secretary-Treasurer,  
Ontario Fire Fighters.

President Green: I desire to submit a supplementary report of the Executive Council for incorporation in today's proceedings.

### SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

#### Workers Education Bureau of America

In April of this year the Bureau held in Washington its third biennial and sixth national convention. In the first place the fact of meeting in Washington, the headquarters of the Federation, was itself a witness to the closer integration with the Federation and its supporting national and international unions. This was evidenced by the increase in the number of the delegates from these unions and their active part in the deliberations. It was reflected, in the second place, in the change proposed and adopted in the constitution of the Bureau which provided for a more adequate representation of the national and international unions at the regular conventions.

The Washington convention also provided an opportunity for a thorough consideration of those matters which are fundamental to the

future of the movement, such as the questions of educational policy, of control, and method of carrying on the work. The co-operative plan of workers education as developed in California between the State Federation of Labor and the State University is the basis of work. In the important matter of economic freedom, the policy as enunciated by the Association of University Professors has been adopted as a future policy of the Bureau.

The convention also provided an open forum for consideration of the more pertinent aspects of the Brookwood Labor College. After a fair presentation of both sides, it was the judgment, rendered by almost a unanimous verdict of the delegates, that the action of the Bureau in disaffiliating the college was sound and just. It should be added that the offer of mediation tendered by the Federation representatives on the Bureau for the second time was not accepted.

In the election of the officers of the Bureau, finally there was again recorded the desire of the delegates both to preserve the close identity of the movement with the Federation of Labor and at the same time to give a proper recognition to the educational groups which make up the movement. Thomas E. Burke, Secretary-Treasurer of the Plumbers' Union, was selected as President, and Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers' Union, was chosen Treasurer. Of the six other executive committee members selected at large all have been identified actively in one way or another in some form of workers education or research activity of the movement. Matthew Woll was re-elected Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary.

#### The Work in the Field

Among the activities of the Bureau during the past year, in addition to those which have been recorded in the reports of this Council from year to year, has been the assignment of a field worker to the city of Elizabethton, Tennessee, to inaugurate a program of workers education in that community in co-operation with the United Textile Workers of America and the Tennessee Federation of Labor. The need is apparent and the opportunity great for providing for new industrial groups in the South, a knowledge of the facts of modern industry and its probable social effects as the South becomes industrialized. The basic work of the trade union generally in elevating industrial standards and educating

the workers to their rights and responsibilities in industry opens up other educational opportunities.

In New England, on the other hand, where the problems of industrial life are under scrutiny at present, it is a part of the plan of the Bureau to bring educational resources to bear upon that problem so that the future may be planned for in the interest of labor and the public welfare. A Congress of Labor is planned for the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, in October.

Referred to Committee on Education.

#### Samuel Gompers Memorial

At the time our report was drafted the Samuel Gompers Memorial Committee was not prepared to render its final decision upon the form the memorial should take. We had hoped to lay this information before the convention in a supplementary report. We find, however, that all we can report at this time is that plans for the memorial are still under consideration; progress is being made; we hope and believe the form of the memorial, and the sculptor, can be determined in the near future and actual work begun.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A quartette made up of members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Unions No. 84 and 613, of Atlanta, Georgia, entertained the convention with a short program of negro spirituals and popular selections. The personnel of the quartette, including the accompanist, is as follows: F. A. Thomas, A. F. Thomason, J. T. Cook, J. P. Waits and M. B. Stroud.

President Green asked Delegates John B. Haggerty, Adam Adamski and John J. Manning to escort Miss Anna Fitzgerald to the platform.

President Green: Sister Anna Fitzgerald represents the Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary. To practically all of us who have been attending conventions for many years Miss Fitzgerald is one of us and we know her. For that reason it is scarcely necessary to introduce her. We are always pleased with her message as the fraternal delegate from her organization. I am very happy to present to you this morning Miss Anna Fitzgerald, representing the Women's International Union Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary.

**MISS ANNA FITZGERALD**  
**(Women's International Union Label League**  
**and Trade Union Auxiliary)**

Mr. President and Delegates: I assure you I consider it a privilege to come to you year after year and deliver a brief message of something of the activities of the women connected with the trade union movement through auxiliaries. My organization, as most of you know, devotes most of its time to the advancement of the cause of the union label. Our pioneers in the labor movement were far-sighted. They saw the necessity and the advantage of having an emblem on their product. After that we found if that was going to be as effective as we would like to have it, it was necessary to interest the women in the homes, and particularly the women in the homes of trades unionists and sympathizers with the trade union movement. This task, I may say, has not been an easy one, and yet we have made some progress.

In our organization we have women who are giving up a great deal of their time, and their work is simply to create a healthy understanding of the trade union movement and what the union label means. We have organizations in about one hundred cities, extending from coast to coast, and our every effort is put forth to work with and for the trade union movement.

We have had wonderful co-operation from the American Federation of Labor and the Union Label Trades Department, but we do find that many of the men in the organizations do not seem to realize the benefit it would be to the labor movement in general if the women could have an understanding and co-operate with you as far as their purchasing power goes. That is what our organization is in existence for and we are going to ask that you give us more co-operation in the localities where you live. I might appeal especially at this time to the representatives of the central and state bodies where you are coming in close contact with this everyday work.

Whatever activity has been carried on, it has been done unselfishly by these women without compensation and just because they were interested and believed it was to their own interests to strengthen the labor movement as far as it was in their power to do so.

It is generally admitted that the women spend the money, and if that is true why not interest those women and have that money spent in a way that will be of assistance to you, rather than building up the great monopolies and trusts that are now being formed. If you have a group of women in your locality that we have been successful in organizing, when you return home give them your encouragement and co-operation. Try also to interest the women in the homes. It is a work that costs you nothing and it will be of valuable assistance. We believe that the future generations and the children are going to be benefited, and after all we find that if the women at home are interested the children are interested in the trade union movement. They will understand it, and this educational work that is going on will reflect itself in the next generation as well as this. We think that it

is a work that is well worth while, and all we ask is the co-operation of the trade union movement.

President Green: I am happy to announce that we have with us this morning some very distinguished visitors, and we are going to be treated to an address by an outstanding representative, an executive of a great organization, a sister organization, a great movement that has always maintained very sympathetic and friendly relations with the American Federation of Labor. Those of you who have come in contact with the officers and members and the work of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of America know something about the militancy of that organization, the ability of its officers and the great work it has accomplished for its membership.

Brother Whitney, the President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, is with us this morning and with him are Brother McGovern, the General Chairman for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Brother Maloney, General Chairman for the Canadian National Railways. I extended a cordial invitation to Brother Whitney and his associates to come and visit with us. They were holding a meeting in Montreal. Brother Whitney very kindly accepted the invitation, and he and his colleagues are here this morning.

May I say this, as I think I catch the sentiment and feeling of every representative of organized labor sitting in this convention, that I entertain the fond hope that this magnificent organization may soon, very soon, become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It affords me very, very great pleasure to present to you Brother Al Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of America.

**MR. A. F. WHITNEY**  
**(President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen**  
**of America)**

Mr. President and esteemed comrades in the labor movement: I believe that this is one of the greatest honors that have ever come to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen—the invitation which came from your President, a man of integrity and a man who is loved by every trainman throughout the country because of his sympathetic feeling for labor. The invitation came to us last week in Montreal, and it was not possible for all of the delegates to accept that invitation, but we three representative men of that body were delegated to come here and to extend to you and the more than 5,000,000 members that you directly represent and the 25,000,000 toilers of the country over



which you have a great influence, the hearty good wishes of 185,000 members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

I know that every member of the organization I represent who is engaged in transportation work, in the movement of passengers and freight, will receive this message with joy when he learns that Brother Green, your President, addressed our association in Montreal last week and when he learns that in return I came to Toronto to meet and greet you.

The labor movement is a great movement. The principles for which we stand are as holy as any in the cause of righteousness. Were it not for these great movements of labor I fear that we would not enjoy the freedom and the liberty and the democracy that we enjoy in the United States and Canada and throughout the world.

When I became President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen about fifteen months ago I stated to the delegates that it would be the policy of this organization to maintain the closest friendly relations with every labor organization throughout the country; that nothing would be said by me or by our people or through the columns of our magazine in derogation of any union principle; that it would be our policy not only to try to lift up and build up and promote the interests of railroad men, but to support the general labor movement throughout the land. I think that that policy is something that might well be adopted, and, as a matter of fact, has been endorsed by practically all railway and other labor unions.

We often hear of capital disagreeing, but we have never heard of capital falling out to the point where capital undertook to destroy its rivals. Sometimes when labor organizations disagree they go a little bit further than the ethics of labor permit, and I want to say, in speaking for the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, that it will be our purpose to undertake to support every union movement throughout the land, because we appreciate the fact that even though your movement or some other movement or some individual labor organization may represent a little different policy than ours, that perhaps that policy is as near right as ours, or it may even be better than ours.

About a year ago the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen became affiliated with the Railway Labor Executives' Association. Twenty-one railway labor organizations are affiliated with that Association. When I became President I wondered why the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen did not belong. I knew practically all the executive members of that association and I could not make myself believe that there was anything wrong with the association. I knew such men as this lovable character, Martin Ryan. I knew Bert Jewell and Brother Wharton and all the others, and it occurred to me that there must be something wrong with the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. So I began to investigate and ascertain why we were not affiliated with that noble body of railway labor executives, and after analyzing the files and ascertaining the facts I made application for membership, and by action of the association we became members,

and there are maintained the most harmonious and cordial relations between the executives of these twenty-one railway labor organizations that are possible.

I don't know of any reason why this great organization, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, should be on the outside looking in on this the greatest labor federation in the world. I am happy to say that even before Brother Green addressed our meeting in Montreal the other day one hundred and three chairmen of our General Committees and fifteen Grand Lodge officers went on record in favor of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen becoming affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, if your Federation sees fit to accept us. That action was unanimous, and after Brother Green made his wonderfully inspiring and illuminating talk every fellow felt that he had made no mistake, and there was much favorable comment in connection with their action and in connection with his talk after his departure.

There are two ways, my friends, that we can proceed in order to secure authority to take this action, and I will explain them to you, because I don't want you to understand that this representative body that met in Montreal had authority to say to us that we should join the American Federation of Labor. We can put the proposition up to our lodges and in that way secure authority, or we can wait until the next convention and permit the convention to act upon it, but really, I am not disposed to wait until the next convention, and the boys have suggested that we put the proposition up to the lodges and undertake to secure that authority before we meet again in convention.

I want to say a few words, and you will pardon me if I refer to the labor movement on the railways more than in any other industry, because I have had that inculcated into me for about thirty-five years. I know it better than I do any of the other branches. I want to say a word in reference to the unemployment situation of the American and Canadian railways. As many of the representatives here know, those representatives of railway labor, there have been more than 350,000 railway men crowded out of jobs in the past eight or nine years on account of the introduction of automatic machinery, larger locomotives and other drastic economies.

In 1907 the transportation men on the American railways went on a ten-hour day. That was a uniform and standard action, and during the period of the ten-hour day there was more prosperity on the railroads than there was under the twelve-hour and the longer day. The answer to that is this: that the productive efficiency of these men automatically increased as their hours were shortened. Then in 1916 we went from the ten-hour day to the eight-hour day, because the ten-hour day did no longer fit. There had been great progress in the way of the purchase of larger locomotives and automatic machinery in the shops, and when we were discussing the eight-hour day the representatives of the railways would make the public believe that if the eight-hour day was adopted the railways would immediately go into the hands of receivers and



that there would be chaos and panic throughout the country.

But that was not so. On the other hand, the reverse was true. The railways enjoyed greater prosperity under the eight-hour day than they did under the ten-hour day, and I predict that if some of the economists and theorists and advocates against the eight-hour day were here today they would gladly change their positions, because the facts seem to indicate that they were in error and that their positions had almost reached the ridiculous point.

Now we find that in the past ten years there have been greater strides in the introduction of automatic machinery, in the increased productivity of the toilers in every branch of labor than there were during the fifty years antedating ten years ago. And so the eight-hour day no longer fits, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Railway Executives' Association, representing all the railroad men throughout the country, have endorsed the principle of a shorter work day. We believe that the shorter work day is coming. We believe that there are two fundamental reasons why it should be granted.

First of all, we believe it is one way to stabilize employment. We believe that the purchasing power of the workers throughout the country is essentially necessary to the success of any country, and when men are not employed that purchasing power is reduced, and may be reduced to the danger point where it may bring panic to us.

On the other hand, there is the humanitarian side of this great question, and I say to you without fear of contradiction that, with men walking the streets, with men unemployed, with urchins and wives poorly shod and improperly clothed, and in some instances hungry, it is a crime for us as labor men to permit our people to run excessive miles and to work overtime at the expense of this great army of unemployed. This principle should be inculcated into the mind of every man that works, and I plead guilty to the fact that I represent a body of men who to some extent have violated this principle, largely because of the character of the work in which they are engaged rather than because of their desire to do so.

But we are going to undertake to correct it with these associations and these organizations that are co-operating with us. We think that should be corrected, and we believe that every man who is willing to work should have an opportunity to work, and that opportunity can only come by the elimination of excessive mileage and overtime and the shortening of the day or the week. I am glad that this great movement, representing the millions of toilers in the United States and Canada, is largely of one mind on these fundamental principles.

I want to just touch upon another matter and I will not tire you longer. In 1920 the Congress of the United States enacted a law to regulate labor unions on the railways, and in 1926 that law was amended, and they enacted a measure known as the Railway Labor Act. Under the Railway Labor Act there was a provision for the setting up of a United States Board of Mediation and also

provisions for setting up adjustment boards. I want to call your attention to this particular feature because it has been over three years since that law became effective, and that is this: the railways generally have gone along and joined the stronger organizations in setting up boards of adjustment to handle grievances that could not be adjusted through conference over the table between the committees and the management, but these same railways, under this same Act, have avoided or declined to set up boards of adjustment with the smaller organizations representing railway men. That to me seems to be manifestly unfair. I know when we went into conference a year ago before a President's board and we developed this matter, we were amazed to learn that many railway labor organizations whose economic strength was perhaps less than the transportation brotherhoods had been denied the benefits of that law because the railways had declined to set up boards of adjustment pursuant to the mandates of the law. And I say to you without fear of contradiction that any federal statute or any other law enacted to regulate matters of that kind that is not uniformly applied is discriminatory, and that any organization or any corporation that will not religiously undertake to comply with the terms of such laws is not doing its full duty.

But we are confronted with this fact: that the law up to the present writing has been used to curb the activities of the larger and stronger organizations and the advantages of the law have been denied the smaller organizations. I sincerely hope that steps may be taken so that that law, or some law which may be enacted to take its place, will serve every labor union alike, because there should be no discrimination.

Speaking for the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, we feel deeply indebted to your worthy President for the invitation which permitted us to come here, and we feel indebted to you. The American Federation of Labor is the greatest power known in the labor movement. Notwithstanding the fact that there are millions of men that are not affiliated with labor organizations, and some few organizations that are not members of the American Federation of Labor, the voice of the millions of toilers is heard when the American Federation of Labor speaks. Your political influence at the national capitals in Washington and in Ottawa and at the State and Provincial capitals is greater than the influence, far greater than the influence, of any other body, and I want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor upon the many constructive things it has done for the men and women who toil.

I sincerely hope that your work will forge onward for good, that you will have prosperity for the future that will break all precedents, and that the next time I have the pleasure of meeting with you, or that the next time you go in session, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen may be permitted to have a legal delegate or delegates in your body.

I thank you.

#### PRESIDENT GREEN

I am of the opinion that no more significant event ever transpired in the history of

American Federation of Labor conventions than that which has taken place this morning. In my opinion we are moving forward toward the development of a greater and more influential economic movement on the American continent, and I am pleased beyond expression to be permitted to sit here this morning and listen to this inspiring address delivered by Brother Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

I have long been conscious of the fact that there is a crying necessity on the American continent for the development of solidarity, of economic strength and of collective action among the working men and women of our land. It has been my earnest desire to bring into affiliation with the American Federation of Labor this great organization representing a large number of men employed in the transportation industry of our country. In connection with some other good friends I have met Brother Whitney and talked to him about this question. From the beginning I found a most hearty response, a very sympathetic reception of the suggestion made.

I was thrilled beyond expression when, as your representative, I was invited to meet with the key men of this great organization at Montreal last week. I delivered to them the message that I know any one of you would have delivered had you been delegated to go there, and that was a cordial and sincere invitation to this great organization to come with us and to walk with us and to work with us, and to become an integral part of the American Federation of Labor. You have been permitted to hear from the chosen representative of this magnificent organization the answer to the invitation.

I know there may be some difficulties in the way. There must be understandings reached that will permit of affiliation, but, knowing the will and the hearts and the minds of working men and women to develop strength and unity and co-operation in our labor movement upon the American continent, I am of the opinion that there is no difficulty so great that it cannot be overcome.

I should like to see this organization and the other organizations representing the railroad groups all with us. So far as it lies within my power, I shall continue to press the invitation to them to come with us.

Brother Whitney, we deeply appreciate your visit here this morning, the very inspiring message you delivered, your expression of will-

ingness to come with us and to accept our invitation to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I shall be happy beyond expression if, during the coming year, we may succeed in our efforts, so that at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor there will be sitting with us the chosen representatives of these 185,000 members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of America.

Now, Brother Whitney, in behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, nay, more, in behalf of the millions they represent, I express to you my deep appreciation and their deep appreciation of the very inspiring message you delivered and our thanks to you for your visit here this morning.

I want to present to the convention the colleagues of Brother Whitney who came with him. They are not disposed to deliver addresses, but I want you to know them and I want them to know you. First, we have Brother McGovern, General Chairman of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and then Brother Maloney, General Chairman for the Canadian National Railways.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I was very much impressed, and I am very grateful to the President of the Federation for giving me the opportunity of listening to the speech and the statements which have just been delivered by President Whitney, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen: There is no man more anxious than I am to legitimately build up the membership of this Federation, and at least some of the organizations on the outside of the Federation belong within its fold. There are others that do not belong in this Federation.

Those of us who have been in the American Federation of Labor for a quarter of a century know that one of the great causes of our disturbances has been the admission of organizations of labor into the Federation under false pretences, or without explaining the conditions and the laws governing this Federation. I do not want any delegate to this convention to misunderstand me or to believe that I am not anxiously waiting for affiliation from these organizations that are now making overtures for admission into the Federation.

In 1919, during the sessions of the Executive Council, the question of affiliation with the Federation came up on the application of two or three of the railroad organizations then and

now outside of the Federation. We came within a hair of having then affiliate with us the Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the Order of Railway Conductors. The late Warren Stone was spokesman before the Council, seeking admission to the Federation, and the other representatives had stated that whatever agreement we could make with Stone would be perfectly satisfactory to the other two or three organizations. It meant at that time the practical affiliation of these several Brotherhoods, but when it came to the final analysis the rights of other organizations that were in affiliation with this Federation had to be protected, and the whole thing ended in complete failure.

There have been other organizations of railroad workers that have come into the Federation—more than one in the last few years, and after their affiliation, because of the fact that they held in membership tradesmen, mechanics, men properly coming under the jurisdiction of the several other organizations, they were the greatest source of trouble and discontent that the Federation had to contend with in recent years.

Now, Mr. Chairman, to prevent some of the unpleasant experiences that we have had with railroad organizations—

Delegate Taylor, Indiana State Federation of Labor: I rise to a point of order. Delegate Tobin is dealing with a question that is not before this convention—the affiliation of railroad organizations. It is not doing the American Federation of Labor any good. We are not dealing with the affiliation of railroad organizations at this time.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair, Brother Taylor, that your point of order is not well taken. It is not quite clear just what point Brother Tobin is making.

Delegate Taylor: May I ask, What is before this convention?

President Green: There is nothing before the convention at the present moment.

Delegate Taylor: Delegate Tobin is now talking on the affiliation of railroad organizations. The subject is not before this convention. Therefore, he evidently is out of order.

President Green: The Chair is of the opinion that Delegate Tobin is perfectly in order so far in his address.

Delegate Taylor: At least I have entered my protest.

Delegate Tobin: The only reason that I

had to say something before the convention was because I did not think there was any regular order of business. I think I know something about the parliamentary procedure of the Federation.

There are some organizations that will be interested in the affiliation of this organization for the protection of their unions, and before we go too far is the time to prepare ourselves. I hope and trust that every possible provision will be made, that sacrifices will be made, if necessary, for organizations that may be involved in jurisdiction matters, so that these organizations, especially the one whose head has addressed you this morning, can be taken into this Federation, but I say to you in the same sense that if your Council finds it possible to bring about affiliation before our next convention, that that affiliation will be subject, of course, to the approval of the convention, that in all your acts you may protect the jurisdiction rights of every organization within this Federation.

We found one organization of railroad workers that had six or seven classes of men in their membership that properly came under the jurisdiction of the organizations affiliated in the Federation. Their charter had to be suspended. About a year ago, Mr. Chairman, I believe you voted on the suspension of the charter of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen because of their having electricians and other mechanics in their membership. Let us not have to do that again. Don't bring these people in here unless we can keep them here, but make them understand that the laws and the rights of this organization and its several affiliated bodies shall be protected, and have that understanding before they come in here and become a part of this body, where they properly belong.

I am one hundred per cent. for the affiliation of this railroad organization. I believe you have done splendid service to our movement in going as far as you have gone, but for the sake of avoiding the unpleasant experiences we have had in the past I am hopeful that all misunderstandings will be explained and that when these people affiliate—as I hope they will—they will come in here respecting the rights and the constitution and the other just principles due to the organizations in affiliation in this Federation.

President Green: The Chair takes great pleasure in presenting to you the Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau. We have

been privileged to listen to very instructive and inspiring addresses by Brother Spencer Miller at a number of conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and we always look forward with pleasant anticipations to his visit and to his message. The Chair takes very great pleasure in presenting to you the Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, an organization working with the American Federation of Labor and with which the American Federation of Labor is sincerely co-operating.

### SPENCER MILLER, JR.

(Secretary, Workers Education Bureau of America)

President Green and delegates to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: No person can stand upon Canadian soil and address a convention of the American Federation of Labor without a deep sense of appreciation for the opportunity which is offered of speaking to the representatives of labor, not only from the United States but from Canada as well. It is an honor, Mr. President, to be present, and I thank you for it in my behalf and in behalf of the Workers Education Bureau. We are met in this hospitable international atmosphere of Toronto surrounded on all sides by institutions with which we are familiar. We feel at home. But, more than that, we see on every hand the way in which the coming of industrialism has built up this community. We see the manner in which our modern industrial civilization has spread its methods and its institutions over another section of the Western world.

The characteristic feature, then, of our contemporary civilization is the triumph of technology. Man has really come into his own with the technical age. This dominion by man of his external world has been wrought by science and the machine. They are the instruments of his historic achievement; they stand today as the great, imponderable facts of our industrial or Western civilization. Furthermore, what is called Western civilization, by way of contrast with the civilization of the East or of medieval times, is at bottom a civilization which rests upon machinery and science as distinguished from one which rests upon agriculture or handicraft or commerce. It is in reality a technological civilization and "it threatens to overcome and transform the whole globe."

For this great Parliament of Labor there is one fact about our technological civilization which is of supreme importance. It is a new phenomenon which has never existed before in the entire history of mankind. In the past man has invented machines, such as the wheel, the watermill, the windmill, which have marked great epochs in his advance. But for the first time in human society man has developed a method of invention: he has discovered the art of discovery itself. Even the discovery of fire itself may prove to be of less significance than this invention of the method of invention.

Now the significance of the age of Technology has become the theme and the subject for the discussion of the philosophers, the economists, the leaders of thought and the leaders of labor all over the world. It has become the new question for consideration by every organization of workmen wherever they are gathered together at the present time. The implications of this Technological age will affect every discussion which engages the attention of this great congress during the next ten days or two weeks.

One aspect of this problem is the growing role of science in the organization of both work and business. The application of science to the factory and the introduction of improved or automatic machinery resulting in labor displacement has become a commonplace today. It constitutes one of the great challenges to labor. The growth of this movement of rationalization, however, to use a somewhat technical phrase, is far-reaching. It goes forward from year to year. It has come to dominate the discussions of industrial problems, particularly in Europe.

On every hand one hears the expression, "the rationalization of industry." There is a second development of rationalization in the whole domain of business which is of increasing importance. It is in the development of these great movements for consolidation and amalgamation which on every hand seem to be one of the characteristic features of our present-day national or international economy.

It was said the other day by a reputable authority in the United States that in less than ten years the whole banking business of the United States would be in the hands of twenty-five banks. Anyone who has followed the movement for bank consolidation and the extension of banker's control over business in our own country must be amazed by the rapidity with which amalgamation and consolidation has gone forward in these past few years. With each merger, control is brought into fewer and fewer hands. That inimitable American cowboy humorist, Will Rogers, who has come to occupy a unique place in the life of our country by his jests and homely wisdom, said the other day in reference to one of these recent consolidations, "Well, I see this morning that they consolidated Fleischman's Yeast, Gillette's Razors and Wrigley's Chewing Gum." Now, there is more than homely humor in that remark. This consolidation of business in the New World finds its counterpart in the Old World at the present time.

It is interesting to observe, Mr. Chairman and delegates of this convention, that this process of rationalization, which began originally in the workshop, has now extended to the field of international relations. It is only the other day that Premier Briand of France proposed, at a notable luncheon in Geneva during the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the creation of a United States of Europe.

Here we have the proposal, in tangible form, of the creation of a great new economic unit, of the Nations of Europe. When that distinguished Foreign Minister of Germany, the late Dr. Stresemann, sent an article to this country, which was published after his death,

he said: "A closer union of European States along the lines of rationalization of economic conditions seems to me to be not only desirable but, in the domain of commerce and industry, even dictated by world economic interests." He added that he would not be a party to a combination against any other continent.

I mention this merely because it is the logical outcome of the application of science to economic problems. And in the course of human events it is almost inevitable that this extension of consolidation of business should become one of the phenomena that will engage the attention of many succeeding conventions of this American Federation of Labor.

So it is that we can no longer discuss economics as a local problem, nor even on national lines; it has become world-wide in its implications, world-wide in its significance. When the other day there was published in England the report of a textile commission that had come back from the Orient, which indicated that Japan had developed in less than ten years a textile industry which today ranks as the third largest in the world, men began to realize to what extent our economic problems have become great, universal, world-problems. That is why education has come to be such an important question if we begin to consider these various complex problems as they present themselves to us in our modern world.

Let us now consider the manner in which the Workers Education Bureau, which enjoys cordial co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, deals with some of these industrial problems.

My first illustration will be in the South. The first thing to remember in discussing the problem of industrialization of the South today is that the southern problem is not localized and sectionized. It is an American problem. It is the concern of all the people. It is upon the hearts and the consciences of all of us. It is not the sole responsibility of any geographical section of our country; it is our problem.

The dramatic events which took place in Elizabethton, Tennessee, last Spring are familiar to you all. Shortly after the settlement of the difficulties in that section it was felt by the executive committee of the Bureau and the leaders of the United Textile Workers of America that the time had arrived when a program of education under the direction of the Workers Education Bureau might be of service in creating a new attitude of understanding by the workers and the community of sound industrial relations and the contribution of labor to the promotion of such relations.

We designated one of our field representatives, Paul W. Fuller, who had distinguished himself in a similar capacity in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He was sent into that area with the co-operation of the textile organization and with the sympathetic interest of the President of the American Federation of Labor. He has been there only a few months, but in those few months he has made a demonstration which has been notable though difficult. He has succeeded because he has been keenly aware of the need for a proper psychological approach to the problem.

He has not "gone down to the South," as some people choose to use the phrase, with a kind of condescension, with a kind of superior virtue on the part of the North toward the problems of the South. He has gone as a friend. He has gone into the homes of these fine men and women of the Tennessee mountains. He has shared their humble fare, he has preached in their churches, he has taught in their schools, he has identified himself with the social, economic and spiritual life of these people. He has carried to them the message of education, the message of hope, the message of their own future possibilities in terms of a growing and functioning trade union movement. He has held great mass meetings, he has held smaller meetings in the various lodges and halls; he has gone out in the countryside to talk to these men and women. Wherever he has gone it has been with that keen apprehension that he is a friend and an interpreter to these people.

To secure an appraisal of Mr. Fuller's work I have turned to one whose judgment you will all esteem on the problem of the South—Major George L. Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen's Union. It is his opinion that the work which Mr. Fuller is doing at the present time in and about Elizabethton, Tennessee, is of unique and significant importance to the future of the South. Major Berry has said that if we could have fifty men of Fuller's type in the South at the present time there would be a significant story to tell of the improvement of human relations in southern industries and the growth of sound trade union philosophy. Mr. Fuller has loved these people and has served them. And it is true to say that he who seeks to lead men must love the men he leads!

Now, may I turn for a moment to another illustration of our work in another section of our country. I refer to New England. By one of the laws of economic interdependence, the gains in the South recently have been made to a certain extent at the expense of New England. This has been true of textiles. The fact is that economic conditions in New England have been serious in past years. Mills have closed, factories have worked part time and unemployment has increased.

At the request of the Worcester Central Labor Union the Workers Education Bureau proposes, the week following the adjournment of this convention, October 25, 26, 27, to hold in that city the first New England Labor Congress that has ever been held to consider jointly and as objectively as possible what are the particular pressing problems which confront New England wage earners at the present time, and the possibilities of finding through a program of education, research and cooperative endeavor some way out of the present difficulties. Five of the New England governors have recognized the importance of this labor congress to the extent that they have agreed personally to be present to express their estimate of the aims and the plans of this labor congress. We have the assurance from the President of the American Federation of Labor that if it is at all possible he will join in this important conference. We have the acceptances of other leading men in the

trade union movement. We have the acceptance of the foremost technicians, economists and representatives of management. It is in this spirit of co-operative effort and careful planning that the Workers Education Bureau is considering these large economic and industrial problems. It is the purpose of the Bureau, in a word, to bring knowledge into active partnership with the everyday problems with which labor is confronted. In April of this year our Workers Education Bureau held in the city of Washington its sixth national convention, at which delegates were present from the American Federation of Labor, the national and international unions affiliated with our Bureau, and our educational centers. Never in the history of the Bureau have we had such a large and representative group of international officials present.

During the convention it was possible to consider some of the more important problems which are before the Bureau, and to outline our policy. It was possible to provide in the constitution for a more adequate opportunity for the international unions to come into a close and organic relationship with the development of this Bureau and to contribute with their wise counsel to the development of our whole program. It was possible to appraise some of the educational programs which have begun to yield striking results; it was also possible to lay before the delegates of that convention a report of the varied activities in which the Bureau is engaged.

I think it proper to add that at this convention an adequate opportunity was had for a presentation of both sides of the Brookwood Labor College case. The judgment of the delegates was definite and convincing. It is also appropriate to add that on two occasions before and at the convention the representatives of the American Federation of Labor designated by the President of this Federation on our Executive Committee tendered their good offices to secure an adjustment of the difficulties. This tender of good offices was not accepted.

Our publishing program continues with the help and advice of our committee. We plan to publish during this Fall a summary of that valuable Report on Economic Changes issued by a committee under the chairmanship of the President of the United States. On that committee President Green served with great distinction to himself and to the American Federation of Labor. The summary of this report will be published and made available to the representatives of this Federation both in Canada and in the United States.

And finally, this last Summer there was held in Cambridge, England, a great world conference on this whole subject of adult education, to which it was my privilege to be sent as a representative of our Workers Education Bureau. At that great congress, composed of some four hundred delegates, representing forty-six different nations, we had presented from country and country the significance of adult education as a part of the developing educational program of this twentieth century. And if it is true to say the nineteenth century has been characterized by its great concern for the education of the children, in our twentieth century it would appear to be true

that it has become the era for the education of the adult.

In conclusion, may I make two reflections about this whole question of adult education and its relevance to some of the questions that will come before you during the next ten days. It has become almost a truism to say that one of the developing problems of our modern society is the vast increase of our leisure time. When I heard the President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen discuss the possibility of the six-hour day as one of the next goals of his organization, when I read of the tremendous success that this Federation has made in the last twelve months in the achievement of the five-day week, I realized as never before that the leisure has come to occupy a place of new importance in our national life. What we do with our leisure is of increasing importance.

Leisure is not a period of mere idleness, but of reflection and activity. Leisure is man's playtime; it is, as well, the growing time of the human spirit. An educational movement which is concerned with providing opportunities for the cultivation of leisure time has provided something of real value to meet the challenge of the new day and its new privileges and opportunities.

What, then, in the second place, is the object of our work? It is to build up in this country and in our own country and in the world a new and nobler civilization, a civilization built, not upon power and wealth, but a civilization built upon knowledge and universal enlightenment. In the civilization of enlightenment toward which we press forward the ideals of brotherhood, of good-will, of human freedom will come to have their rightful place. You remember the words of the great Roman philosopher Epictetus, when he said: "The rulers of the State have said that only the free shall be educated, but God hath said that only the educated shall be free."

President Green: I want to express to Secretary Miller the thanks of the officers and delegates of this convention for his illuminating, educational and inspiring address. His address will become a part of the printed proceedings of the convention.

Delegate Furuseth, Scamen: I join with everything the President has said, but I am unfortunate in this, that I do not know what is meant by "rationalization," which is made the burden of the speech, and I would like to have the speaker explain to this convention. I have asked more than twenty people here to give me some information and they are all stupid like myself, except one man, and I don't know whether he is right or whether he is wrong. I am up a tree. I listened with extreme care to what the gentleman said. Now, what is rationalization, in simple English?

President Green: I suggest that you meet Secretary Miller at your convenience and that he transmit to you what he means by the word rationalization.

Delegate Furuseth: But there are other people in the same position as I am.

President Green: There may be many who understand it. You are not delegated to speak for all.

Delegate Furuseth: I have spoken to at least twenty men and they are in the same



miserable position I am. Now, would it not be well to give an explanation in simple English?

President Green: Secretary Miller may take your request under advisement and may answer it when he feels at liberty to do so.

President Green requested Delegate O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, and Delegate Perkins, President of the Label Trades Department, to escort to the platform the fraternal delegate of the National Women's Trade Union League, Miss Agnes Nestor, of Chicago.

When Miss Nestor had been escorted to the platform, President Green said: It is a very propitious occasion, and I am sure that no better selection of an escort committee could be made by anyone in the convention than the one just announced by the Chair.

I am glad to present to you the fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League of America. Sister Nestor has been associated with the work of the Women's Trade Union League for a long time and she is known personally to a large number of the officers and delegates in this convention. I know you will be glad to receive her message, and I am sure she has something to say to us that will be helpful and interesting. It affords me great pleasure to present to you Sister Nestor.

#### MISS AGNES NESTOR

(Fraternal Delegate, National Women's Trade Union League)

Mr. Chairman and delegates to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: Your President commented on the committee that he asked to escort me to the platform, saying that it was an appropriate committee. I don't know whether he knew when he selected the committee that one of the members represents the organization that my father belonged to for many years, and of which he was a pioneer member before it was a member of the International Association of Machinists, and the other member is from my own city.

You will pardon me if I make reference, as so many have in this convention, to the last time we met in the city of Toronto. It was twenty years ago, and I was a delegate to that convention. I hope you will believe me when I say I was a very young delegate. At that time there were problems facing the convention, there were questions about which we were concerned that have passed over somewhat. We have new and bigger problems at this time.

I recall one of the committees that were meeting at that time, and which I felt very honored to be a member of, the Committee on Industrial Education, of which John Mitchell was Chairman. I am reminding you of this to show that at that time we were concerned about educating our workers in industry when we had skill to consider—before the questions of specialization and machines had got to the point they have to-day.

The National Women's Trade Union League is in the twenty-fifth year of its existence; the American Federation of Labor was about twenty-five years old when we came into exist-

ence, and somehow you cannot exist, as we have, for twenty-five years without proving in some way your worth, standing tests that only time and stress and struggle can make you survive.

I recall that, at a very early convention of the League, when Mr. Gompers came to address our delegates, the warning he gave was: "I know you are starting out to do a piece of work for the women workers. You want to be helpful, but I want to say that I hope you will stand by when the struggles, the strikes and other great trials come, because that is the time you are going to meet your test."

And if that could be a test at all, certainly we have had it almost continuously since that time. I do not think there has been any great organization campaign or any great strike in which women have been involved that the Women's Trade Union League was not there giving assistance and carrying on organization work.

We have pioneered in many fields. The Women's Trade Union League has started organization and educational work in the South, in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, the United Textile Workers and the others who are in that great undertaking, and again we are doing pioneer work.

I am not going to tell you a great deal about the work we are doing down there and about the things that are happening down there, because I understand that is to be a special piece of business, and those who are actively working in that field will participate in a discussion of the problem of organizing the new industrial South. Miss Tillie Lindsay is the representative of the National Women's Trade Union League who has been assigned to that work. She is a member of the Federal Employees organization and a vice-president of the National League. Those of you who know Miss Lindsay know how earnest and faithful she is, and I know she will do valuable work in that field.

During the last year the representatives of the National League have been sent into other fields. When a large group of women go out on strike, at once a call is sent to the League. They may be organized women or they may be unorganized women who want an organization. There has been a great strike of cigar makers in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and to that field the League sent Miss Sadie Reich of New York. The strike went on for twelve weeks.

We do not win all the strikes, but we do not believe any strike that seems to be lost is ever really lost and we feel that the organization in that city will go on. At first the community was entirely opposed to the strikers, and to what they called "agitators." Our people had difficulty in getting in there and they were threatened with being deported, but at the end of the strike they had won over enough of the community so that there was a public opinion that demanded an adjustment of some of the grievances. The company whose employees were on strike represented one of the prosperous concerns in that industry, and still the workers were poorly paid. We are shocked very often to find that



workers that are making the products of an industry that is highly prosperous are the most lowly paid.

There are local leagues in several cities in the States, and when I try to tell you something about the National League I must give you a picture of what some of those local leagues are doing. It will give you an idea of the kind of work that is being carried on year in and year out. Often an international union will send an organizer into a community where there may be a strike in that industry. An organizer cannot remain in that community for all time, he cannot remain more than a few weeks or months. The work that is most important to do is that which is to be carried on for months after the organizer has to leave. That is why the Women's Trade Union Leagues are of such help in communities where there has been a strike. They are in the community and they can go on advising and helping the struggling organization during the trying months following the strike.

I could mention trade after trade in Chicago, New York and several other cities that has had that kind of assistance from the local branches of the National Women's Trade Union League. That is the kind of work we want to do. There is nothing spectacular about it, there is nothing dramatic about it to attract your attention, but it is a most important piece of work and needs to go on day in and day out. We are glad to do it, we are glad to be there and give that particular assistance.

Every year we hold a conference of women trade unionists. Out in the west we have been joining with the Leagues in Wisconsin and making that an Interstate Conference. We bring to the organizations messages that perhaps they do not get in their small local unions. We bring speakers from our State Federations of Labor and other organizations, and each year when these fifty or sixty delegates return to their local unions it is hard to measure the value that comes out of the conference when that group goes back inspired and encouraged and carrying information that will be helpful to their local unions. We feel that is of great value, and it is the sort of inspiration the young workers need. They do not all get to go to international conventions. We allow a larger number to come to these small gatherings, and we think it is a very valuable piece of educational work.

At the conference we had in Waukegan, Illinois, we discussed the question of unemployment. At our National convention in Washington this year we took the wage question as the subject we were going to particularly study and discuss. We held a symposium that lasted an entire day. We do not think we are going to solve all these problems, but it is only by discussing them we are able to understand how great the problems are, and we will be able to work with the whole group to solve them.

At the present time we are making a survey in Wisconsin and Illinois to get an industrial picture of the women workers of these states. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor is doing it in that state, and we are going to have the co-operation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor in doing it in Illinois. We want to find out what industries are

moving into the smaller communities, what wages are paid and what conditions exist. We have our legislative work, and in it we work jointly with the labor organizations that are carrying on legislative work in the various states and in the National Capital.

We have a task that is a mighty big one, the task of organizing women into trade unions. I know that all the organizations represented here that have women in their membership have some idea of what that task is. We are dealing in large numbers with the very young workers, we have a large group of women in industry that are married, and that number is increasing. Women have not been accustomed to organization. We have all these tasks in the work we are doing, and we want as much help as we can get from the labor movement throughout the country. Of course we all get impatient at times, we feel the work is slow. I feel that everybody in the field of organization knows the difficulties in that field.

The Women's Trade Union League wants to be of help to every organization in which there are women members. We want to do the task to which we are pledged; we want to do it as well as we possibly can; we want to see the women taking their place in the labor movement; we want them to be active in their own organizations, and if there is any help we can give them to make them a more effective force in their organizations and in the whole labor movement we want to give it.

It is very nice to be here again. My first convention was in 1907. I have not been here for several years, but I have watched the proceedings of the conventions and I have always wanted to come back. I think anyone who has attended one of your conventions wants to go back to others.

I bring to you the greetings of the National Women's Trade Union League, in which there are representatives, not only of the women's unions, but representatives of the allied groups that are working with us in trying to interpret the movement to a larger field. After all, even though we want our own group to be as intelligent as possible on all the problems we are facing, we want an enlightened public, and we feel that one of the fields in which we can serve is going out as interpreters to that great public and to the groups that are perhaps not quite as close to the labor movement. We feel the interpretation of the labor movement is one of our important duties.

I thank you, Mr. President, for giving me this opportunity of explaining the work of the National Women's Trade Union League and bringing greetings to you at this convention.

President Green: We deeply appreciate this very sincere, earnest and helpful address delivered by Sister Nestor. It will be recorded in the proceedings of the convention.

#### CHANGES IN COMMITTEES

Committee on Legislation—Substitute Thomas Morrissey, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, for John H. Dillon, of the same organization.

Committee on Adjustment—Substitute Delegate Africk, of the United Hatters, for Michael F. Greene, of the same organization.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Delegate Adamski, of the United Garment Workers' and Edward J. Tracy, of the Bookkeepers and Stenographers' organization, a committee on good-will. I hope you will extend to this committee a very cordial reception.

It has also been the rule of the American Federation of Labor to select special badges for the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and to present these badges with the felicitations of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. In conformity with past custom, we have these badges here this morning and I am going to present them to our fraternal delegates. These badges are specially prepared, beautiful in design, and they are suitably inscribed. They are your gift to the fraternal delegates and they carry with them your best wishes. The first is to Fraternal Delegate Brownlie. I want to present this to you, Brother Brownlie, with the sincere good wishes of this convention.

Fraternal Delegate Brownlie: I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this manifestation of good-will between the American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress. It will be cherished as long as I live.

President Green: And in like manner, to Brother Bell, the associate of Brother Brownlie. I present this badge with an expression of the same sincere sentiments I expressed to Brother Brownlie.

Fraternal Delegate Bell: I deeply appreciate all the kindness that is being extended to us during our visit here amongst you. We are realizing that we have friends in America, and

whilst we come from your friends in Great Britain we will carry these mementoes as long as we live and heartily appreciate your kindness.

President Green: And in like manner I present to Brother Whitebone of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress a badge similar to those presented to the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. Will you please accept this with our best wishes, Brother Whitebone.

Fraternal Delegate Whitebone: I cannot tell you how much I appreciate this honor. I certainly will cherish this badge as long as I live as a memento of one of the proudest moments of my life. I am sure that during my stay with you I have been treated right royally and I express my sincere appreciation for it.

President Green announced that the fraternal delegates would address the convention at some time during the sessions that will be held on Thursday.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to ask if the chairman of the local entertainment committee can tell us if the banquet to be held to-night will be served by union waiters.

Delegate Varley: That question ought to be asked of the Carpenters' delegates. I have no doubt that the management of the hotel will see that your people are employed.

Delegate Koveleski: We had a promise from the management of the hotel that all extra work will be given our men. So far the management of the hotel has not carried out that promise.

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock of the same day.

## Second Day--Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Mullaney, Nelson, Schulte, Coulter (C.C.), Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Bryan, Bock, Turnbull, Hogan, Rode, Gorman, Lane, Kelly (M.J.), Lewis (J.L.), Murray, Kennedy, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Burke (J.P.), Sullivan (H.W.), Bennett, Soderberg, Watt (J.), Evans, Wood, Phillips, Taylor (T.N.), Lewis (J.C.), McGaff, Norrington, Jennings, Kelly (J.), Johnson, Laude, Taylor (J.T.), Hoffman, Becker, Augustino, Watt (R.J.), Smethurst, Wright, Doyle (R.E.), Kromelheim, Power (S.), Saunders, Borris, Lopez, Caparol, Gallagher, Carozzo, Caldwell, Lawson, Hill, Mitchell (T.), Portway, Vaccarelli.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

In accordance with official communication

received from President M. S. Warfield, of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, we recommend the seating of J. M. Alexander, instead of M. S. Warfield, who will be unable to serve.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Toronto, October 8th, 1929.

Frank Morrison, Esq.,  
General Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Royal York Hotel, Toronto.  
Dear Mr. Morrison:

I have just returned to Toronto after an extended trip in the Maritime Provinces, and it has been called to my attention that the American Federation of Labor, of which you are the General Secretary, is holding its sessions in this city.

On behalf of the Social Service Council of Canada, which is a federal council of churches and other organizations working in the inter-

ests of all forms of social welfare, let me extend to you and your organization a most hearty welcome on this your visit to the Dominion.

The Social Service Council of Canada is greatly interested in the many problems of labor which concern your organization, and in all matters of industrial welfare seeks to bring about brotherhood in industrial life with service as the supreme ideal.

In the many matters which come under review during your sessions in Toronto you have the best wishes of this Council.

Yours very sincerely,

J. PHILLIPS JONES,

General Secretary,

The Social Service Council of Canada.

#### REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fortyninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In compliance with Section 4, Article 3 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the undersigned, representing your Auditing Committee, and consisting of three delegates appointed by their respective International Presidents, at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report for your consideration:

Your Committee advises that it has carefully examined and audited all the books and records of the American Federation of Labor covering financial transactions for the fiscal year beginning September 1st, 1928, and ending August 31st, 1929, and is pleased to report that these books and records were found correct in every respect.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

#### Receipts.

Balance on hand August 31st, 1928	\$300,109.43
Per capita tax	\$432,168.44
American Federationist	112,629.35
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions	32,552.89
Initiation fees	7,228.40
Reinstatement fees	619.25
Supplies	6,896.78
Interest	8,404.78
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	4,884.32
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	1,631.61
Profit on purchase of Liberty Bonds	117.19
One-half of attorneys' fee advanced by United Textile Workers	1,250.00
Reimbursement from United Textile Workers of one-half of at-	

torneys' fee	1,250.00
Total Receipts	\$609,633.01
Grand Total	\$909,742.44

#### Expenses

General American Federationist	\$477,947.12
Defense Fund:	88,481.57
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions	4,459.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	4,294.18
Total Expenses	\$575,181.87
Balance of funds on hand, August 31st, 1929	\$334,560.57

#### Recapitulation

In General Fund	\$ 55,881.93
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	278,678.64
Balance of funds on hand, August 31st, 1929	\$334,560.57

#### Where Funds Are Deposited and Invested

The bank balances of the Secretary and Treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:

Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Ryan in the Telegraphers National Bank, St. Louis, Mo., interest bearing certificates	\$ 25,000.00
Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Ryan in the Mt. Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D.C., interest bearing certificates	25,000.00
On deposit in the First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., subject to check	92,560.57
"Fourth" U.S. Liberty Bonds	125,000.00
Interest bearing certificates in the Federation Bank and Trust Company, New York, N.Y.	50,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Company stock	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison	\$ 9,606.72
Outstanding checks	7,606.72
	2,000.00
Total	\$334,560.57

All the certificates bear interest at the rate of four (4%) per cent. The United States Liberty Bonds yield interest at four and one-fourth (4¼%) per cent and two (2%) per cent interest is allowed on the checking account. The certificates of deposit are guaranteed by Surety Bonds.

**Report of Vice-President Duffy's Committee**

Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 25, 1929.  
Mr. William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In accordance with the custom established by the American Federation of Labor and the instructions of the Executive Council at the last meeting of that body held in Atlantic City, N.J., in August, 1929, the undersigned examined the accounts of Martin F. Ryan, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, at Kansas City, Mo., on September 25th, 1929, for the year ending August 31st, 1929, and submit the following report:

3 Certificates of deposit Tele- graphers National Bank of St. Louis, Mo. _____	\$ 25,000.00
3 Certificates of deposit Mt. Ver- non Savings Bank, Washington, D.C. _____	25,000.00
3 Certificates of deposit Federation Bank and Trust Company, New York City, N.Y. _____	50,000.00
13 Fourth U.S. Liberty Bonds _____	125,000.00
300 Shares Stock, Union Labor Life Insurance Company, Washington, D.C. _____	15,000.00
Checking Account First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 31, 1929 _____	\$ 45,487.54
In transit from Washing- ton, D.C. _____	
Deposited Sept. 3, _____	
1929 _____	\$ 47,073.03
	92,560.57
Total in hands of Treasurer _____	\$332,560.57

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY,

First Vice-President, American Federation of  
Labor; General Secretary, United Brother-  
hood of Carpenters and Joiners of  
America.

JOHN J. PFEIFFER,  
Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of  
Leather Workers.

CHAS. F. SCOTT,  
Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood  
of Boiler Makers.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 25th  
day of September, 1929.

MABEL SMITH,

Notary Public.

My commission expires Nov. 3, 1932.

**Education Fund**

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing co-operation upon the plan of the Rochdale Co-operative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including August 31, 1929, \$4,434.09, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to and including August 31, 1929, \$4,434.09. The name of Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-operation was changed by order of the Executive Council to Education Fund.

**Recapitulation**

Total donations, including interest,  
April 1, 1918, to August 31, 1929—\$4,434.09  
Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to  
August 31st, 1929 \_\_\_\_\_ 4,434.09

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Since 1920 no contributions have been received, except interest, which amounts to \$210.51, and the expenses paid amount to \$4,434.09. Copies may be had upon application to A. F. of L. headquarters. This account is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**United Mine Workers Fund**

Contributions in response to the appeals issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor under dates of November 19, 1927, and February 27, 1928, to the affiliated organizations, for financial assistance to meet the urgent needs of the Bituminous coal miners and their families dependent upon them, who are on a prolonged strike, show the total amount received to and including August 31st, 1929 \_\_\_\_\_ \$499,975.98

Total contributions November 19,  
1927, to and including August 31,  
1929 \_\_\_\_\_ \$499,975.98

Total amount of checks, August 31,  
1929 \_\_\_\_\_ \$499,975.98

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor. This fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Woodrow Wilson Memorial Building Fund**

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions from the El Paso Convention, to all affiliated organizations for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College, to be used for such educational developments as may be determined upon by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

Contributions received from August 12, 1925, to August 31, 1929, including interest, amount to \$1,670.93. This fund is deposited in the Riggs National Bank, Washington, D.C.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Flag Fund**

Receipts from June 10, 1918, to and including August 31, 1929 \_\_\_\_\_ \$ 575.78  
This fund is deposited in the Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D.C.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Gompers Memorial Fund**

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, to affiliated organizations for contributions to be used for the erection of a suitable memorial to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924,  
to and including August 31, 1929—\$93,539.87  
Total expenses January 12, 1929, to  
and including August 31, 1929— 1,306.75

Balance on hand August 31, 1929—\$92,233.12  
Funds deposited as follows:  
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Wash-  
ington, D.C., checking account—\$ 2,233.12  
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Wash-  
ington, D.C., interest bearing  
certificates ————— 90,000.00

Total ————— \$92,233.12  
The certificates bear interest at the rate of four (4%) per cent and are guaranteed by Surety Bond.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Textile Workers Fund**

Contributions in response to the appeal issued May 11, 1929, by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to affiliated organizations for financial assistance for the striking textile workers of the South: Total receipts, May 15, 1929, to

August 31, 1929 ————— \$19,313.70  
Total checks May 17, 1929 to August  
31, 1929 ————— 19,313.70

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**American Federation of Labor Building Fund**

Balance on hand, August 31, 1928—\$35,501.82  
Receipts ————— 33,453.89

Receipts and Balance ————— \$68,955.71  
Expenses ————— 23,324.61

Balance on hand, August 31, 1929—\$45,631.10  
(See page 15, Executive Council's report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance, \$45,631.10, invested and deposited as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Wash-  
ington, D.C., interest bearing certi-  
ficates of deposit ————— \$45,000.00  
Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Wash-  
ington, D.C., subject to check — 631.10

Total ————— \$45,631.10

The certificates of deposit bear interest at the rate of four (4%) per cent and are guaranteed by Surety Bond.

We also personally inspected and counted

the interest bearing certificates of deposit, amounting to \$45,000.00, and the bank book, which showed a balance of \$631.10, and found them correct.

A report of this nature would hardly be complete without a few general remarks concerning the state of finances in the General, Defense and Building Funds.

The general fund showed a balance of \$55,881.93 and the defense fund's balance was \$278,678.64, on August 31st, 1929. Your Committee desires to advise you that the total balance of the general and defense funds on August 31st, 1929—\$334,560.57, is the largest balance on hand ever reported to an American Federation of Labor Convention. That this relatively large balance of funds on hand at the close of the fiscal year can be reported, in spite of the increase in organizing expenses incident to the "Double the Union Membership" campaign, reflects the healthy condition of the funds of the American Federation of Labor.

The Trustee or Building Fund shows an increase of \$10,129.28 over last fiscal year. This is a noteworthy gain. That the American Federation of Labor Building is under competent management can be readily observed by an inspection.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, continues to gain in quality and influence. Your Committee feels that this publication is a tremendous asset to the Labor Movement and should receive the support and encouragement of all trade unionists.

At the conclusion of our audit we made a trip through the A. F. of L. Building and visited the various departments and offices. We could not help but be impressed with the complete harmony existing between President Green, Secretary Morrison and the employees of the American Federation of Labor headquarters. Both of these officers are rich in the esteem in which they are held by the employees.

In closing our report, we wish to thank Secretary Morrison and his assistants for their help and co-operation, which enabled the Auditing Committee to perform the work connected with the audit with efficiency and thoroughness.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVE EVANS, Chairman,  
WM. H. FALLON,  
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary,  
Auditing Committee.

Delegate Joyce moved the adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: A mistake was made in the reference of two subjects in the Executive Council's report. The subjects of "Immigration" and "Conscription" were erroneously referred to the Committee on Legislation, and the Chair now desires to have them referred to the Committee on Resolutions. That is in conformity with past practice in dealing with these subjects.

John Munro, a member of the local committee, made an announcement in reference to the trip to Niagara Falls on Wednesday. He informed the delegates that the boat and the electric trains in which the trip would be made to Niagara Falls were publicly owned; that the boat would leave the dock at 9 o'clock and arrive in Niagara Falls at 12 o'clock; that the delegates and visitors would make their own arrangements for luncheon and for spending the afternoon, and that at 6 o'clock in the evening they would be guests of the Premier and Cabinet members of the Province of Ontario at dinner in the General Brock Hotel, Niagara Falls, Ontario. Special arrangement had been made, he stated, for the full illumination of the Falls at night, and the electric trains returning to leave Niagara Falls at 9:30 o'clock.

The convention adopted a motion to have the convention photograph taken with Niagara Falls as a background.

President Green announced that the time limit for the introduction of resolutions would expire at midnight on Tuesday, October 8.

At 3:35 o'clock, under suspension of the rules, the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Thursday morning, October 10.

#### **Urging Support of Labor Papers**

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union; R. E. Woodmansee, Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor, and John C. Saylor, Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The labor press during the past year has rendered splendid service to the American trade union movement and its constituent international, state and city central bodies; and

WHEREAS, The bonafide publications of the international organizations and the local labor newspapers have devoted many columns of space in each of their issues toward the development of the great labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor expresses its deep-felt gratitude to the publishers of the bonafide labor publications; recommending that these very valuable publications receive the full and unstinted support of the members of organized labor, because by and through this support can the labor press of America be extended in education, in power and influence; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every effort be made in the year ahead to fully utilize the valuable service rendered by the bonafide labor press in the education and the upbuilding of the American labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Requesting Assignment of A. F. of L. Organizer to Assist Metal Trades Council of Chicago, Illinois.**

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, A special situation affecting a large group of employes has arisen in the Chicago District; and

WHEREAS, The work which will be connected with organizing cannot be carried on most effectively without the assistance and guidance of an organizer whose duty it would be to devote his whole attention to this situation referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to place an organizer in Chicago who will work in co-operation with the Metal Trades Council of that city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

#### **Requesting A. F. of L. to Inform Affiliated Organizations Upon Fair Hotels and Restaurants**

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, It has been vainly brought to the attention of thousands of men and women—members and officers of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—concerning the unorganized condition of the hotel and restaurant and beverage employes in the hotels and restaurants patronized by a large number of the said men and women; and

WHEREAS, This condition has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in that industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urgently requested to inform all of its affiliated International, National, Local and Federal Unions of the existence of hotels and restaurants that are fair to the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, as well as other trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Proposing A. F. of L. Food Department of Organizations in Catering Industry**

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.



WHEREAS, The food industry employees are largely unorganized, not because of any lack of intelligence or training on their part, but because all too often they are working at cross purposes, creating a grand tangle of conflicting interests with complete lack of co-ordination, in the midst of which organization work suffers; and

WHEREAS, To unite the various workers in the food and catering industry of America into a food department is one of the most essential and effective ways of organizing the millions of unorganized food and catering workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call a conference of representatives of the various International and National Unions concerned for the purpose of investigating and recommending the establishment of a Food Department.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

#### Request For Support of Union Hotel and Restaurant Employees

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The following resolution was adopted by the Twenty-fifth General Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, it is now offered for the consideration of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

"WHEREAS, Certain local unions in Philadelphia and vicinity have been holding their functions in non-union houses regardless of our repeated requests for their co-operation; and

"WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant proprietors who employ our men have called our attention to the spirit of indifference, and have shown their displeasure, thereby causing us to lose one of the larger hotels, and inasmuch as the unorganized workers also have constantly flaunted this in our faces when our organization committee endeavored to get them into the fold; and

"WHEREAS, Any effort we have made to right this matter with the officials and delegates of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia has been ignored and stifled; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this local union, Culinary Alliance, Local 279, of Philadelphia, Pa., in meeting assembled on June 5th, 1929, do hereby request that the delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appeal this matter to the officials and delegates in session at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in support of the union workers in the

culinary industry throughout the country and particularly those of us here in Philadelphia."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Hotel and Restaurant Employees Request Transfer of Sleeping Car Porters Unions

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Conrad Schott, Emanuel Koveleski and Agnes M. Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The subject matter hereto attached covering jurisdiction over sleeping car porters was submitted to the Twenty-fifth General Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in August, 1929, and by them unanimously adopted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and is hereby directed to turn over to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance such organizations of sleeping car porters now chartered by them as local or federal unions; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in co-operation with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, they continue their efforts to organize and improve the standards of the sleeping car employees.

#### Sleeping Car Porters

On March 22, 1928, we received advice from the President of the American Federation of Labor that at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Federation consideration was given to the subject of the Sleeping Car Porters' desire for affiliation and that he was authorized to correspond with our organization and ascertain, first, if we admit colored workers to membership and, second, if we admit them, are any restrictions imposed. To this inquiry we responded as follows:

"We make no distinction between the white and the colored workers; they enjoy the same benefits and they secure the same working conditions.

"Addressing ourselves to the application of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Employees, I desire to say that we have made every inducement possible to them in order to secure their membership, having offered to recommend the keeping of their branch of the trade in a separate unit under the control and operation of men of their choosing, subject to the laws and constitution of the International Union. I have held two conferences with the officers of that organization, one presided over by Brother Frayne in New York and the other at the solicitation of the United Hebrew Trades of New York. We repeated our offer of membership and unit control at both of these conferences, but it appears that the men in control of that organization desire to keep

the colored man aside to himself. While it is apparent that the men at the head of the Sleeping Car Brotherhood have been partially successful, there is much that could be said as to the stability of their organization as a dues-paying institution, as much of their operating costs are secured by and from other sources than their membership.

"I am enclosing you a part of the records of our last convention held in Portland, Oregon, in August, 1927. It should prove interesting reading as applied to this subject.

"The workers employed in the sleeping car service are welcome to become a part of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, either by individual or group affiliation, with the same rights and privileges that are accorded other members.

"We respectfully ask that the American Federation of Labor refer the application for membership of sleeping car employees to our organization; they are a part of the hotel industry and as such come under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' organization."

On April 4, 1928, President Green advised that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had filed an application for affiliation and that it would be referred to the Executive Council for consideration. We made answer to this letter as follows:

"April 12, 1928.

"I have your favor of the 4th in which you advise that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had filed an application for a charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor which you intend to refer to the Executive Council at their meeting of April 24th. The application sets forth the reason for making said application and you ask that we submit, in response, arguments sustaining our claim to that jurisdiction.

"We addressed a letter to you under date of April 3, 1928, covering this subject and enclosed a part of our convention records of 1927, which indicated our activity in connection with the sleeping car employees.

"We do not feel that this office has a right to assume the full responsibility in connection with answering in detail the arguments presented in the application as submitted by Mr. A. Philip Randolph and his associates. Our General Executive Board will meet on May 21, 1928, and if the Executive Council will lay this application of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters over until they have an opportunity to prepare a statement in response and to take such other action as may be necessary in the premises, we will appreciate the courtesy."

The subject matter was referred to our General Executive Board at their meeting in May, 1928, and the following response was ordered sent to the American Federation of Labor:

"The General Executive Board of our International Union, during its sessions the week of May 14-19, considered the subject brought to its attention by President Flore with regard to the application of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for a charter as an organiza-

tion directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"The General Executive Board of our organization contends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has given us jurisdiction over sleeping car and dining car workers, as set forth in an action by the Council, and reported by President Flore to our Twenty-first General Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, during the week of August 8-13, 1921, the following language appearing in the official record:

"Upon the application of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, it was decided that the following jurisdiction of that organization be recognized:

"Jurisdiction covering all hotel and restaurant employees in all its branches and departments, excepting those engaged in mechanical work now organized under A. F. of L. and Barbers, Tailors, Laundry Workers, Drivers and Chauffeurs.

"Bartenders, beverage dispensers and soda fountain workers.

"Sleeping and parlor car employees (conductors excepted), dining car employees (cooks and waiters).

"Culinary workers and beverage dispensers on steamboats. It is not intended that this is to change conditions now existing; it is to cover mostly culinary workers and beverage dispensers on lake, river, pleasure and resort steamers."

"It is fairly possible that President Flore may write you further in connection with this matter, but, inasmuch as he requested me to convey the information relative to the action of the General Executive Board of our International Union, this letter goes forward as per his request."

(At a later date the Executive Council extended that jurisdiction to cover conductors in the dining car service.)

We appeared before the Executive Council as requested by them and submitted oral arguments in addition to the written statement filed, and under date of May 22, 1928, we were advised by President Green that he had extended an invitation to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to affiliate with the Federation through our International Union and that they had declined that invitation.

At a later date an application for charter was again made to the American Federation of Labor, and the Executive Council requested the President of the Federation of Labor to take the matter up with our International Union to ascertain whether our position in the matter had changed, and in a conference held at New Orleans, at which Secretary-Treasurer Hesketh was present, we advised the President of the Federation that our position was not changed and that we still maintained our claim for jurisdiction over sleeping car porters. The President gave his assurance that the Council would take no action without our International Union being heard on the subject. This assurance, however, was not made good. Without any knowledge that the Executive Council was to take action, the following press dispatch reached us from Miami, Florida,

where the Executive Council was in session in February, 1929:

"It was decided to issue Federal Union charters to Pullman porters, the objections of President Flore of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes having been considered sufficiently meritorious to prevent issuance of a National charter. It is estimated that between 4,000 and 6,000 are now in the independent organization. Negotiations will be carried on with the head of this organization regarding issuance of local charters."

On February 28, 1928, we were further advised from President Green that it was the opinion of the Executive Council that it could not grant the application (of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters) for an International charter of affiliation, but that they would grant them Local Union or Federal charters, affiliating them direct with the American Federation of Labor.

In response to that information we filed the following claim with the American Federation of Labor:

"The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of the late Mr. Samuel Gompers, having definitely granted to the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America jurisdiction over sleeping car porters, we maintain that the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor still stands and that any Federal Labor Union or Local Union of sleeping car porters chartered under the American Federation of Labor, through the decision of the Miami meeting or otherwise, will be the property of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America and we shall so claim and maintain."

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

#### Urging Application of Quota Provisions of Immigration Law to Mexico, Central and South America

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate H. C. Fremming, of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor toward immigration is restriction to the point where it may assimilate without menace to American social and industrial standards; and

WHEREAS, This policy has been expressed by statute in our quota provisions and the American Federation of Labor in its last convention approved the application of a quota to Mexico and Latin America; and

WHEREAS, The United States Chamber of Commerce, Western Section, recently in session in Ogden, Utah, opposed immediate restriction of Mexican labor on the ground that it was both needed and desirable in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The records of our penal and charitable institutions in California and other

western states show the Mexican problem to be the most acute of any of our alien races; and

WHEREAS, Mexican labor is steadily encroaching on the field of both unskilled and semi-skilled labor to the detriment of our own citizens; and

WHEREAS, Mobilization and transportation of Mexican labor now in the country, intelligently directed to meet the seasonal needs of agricultural and horticultural interests in the west and southwest would meet every labor demand without the necessity of further Mexican importation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirm its position taken at New Orleans in 1928 and urge upon Congress the immediate application of quota provisions to Mexico, Central and South America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Proposing Government Control of Boulder Canyon Dam

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate H. C. Fremming, of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The early construction of the Boulder Canyon Dam has become a certainty by Congressional enactment and Presidential proclamation; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that the lasting benefits of this great enterprise be insured in perpetuity to all the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record endorsing government control over this project to the end that private interests shall be given no advantage over public owned power institutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Philippine Islands Immigration Restriction

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates J. A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor and H. C. Fremming of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The question of Filipino immigration has become a leading issue upon the Pacific Coast; and

WHEREAS, We find this immigration is encouraged by transportation companies and employers of cheap labor; and

WHEREAS, Both male and female workers in various occupations are being replaced by this class of labor; and

WHEREAS, Our experience on the Pacific Coast has been that this problem is not only economic but is a grave social and moral question; and

WHEREAS, Upon the authority of health officials it is declared that the mode and con-

ditions of life in the Philippines tend to destroy the vitality and stamina of these people, making them easy victims of various contagious diseases, as evidenced by the recent epidemic of spinal meningitis, pneumonia and tuberculosis; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention reaffirm the action of the 1928 New Orleans session on this subject and urge upon Congress the speedy passage of legislation as expressed in the Welch Bill, H.R. 13900, introduced in a recent session of the United States Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Conference in Interest of Financing  
Organizing Campaign Among Textile  
Workers in the Southern States**

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, James Starr and William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America.

**WHEREAS**, The workers in factory, mine and mill of the Southern States of the United States are aroused as never before to the lack of organization among them; and

**WHEREAS**, These toilers, approximating one million (1,000,000) white workers, of which about two hundred thousand (200,000) are textile workers, are intensely interested in the betterment of their social life; and

**WHEREAS**, Educators, economists and public spirited citizens are advocating and recommending, through statistical compilation, with the written and spoken word, the necessity of bringing to these people the fundamentals and policy of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of securing, by organization within the American labor movement, the correction of existing abuses, now all too prevalent; and

**WHEREAS**, The unionizing of these Southern workers means a vast outlay of money, and to collect such money for the purpose of organizing these Southern workers means that the American Federation of Labor must undertake this work, as it is impossible, in our opinion, for any National or International Union to carry on such a task; and

**WHEREAS**, The Southern workers, if not organized and assimilated with the American Labor Movement, will become a more dangerous menace to the progress of the Organized Workers than can be found in any other economic obstacle now confronting them; and

**WHEREAS**, The cold-blooded shooting down of members of the United Textile Workers of America by the sheriffs at Marion, N.C., early Wednesday morning, October 2nd, following so closely the kidnapping of two of the representatives of our Labor movement at Elizabethton, Tenn., and at Warehools, S.C., where a representative of the American Federation of Labor and a representative of the United Textile Workers of America were ordered out at point of gun, is a challenge to the entire American Labor Government; and

**WHEREAS**, The way to combat these abuses and this challenge is through the Organization of the Workers, and such an organization cannot be brought about unless money is secured; and

**WHEREAS**, The unionizing of these Southern workers means a vast outlay of money; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, through the delegates assembled, goes on record authorizing the raising of funds by the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to carry out this important and necessary work; and, be it still further

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to call together for conference the officers of all National and International unions for the purpose of devising a policy that will be acceptable to all interested parties in the proposed campaign of organization among Southern workers regardless of craft or calling.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Urging Patronage of Pequot Products**

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America, and John P. O'Connell of the Salem Central Labor Union.

**WHEREAS**, Two thousand members of the United Textile Workers of America in Salem, Massachusetts, are seriously handicapped and threatened with unemployment owing to the competition of non-union mills making the same product at a lesser cost, with longer hours to work and lower wages; and

**WHEREAS**, This local union and the International Union are making every effort to convince the membership of the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this question to the trade union movement, and suggesting a means whereby our organization can be protected against the attack of those who would destroy our union and place this mill in the same class as the other low-paid mills which drive their workers with the speed-up or stretch-out plan, in order to secure mass production at low cost, with the inevitable glutting of the market; be it therefore

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its former action to urge the delegates to keep in mind Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, in order to assist the United Textile Workers of America in promoting their patronage throughout the country; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention reiterate the previous action of the American Federation of Labor in authorizing the promotion of Pequot Sheets and Pillow Cases, and again urge all delegates to take a personal interest

in assisting the United Textile Workers of America to resist the attack of non-union sheeting mills; and, be it still further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Requesting Assistance to Have New York Conservation Commission Patronize Union Badge Manufacturers**

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate W. W. Britton of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has been giving assistance to the Metal Polishers' International Union in their fight against the unfair firm of Whitehead & Hoag; and

**WHEREAS**, This firm has been selling badges to the approximate number of 750,000 per year to the New York Conservation Commission and these same badges could have been obtained from a strictly union concern located in their own state—Rochester, New York; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to induce the New York Conservation Commission to buy their badges from a union concern.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Metal Polishers Request Investigation of Their Dispute With the Supermaid Cook Ware Company, Chicago, Ill.**

Resolution No. 39—By W. W. Britton, Metal Polishers' International Union.

**WHEREAS**, There has been a persistent effort on the part of the Supermaid Cook Ware Corporation of Chicago, Illinois, in their fight against the Metal Polishers' International Union to confuse the minds of different Central Bodies by denying their antagonism to organized labor, and by denying the contents of circular letters issued by the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Metal Polishers' Union, causing many Central Bodies to write to different places for a correct report on the matter; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor conduct an investigation of the strike between the Metal Polishers and the above-named company and report its findings to the different Central Bodies throughout the country.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Hatters Protest Attitude of Saranoff Irving Hat Company**

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates James Byrne, J. Louis Africk, and Martin Lawlor of the United Hatters of North America.

**WHEREAS**, The Saranoff Irving Hat Company, manufacturers of hats and operating a chain of retail stores, in 1922, while operating a union factory in New York City, declared for the open shop and secured a non-union factory at Perth Amboy, New Jersey; and

**WHEREAS**, the Saranoff Irving Hat Company had only one object in view in declaring for the open shop, and that was to get cheaper labor and thereby lower the standard of living of members of the United Hatters of North America; and

**WHEREAS**, The Saranoff Irving Hat Company is doing a national business, having stores all over the United States, some of them known as Saranoff Irving Stores, some as Saranoff Stores and some as Irving Stores, but all of them owned by the Saranoff Irving Hat Company; and

**WHEREAS**, This year the United Hatters of North America succeeded in organizing the Saranoff Hat Company employees; as soon as this condition became known to the firm they notified their employees that any of them who attended the meetings of the organization of their craft would be discharged. A meeting was held and attended by most of the Saranoff Company employees. Next morning ten of the leaders were discharged; and

**WHEREAS**, We believe that in this enlightened age the time has passed when employers of labor can any longer take the stand that joining the organization of their craft is sufficient reason for the discharge of their employees; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposed to the unfair and un-American attitude of the Saranoff Irving Hat Company in discharging their employees because they joined a labor organization; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render every assistance possible to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this controversy, and if unable to do so that Saranoff Irving Hats be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor and the widest possible publicity be given to the matter contained in this resolution; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we request the membership of the American Federation of Labor that when buying a felt, wool, straw or Panama hat they look for the Union Label of the United Hatters of North America. In doing this they will be helping to stop firms like the Saranoff Irving Hat Company from trying to lower the standards of living of American men and women by depriving them of their right to belong to an organization if they so desire.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Urging Legislation for District of Columbia to Protect Union Labels**

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There is no law in the District of Columbia which protects the membership of unions in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor against the misuse of their emblems, that is, union labels, shop cards or working buttons; and

WHEREAS, These union emblems have been misused by parties not authorized to use them in the District of Columbia and no redress can be had for the abuse of these emblems under present conditions except by procuring injunctions or a suit at law; and

WHEREAS, Such remedies are costly and cumbersome and do not yield the immediate and effective result that the registration laws of the several states do with regard to the protection of the union label, shop card and working button; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to introduce such bill or bills in Congress of the United States, and try to secure their adoption, that will protect the union label, working button and shop card from misuse or imitation in the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Requesting Issuance of Circular Letter to Promote Organization of Laundry Workers**

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The 1928 convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution requesting that a circular letter be sent to all State Federations of Labor, to all City Central Labor Unions and to all Organizers of the American Federation of Labor calling to their attention the unorganized condition of the Laundry Workers; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the said letter being sent to the State Federations of Labor, the City Central Labor Unions, and the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the Laundry Workers' International Union has received many letters from State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and from Organizers of the American Federation of Labor requesting information and organizing literature, and several campaigns are now being carried on to organize Laundry Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be respectfully requested to forward a similar letter during the coming year to all State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and to all Organizers of the

American Federation of Labor requesting them to make all possible efforts to establish Local Unions of Laundry Workers in their respective localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Referendum in Greater New York for Increased Pay for Fire Fighters**

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Donald Dear of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, With the approval of the Legislature, His Excellency the Governor and His Honor the Mayor of New York City, there will be presented to the six million people of the metropolis on Tuesday, November 5, a non-partisan proposition for higher pay for the firemen of that city; and

WHEREAS, It is important to trades unionists that the upward trend of wages which has been the greatest single factor in the prosperity of the country shall be recognized by a verdict at the polls in favor of our comrades of the Uniformed Firemen's Association, Local 94, New York City, of the International Association of Fire Fighters, whose long hours and risks are known to all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby indorses the higher wage law and urges all working men and women to support this proposition in order that an overwhelming ratification by the electorate may proclaim to all concerned that the rising American standard of wages must be maintained.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Declaring for Independence of Philippine Islands**

Resolution No. 44—By Delegates David Levine of the Seattle Central Labor Council, and James Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the time of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by our government, statements were made by governmental authorities that our control was temporary; and

WHEREAS, The United States Courts held them to be Asiatics and not eligible for citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The Filipinos cannot be assimilated with our people; and

WHEREAS, We believe that every people must face their own problems without interference from any other people; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming sentiment of the Filipinos is for their independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in its Forty-ninth Annual Convention at Toronto urges on Congress the



granting of complete independence to the Philippine Islands.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Protesting Activities of Civil Service League of Seattle, Washington**

Resolution No. 45—By David Levine of the Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, There exists in Seattle, Washington, an organization known as the Civil Service League; and

WHEREAS, This Civil Service League has extended its activities to the point of usurping the recognized functions of the local trade union, to the extent of negotiating wages and working conditions for various branches of city employees, including many having trade unions affiliated with the Seattle Central Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, Trade Unions affiliated with the Council protested unsuccessfully against this usurping of their functions and finally brought their complaints to the Central Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council, after exhausting all legitimate means to remedy the situation, by unanimous vote declared the Civil Service League as dual in character and unfair to organizations affiliated with the Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in 49th Annual Convention assembled at Toronto, that the Federation notify all affiliated International Unions of the dual nature of the Seattle Civil Service League and urge each of them having local unions in Seattle to take such steps as may be necessary to prevent their members from holding membership in this dual organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Pledging Support to Organization Campaign of Ladies' Garment Workers in Women's Wear Industry**

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates B. Schlesinger, I. Nagler, D. Dubinsky, Abraham Katovsky, and B. Desti of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Cloak Makers' Unions of the City of New York have recently concluded a highly successful strike, which has resulted in collective agreements with all associations of employers in the industry, under the terms of which the thirty thousand members of these unions have secured substantial improvements in their standards of work and life; and

WHEREAS, The signal victory of the Cloak Makers' Unions has inspired the organized workers in other branches of the women's wear industry to renewed enthusiasm and activity and has served to restore the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to its former position of power and prestige; and

WHEREAS, The successful outcome of the Cloak Makers' strike in New York was in a large measure due to the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the Executive Council, acting under the instructions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and particularly to the personal efforts of President William Green, Vice-President Matthew Woll and Brother Edward McGrady; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Toronto, Canada, expresses its appreciation to the Executive Council, President Green, Vice-President Woll and Brother McGrady for the loyal and efficient services in behalf of the New York Cloak Makers and hereby instructs the Executive Council to support with all means at its command the campaign of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to organize the workers in the women's wear industry throughout the United States and Canada and to secure for such workers human and decent living conditions.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Proposing Legislation Requiring Firms Seeking Injunctions in Labor Disputes to Apply to Courts Within the Territory Where the Dispute Exists**

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Felix Olkives of the Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor throughout the United States of America has struggled hard for years to place upon the statute books the labor laws we now enjoy by City, County and State Legislation; and

WHEREAS, Labor, both organized and unorganized, throughout the country pays taxes to uphold these laws; and

WHEREAS, These laws have been placed upon the statute books by representatives of both capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, Foreign corporations seeking an injunction in a labor dispute avoid Local and State laws by going into the Federal Courts and secure sweeping injunctions which are in conflict to the laws enacted by Local and State courts; and

WHEREAS, Any corporation, firm or manufacturer not a foreign corporation is compelled to seek its injunctions in its Local or State court; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Toronto, Canada, on October 7th, 1929, call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take steps to introduce a bill into the next session of the United States Congress at Washington, to the effect that any corporation doing business in any state of the Union desiring to secure an injunction in a labor dispute must seek that

injunction in the Local or State Court wherein the dispute exists.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Complaint  
Against the Shell Oil Company of  
California**

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Wm. J. Spencer of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Shell Oil Company of California, a subsidiary of the Shell Union Corporation, is now erecting a large, three million dollar office building in San Francisco, Calif., in which there is over three million tons of structural steel erection, and

WHEREAS, For over the past eight months officials of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have conferred with various representatives and officials of the Shell Oil Company and their architects, as well as the Shell Union Corporation, in order to prevail upon them to have the steel work on this job erected under union conditions; and

WHEREAS, All of the efforts on the part of the International Association and its officials with the above firms to secure for our members the work of erecting the steel on the Shell Oil Company San Francisco job were without satisfactory results; and

WHEREAS, The influence of the open-shop advocates of San Francisco, as well as the Industrial Association of that city, both of which have bitterly opposed the employment of union labor, have undoubtedly exercised their influence with the Shell Oil Company in order that the steel erection work on their new building be erected under the Industrial open-shop, non-union plan; and

WHEREAS, The Shell Oil Company of California, the Shell Petroleum Products Company and the Shell Eastern Company are subsidiary companies of the Shell Union Corporation, all of which companies are engaged in the sale of gas and oil products to the people of our country, many millions of which are among the organized workers of the United States and Canada, which countries are thoroughly covered by the sales agencies of the above-mentioned companies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all of the products of all of the above-named companies shall be placed upon the "We don't patronize" list by the Building Trades Department, and that every effort be made to secure the endorsement and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor Convention in placing the contents of this resolution into effect throughout the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated International Unions, State and local Building Trades Councils affiliated with the Building Trades Department be notified of the above action of this Department; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the American Federation of Labor to concur in this resolution by placing the products of the above-named companies on the "We don't patronize" list, and that all affiliated International Unions, State Federations of Labor, local Central Labor bodies and Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be notified accordingly.

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department and referred to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for adoption.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Building Trades Protest Jurisdiction Encroachment of Theatrical Stage Employes**

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate William J. Spencer of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In many sections of the country disputes have arisen between the various crafts and the Locals of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes due principally to the claim of the I. A. T. S. E. locals for jurisdiction over all work in the theatrical and amusement field; and

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction in theatres, studios and places of amusement as between the various crafts and the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employes has been definitely determined a number of times by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The I. A. T. S. E. has never asked for jurisdiction of work in theatres other than that back of the proscenium arch necessary for the production of a show and the operation of projecting machines and have never been granted jurisdiction over work other than that necessary for the production of a show back of the proscenium arch and the operation of projecting machines; and

WHEREAS, The claim of many of their local Unions for jurisdiction over all work in theatres is without foundation and is productive of turmoil and strife as between the various Labor organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the I. A. T. S. E. be ordered to instruct their Local Unions that the work in theatres other than that specifically mentioned in the decisions and agreements granting them jurisdiction over certain classes of work back of the proscenium arch and the operation of projecting machines comes properly under the jurisdiction of the various trades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the I. A. T. S. E. be advised and ordered to refrain from demanding agreements with employers that cover the work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the various trades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the I. A. T. S. E. be ordered to confine themselves to the work properly granted to them by the labor move-

ment, and upon their refusal to confine themselves to the work properly coming under their jurisdiction, they be suspended from the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That conferences for the settlement of jurisdiction disputes as between the trades properly holding jurisdiction and the I. A. T. S. E. be held within a period of thirty days after the adjournment of this Convention.

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department and referred to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for adoption.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Iron and Steel Workers Protest Attitude of American Rolling Mill Company of Middletown, Ohio.**

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate M. F. Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

**WHEREAS**, The American Rolling Mill Company of Middletown, Ohio, makers of the extensively advertised "Armco Brand of Sheet Iron and Plates," have after 28 years of the most amicable business relations with their employees, members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, also with the International Association Officials, with no cause whatsoever, there being no question or controversy between them, announced their intention to operate their mills non-union; and

**WHEREAS**, All efforts on the part of the International Organization and such other influences as it was possible to bring to bear on them failed to change the attitude of the American Rolling Mill Company, thereby making it necessary on the part of the International Organization to order the members of Miami Valley Lodge No. 20 to cease work until such time as this company will grant to them the rights they had enjoyed for the past 28 years, the right to be recognized as union men, and bargain collectively for their labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Toronto, Ontario, do declare the action of the American Rolling Mill of Middletown, Ohio, most unfair, not alone to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, but to the Organized Labor Movement in general. And we urge the delegates and all affiliated unions to take note of same. Also that such moral support be given as is possible to give to the members of Miami Valley Lodge No. 20, now on strike for the cause of Unionism and the right of collective bargaining for their labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Urging Enforcement of Provisions of Merchant Marine Act Governing Vessels Sailing Under Mail Contracts**

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

**WHEREAS**, The Merchant Marine Act providing for a mail pay so much increased as to amount to a subsidy, provided that 50 per cent of the crew, exclusive of licensed officers, carried in vessels sailing under mail contracts must be citizens of the United States; and

**WHEREAS**, No regulations have been issued to see that this part of the law is being obeyed; and

**WHEREAS**, Failure to issue proper regulations has resulted and is resulting in evasions of the law, and thus preventing the United States from obtaining the contemplated benefits intended by the passage of the law; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, that we respectfully request Congress to so amend this law as to require the issuance of specific regulations of such character as to compel obedience to the law on all vessels sailing under mail contracts.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing Abolishment of Sea Service Bureau of United States Shipping Board**

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

**WHEREAS**, The United States Shipping Board is continuing to operate the so-called Sea Service Bureau, which was established during the World War; and

**WHEREAS**, The said Bureau is destroying the skill needed in our Merchant Marine for safety at sea; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, that the appropriations by Congress for said Bureau ought to be abolished and the operations of the Bureau stopped, for the following reasons:

First: That the said Bureau was established by the Shipping Board and that there is no other way in which the Bureau may be abolished.

Second: That the Bureau is performing part of the duty assigned by law to the United States Shipping Commissioners' offices; that the expense is a waste of public money; that the duty may be performed better and according to law by said Shipping Commissioners' offices.

Third: That the Bureau is setting aside statute law and substituting therefor its own ideas of punishment, which consists in keeping a deferred list—black list—upon which men are placed upon the recommendation of the master.

Fourth: That the policy results in a turnover which makes it impossible to develop skill in men employed and is thus preventing the development of an efficient personnel.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Opposing Treaty Relations With Foreign Countries Which Would Affect the Right of the United States to Enact Legislation Governing Operation of all Merchant Vessels Sailing Out of American Ports.**

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The future growth and development of the American Merchant Marine depends upon its ability to successfully compete with the merchant marines of other nations; and

WHEREAS, The attempts made in past decades to equalize the cost of operation as between American and foreign ships by reducing the standards on American vessels to low levels based upon conditions prevailing in the ports of other nations resulted, first, in practically wiping out the American personnel and, second, in driving American ships from the overseas trade and limiting their operations almost exclusively to the American coastwise trade, from which foreign ships are barred by law; and

WHEREAS, In the passage of the Seamen's Act, Congress adopted the policy of seeking to equalize competitive conditions in the overseas trade by applying American standards to all vessels sailing out of American ports; and

WHEREAS, In so far as this policy of enforcing American standards in American ports has been carried out by the government of the United States, the effect has been to raise the standards on foreign vessels trading to American harbors and thus to create a condition favorable to the operation of American ships; and

WHEREAS, This experience proves beyond a doubt that in the interest of the American Merchant Marine it is essential that Congress retain full control over conditions under which ships are permitted to sail out of ports of the United States, it being obvious that it is fully as necessary to apply American regulations to foreign ships doing business in American harbors as it is to apply American regulations to foreign merchants doing business in American cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby urge the President and Senate of the United States to refrain from entering upon any treaty or covenant of any sort with any foreign nation or nations the effect of which would be to surrender the right of Congress to enact laws to determine the conditions under which vessels, foreign as well as American, are to be permitted to operate out of American ports, or which would have the effect of nullifying any of the existing laws of the United States governing the operation of merchant vessels.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Urging Trade Union Educational and Organization Campaign Among Negro Workers**

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, New York, N.Y.

**An Organization of Negro Workers**

WHEREAS, There is widespread misunderstanding among Negro workers, who are some of the most severely exploited wage-earners in America, chiefly because of the lack of organization, as to the aims and policies of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Negro workers, in numerous industrial struggles, have been used by certain business interests as strike-breakers for the purpose of breaking down trade union standards of wages, hours and working conditions and the principle of collective bargaining;

THEREFORE, Be it resolved that the 49th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. does herewith go on record as favoring the extension of an educational and organization programme as outlined by President William Green in his recent speeches to the Sleeping Car Porters in New York and Chicago, with a view to organizing them into the trades and callings as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Tobacco Workers Protest Attitude of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Winston-Salem, N.C.**

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Ed. L. Crouch of the Winston-Salem, N.C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, of Winston-Salem, N.C., has refused to employ Union Labor of any crafts, and the Chairman of its Board of Directors stated to the Representative of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Edward F. McGrady, "We are not interested in any contractual relations with Organized Labor"; and

WHEREAS, The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company has discharged over 1,200 members of the Tobacco Workers International Union, within the last 18 months, and refused to meet a committee of the Tobacco Workers, who asked for a conference, in order that by friendly methods the deplorable conditions under which the Tobacco Workers are forced to work in their factories might be changed; and

WHEREAS, The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, a Hundred Million Dollar Trust, has arrogantly refused to meet, or even discuss, a peaceful settlement of the troubles existing in its factories, with the Central Labor Union, N.C. State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and the United States Department of Labor, who each in turn offered their good offices to the end that a peaceful settlement might be made; and

WHEREAS, After the Tobacco Workers International Union had exhausted every honorable means at their command without avail to effect a peaceful settlement, and placed all the products of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company on the Unfair List; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Toronto, Ont., heartily endorse the action taken against the Reynolds Tobacco Company by the Tobacco Workers International Union, as well as the similar action of State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies, International Unions, and Local Unions throughout the United States of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls on all organized workers to co-operate with the Tobacco Workers International Union in turning the pitiless light of publicity on the deplorable conditions existing in the Reynolds Tobacco Company's factories, and to ignore all products manufactured by this firm, until such time as the present policy of Industrial Slavery now in vogue in its factories are changed.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Proposing Affiliation of A. F. of L. With the International Labor Office of the League of Nations**

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Ed. L. Crouch of the Winston-Salem, N.C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Labor bore a great deal of the sacrifice in winning the World War, consequently, it was in a position to make demands at the Peace Conference; and

WHEREAS, The late Samuel Gompers and Labor Representatives insisted that the Treaty of Versailles recognize the right of men and women to just working conditions, and that there be established in connection with the League of Nations an International Labor Organization; and

WHEREAS, The United States is yet a non-member of the League of Nations, it is permissible for the American Federation of Labor to join the International Labor Organization; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the forty-ninth Convention assembled in Toronto, Ont., affiliate with the International Labor Organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its influence in every moral and legitimate way to impress National Representatives to favor both the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Celebration of Fiftieth Anniversary of A. F. of L., 1931, in Washington, D.C.**

Resolution No. 57—By J. H. Windsor, of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and

Engravers Union of North America; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; G. W. Perkins, Cigarmakers' International Union, and Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, The 50th Anniversary of the American Federation of Labor will be celebrated in the year 1931; and

WHEREAS, During the year 1931 there will be dedicated in the City of Washington, D.C., the memorial to that dearly beloved leader of Organized Labor, the late Samuel Gompers, who served this American Federation of Labor so nobly and faithfully for more than forty years as its President; and

WHEREAS, These two most important events in the history of the American Federation of Labor should receive the attention and consideration of every member of organized labor in the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, Such an occasion as the 50th Anniversary of the birth of the American Federation of Labor and the dedication of the Gompers Memorial should be celebrated by the hosts of organized labor in the United States and Canada by a great labor pageant in which every international, national and labor local in these countries could participate; and

WHEREAS, Should this great parade and pageant be held in Washington, D.C., it could be reviewed by the President of the United States and his Cabinet together with the members of Congress and the Representatives of all the Foreign Governments; and

WHEREAS, Every citizen of the United States and of Canada has a desire to visit Washington, D.C., the Capital of the United States and view its wonderful buildings, parks and other attractions; and

WHEREAS, Such an occasion as this would result in the greatest turnout of organized labor the world has ever seen, where tens of thousands of members of organized labor and their families and friends would journey to Washington, D.C., not only to view its many wonderful attractions but to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Birth of the American Federation of Labor and the dedication of the Memorial to the late Samuel Gompers; and

WHEREAS, Washington, D.C., is an ideal convention city, with a great auditorium where the convention could be held, many fine hotels to house not only the delegates but all the visitors who would attend the great celebration, fine avenues and wide streets where the greatest parades in the history of the nation have been held, the Capitol Buildings, the White House, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the National Cemetery, the Home and Tomb of George Washington and hundreds of other great buildings and parks which every person in the world hopes to visit and view at some time in his life; and

WHEREAS, There are in Washington, D.C., the homes of many of the National and International Unions and the Headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, so that ample provisions can be made to stage this great event in the History of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates to this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, realizing the great possibilities that present themselves to our minds through the suggestion contained in this resolution, do request that the delegates advocate and promote the advisability of the holding of the 50th anniversary of the birth of the American Federation of Labor and the dedication of the Memorial to the late Samuel Gompers, together with a monster parade and pageant to fittingly celebrate such an occasion, in the City of Washington, D.C., in the year 1931.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

#### Organizing Automobile and Vehicle Workers in United States and Canada.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Arthur E. Mack of the Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18065, New York, N.Y., and John H. Tapken of the Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18066, Brooklyn, New York.

WHEREAS, The Automobile and Vehicle industry is practically in an unorganized condition and thousands of men are employed in this particular line of work in New York and immediate vicinity; and

WHEREAS, The Local Unions of Automobile and Vehicle Workers now chartered by the American Federation of Labor are putting forth every effort in organizing this great industry with the limited means at hand but find it almost impossible to cover the most important points in the surrounding territory where any number of large Automobile and Vehicle plants are located, and unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The Automobile and Vehicle Workers Local Union No. 18065, of New York City, finds it impossible to finance the organizing of this great Metropolitan District and surrounding territory; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in Convention determine and decree that special organizers be assigned to assist in organizing this vast army of Automobile and Vehicle Workers in the eastern section of the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor prevail upon all Central Trades and Labor Councils throughout the country for their moral support in organizing the Automobile and Vehicle Workers of United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

#### Proposing Merging of International Unions to Eliminate Jurisdiction Disputes

Resolution No. 59—By the Schenectady, N.Y. Trades Assembly.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes between local unions and between International Unions of organized labor have not only led to the stoppage of work and the loss of production and wages on numberless occasions, but have often resulted in such scandal as to reflect in the eyes of the world upon the principles upon which the trade union movement is founded; and

WHEREAS, The jealousies arising between International Unions, each of which is naturally inclined to seek its own advantage, have too often interfered with efforts to organize the great industries of this country in centres of production where the need of organization is the most apparent and the enslavement of the workers most pronounced; and

WHEREAS, of the hundred and seventeen or more International Unions affiliated with the American Federation the overhead cost of maintaining and conducting the offices of nearly one hundred organizations is out of all proportion to the benefits derived by their membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Forty-ninth Annual Convention assembled, that ways and means should be sought to increase the solidarity and effectiveness of the American organized labor movement through the reduction in the number and the consolidation of the existing independent International Unions as far as practicable; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee of fifteen be appointed with instructions to formulate a plan of consolidation which will have the effect of reducing the number of independent International Unions to from ten to twenty in number, and to eliminate the jurisdictional disputes that now constantly arise; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That such committee be empowered to hold conferences with the Officers of all International Unions, and to take such other measures as in its best judgment will promote the end desired and contemplated by these resolutions, such committee to report its findings and recommendations to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### To Advise Central and State Bodies of Refusal of A. F. of L. to Issue Separate Charters to Welders.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates J. A. Franklin of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers; Martin F. Ryan of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; A. O. Wharton of the International Association of Machinists, and



John Coefield of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

WHEREAS, Various individuals are advising workers in the several metal industries that as soon as those engaged in the use of autogenous welding process evidence their desire for an international craft organization of welders by joining such an organization in considerable numbers, then the American Federation of Labor has promised a charter will be issued; and

WHEREAS, The 1916 Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor declared that "acetylene welding" is a process and that "acetylene welder" is a tool which can no more come under the exclusive jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than can the hammer or the saw"; and

WHEREAS, At the 1919 Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor there was introduced a resolution proposing that the electric and oxy-acetylene welders and burners be recognized as a separate craft and that these workers be granted a separate charter as an international trade union; and

WHEREAS, That convention declared for the reaffirmation of the decision rendered by the Baltimore Convention; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in session August 9, 1929, had before them an application for charter from the "United Welders of America" and directed that "the applicants be advised that the evidence submitted does not warrant a change in the previous decision rendered by the American Federation of Labor, and the developments in the various industries make all the more warranted the reaffirmation of our previous decision; that their members be advised to affiliate with the different organizations in which they are eligible; and

WHEREAS, The autogenous welding processes are becoming more and more important to, inseparable from, and in general use by the various crafts and trades engaged wholly or in part in the metal industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby directed to issue the necessary general letter to all State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies advising them of the repeated refusal of the American Federation of Labor to grant a separate charter for these workers, and of the record with reference to the above declared policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

#### Cigarmakers Protest Attitude of The General Cigar Company

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates L. M. Ornum, G. W. Perkins and William Collins of

the Cigarmakers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The State and Federal Constitutions guarantee certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS, Capitalists through organization, trusts and merged combinations are enabled to reap in dividends and multiplied earnings that follow organization and co-operative joint efforts; and

WHEREAS, These gigantic trusts find means to deprive labor of its constitutional right of freedom and justice on the economic industrial field of action, among which are the "yellow dog" contract, intimidation and the Writ of Injunction; and

WHEREAS, Working under modern methods of industrial production and distribution, it is impossible for wage earners to achieve and enjoy industrial freedom, except through organization in trades unions; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor concedes the right of capitalists to organize in ways best suited to achieve legitimate dividends; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor also demands the right of wage earners to organize in trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The only way to successfully meet the machine age changes is to reduce the number of working hours per day and the number of working days per week to a point that will absorb the idle workers displaced by new machinery and to increase wages to a point that will enable the masses to consume that which they produce. It is the purchasing power and consuming ability of the masses that makes for stability of employment and prosperity for all; and

WHEREAS, In the cigar and tobacco industry, machines have displaced thousands of skilled and semi-skilled wage earners. The trust owners are well organized and skillfully merged in combines with unlimited resources and influences. These trusts will not tolerate the organization of the wage earners who are among the lowest paid industrial workers; and

WHEREAS, The General Cigar Company Trust is one of the worst offenders in this respect. Early this year—1929—this concern handed the workers a reduction of wages, using the pretense "business is poor." It was generally known that the company had doubled its income and greatly increased its dividends. In May (1929) the workers demanded the cut in wages be restored. The answer was, "No, but we will allow you to work one hour extra per day, to make up the loss in wages." The workers quit work in mass. The writ of injunction followed. The injunction of the usual type restrained them from doing anything except return to work, and keeping away from the wicked union; and

WHEREAS, Every device known to refined modern cruelty was employed to drive these people back to work; and

WHEREAS, They were unorganized, defenceless, and poverty stricken. They made a splendid fight for three long desolate months of privations, suffering, and were driven back by the relentless pangs of hunger; and

WHEREAS, This trust, powerful and rich, The General Cigar Company, maker of the Robert Burns, William Penn, Van Dyke, Chesterfield, and White Owl, is well organized for dividends, but denies the right of the wage-workers to organize for living wages and less hours of toil; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor denounce the attitude and action of this concern as being unfair, unjust, and antagonistic to the true spirit of constitutional industrial freedom and repugnant to the impartial public policy and dangerous to our free institutions; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give all possible publicity by circular letter, editorials and otherwise to this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Urging Granting of Pardon to Thomas J. Mooney.**

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates M. J. Keough, Robert T. McCoy, George E. McCaffrey, W. A. Preston, of the International Molders Union of America.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney is confined for life in the San Quentin Penitentiary, California, because he was found guilty by the jury of a bomb explosion in San Francisco July 22, 1916, which resulted in the death of several persons and the wounding of a large number. And as a growingly impressive volume of evidence has been secured indicating beyond a doubt that a number of the principal witnesses against him committed perjury, several of these witnesses having since admitted to their perjured testimony. And as the law of California has made it impossible to reopen the case so that the well-substantiated evidence of perjury could be introduced. And as the Hon. Frank A. Griffin, who presided as judge at the Mooney trial is one in the long list of prominent and sincere citizens who are appealing to the Governor of California to pardon Mooney and Billings. And as Judge Griffin, on November 14, 1928, informed Governor Young "the transcript evidence upon which Mooney and Billings were convicted no longer exists." And because he as the trial judge and the foreman of the jury; eleven members of the jury; the present District Attorney and Captain Matheson, Chief of Police, who had charge of the case; in fact, every former official connected with the trial with the exception of District Attorney Fickert, now publicly declare their conviction that

Mooney and Billings were found guilty as the result of perjured evidence. And as an evidence of our conviction that confidence in our form of government and orderly government by law cannot be maintained unless our citizens can fully and confidently place reliance upon the justness of our court procedure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor emphatically reaffirm the position it has taken in connection with this internationally famous case and instruct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to do all within their power as our representatives to prevail upon the Governor of California to redress the great injustice which has been done to Mooney and Billings because of their conviction upon perjured evidence, by granting an unconditional pardon, and thus restore to the citizens of California and of the United States that respect and confidence for our courts of law which is necessary if we are to place implicit faith upon government by law and the even-handed justice emanating from the American Judiciary essential to the preservation of our institutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Urging Revocation of General Order No. 86 Issued by Secretary of Labor Affecting Immigration Law**

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Frank X. Martel of the International Typographical Union and Daniel O. Collins of the Michigan State Federation of Labor.

The 1924 Immigration Law has been interpreted by the United States Supreme Court as being for the express purpose of protecting the working people legal residents of the United States against competition of people of the countries coming under quotas; and

WHEREAS, There has been issued by the United States Secretary of Labor an Order known as General Order No. 86 which has caused to be adjusted to border crossing status and for the purpose of work many thousands of quota aliens; and

WHEREAS, This General Order No. 86 is an annulment of the protections provided by the law and held to be the rights of the citizens of the United States and that the law and its enforcement in nowise is an encroachment on any right that may appear to exist in any understanding between the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There exist, among these adjusted quota aliens, strike-breakers who have been deported under the law and who have been subsequently adjusted to border crossing status and to continue their strike-breaking activities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor demand the revocation by the President of the United States of General Order No. 86, thereby

providing the legal residents of the United States the protection that Congress in the enactment of the 1924 immigration intended they should have, and that the legal residents may be protected against the activities of strike-breakers recruited among these excluded aliens.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### Cuba.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States is solemnly pledged by its permanent treaty with Cuba to see to it that a government be maintained that is "adequate for the protection of life, liberty and property," and this right and duty is incorporated in the Constitution of Cuba; and

WHEREAS, The United States has made frequent representations to the government of Cuba which, under this treaty, were aimed not merely to protect the property of individual Americans but to secure "adequate protection of property" on the Island; and

WHEREAS, the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate is investigating the charge that neither life, liberty nor property is adequately protected and that there is neither safety of life, nor freedom of speech, nor freedom of assemblage, of movement, of the press, or of organization; and

WHEREAS, American labor has always done its full duty to secure the liberty and promote the happiness of neighboring peoples; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we endorse investigation by the Foreign Relations Committee and call upon the Senate and the Administration to fulfill the obligations of this country to Cuba and the Cuban people under the treaty and in accord with the wishes and interests of that people and with the high traditions of the American people and of the American labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### To Assist Organization Work Among Jewelry Workers.

Resolution No. 65—By Samuel E. Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, and David Levine of the Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, due to a secession movement, are at the present poorly organized; and

WHEREAS, Due to this secession movement the finances of the International Jewelry Workers' Union will not permit placing organizers in the large number of cities to

organize the unorganized Jewelry Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor communicate with all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Councils, and Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize Jewelry Workers in their respective localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

#### Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Governing Issuance of Charters to Directly Affiliated Local Unions

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates William M. Rossell of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Victor A. Olander of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, The term "Local Trade and Federal Labor Union" in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor includes two forms of local organizations, namely, Federal Labor Unions, of which only three may be chartered in any one city as provided in Section 2 of Article XIV, and Local Trade Unions which are not covered by certain regulations governing the chartering of Federal Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National, International, State, City and Local organizations require a classification of the conditions under which Local Trade Unions may receive and retain charters from the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Article XIV be renumbered, respectively, 4, 5, 6 and 7, and that a new Section 3 be inserted in said Article XIV, to read as follows:

Certificates of affiliation may be granted in conformity with the Section to any number of Local Trade Unions in any city.

Section 3. Such Local Trade Unions shall be composed of wage earners who are employed in a trade or occupation that does not come within the jurisdiction claims of any national or international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Before a certificate of affiliation is issued to any group to be known as a Local Trade Union of the A. F. of L., the President of the American Federation of Labor shall first require sufficient evidence of proof that the number of applicants is in his judgment a reasonable representation of that trade or occupation. He shall also require that applicants give satisfactory proof that they are actually employed in that trade or occupation. He shall also require that the members of such organizations who are selected to act as officers or representatives shall furnish proof as to the time they have actually worked at such trade or occupation. Such Local Trade Unions shall not permit any person to secure membership in the local union unless such applicants can furnish sufficient proof that they

actually follow such trade or occupation for a livelihood. Any failure to comply with this section by any such Local Trade Union shall be sufficient cause for the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the approval of the Executive Council, to revoke the charter.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Protesting Repeal of Anti-Trust Provisions of Radio Law**

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate D. G. Ramsay of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, Efforts are being made to induce the Congress of the United States to repeal the anti-trust provisions of the Radio Law; and

WHEREAS, The result of such a repeal would be to aid the Radio Corporation of America, the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, the Western Electric Company, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and their affiliated companies, better known as the Radio Trust, to create a monopoly of the radio industry of the United States and to escape penalties for past violation of the anti-trust laws; and

WHEREAS, It is to the interest of Labor throughout the United States that said Radio Trust be dissolved and that competition be restored in the radio industry; and

WHEREAS, The future of Radio can best be secured by competition in that art; and

WHEREAS, The safety of the Republic demands that no radio monopoly be allowed to exist in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that it protest against any effort to repeal or to weaken the anti-trust provisions of the present Radio Law of the United States and that it petition Congress to strengthen these anti-trust sections of the law and demand their enforcement by the Federal Radio Commission and the Department of Justice of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Jurisdictional Dispute, American Flint Glass Workers' Union vs. the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association**

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates William P. Clarke and Harry F. Cochran of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Glass Bottle Blowers' Association have admitted to membership men who are employed doing a class of work defined as "Lamp Working," which work comes under the jurisdiction of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, It appears best for those familiar with the technical phases of the dispute, which must be considered in making an adjustment, as well as familiar with the legal and historic phases of the problem, to meet and endeavor to adjust it; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a meeting between the representatives of these two organizations, said meeting to be presided over by President Green or some one designated by him, and that President Maloney of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association and Vice-President Gillooly of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, who will represent their respective organizations, be consulted as to an agreeable date, with the understanding that the meeting be held as soon as possible.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

**Become Unofficial Observers of International Labor Legislation by Having Our Government Select Unofficial Representatives to Keep in Touch With Developments at Geneva**

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate William P. Clarke of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America, Toledo, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has taken a very active part in International affairs, other than that which directly affects the lives, hopes and aspirations of the toilers; this being made manifest by the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the Kellogg Treaties, the Root revisions of The International Court, the naming of Charles Evans Hughes as a member of the Court, the selecting of two American bankers to aid in directing the proposed International Bank, and in numerous other ways; and

WHEREAS, The subjects of Unemployment, Immigration, International Industrialization, Cartels, Tariffs, Wages, Hours of Labor, Health and numerous other semi-economic or economic questions, as well as International Peace and other problems which affect the present and the future working men and working women, are not cared for; and

WHEREAS, The League of Nations and the International Labor Office are, to a great extent, the outcome of the labors of Woodrow Wilson and Samuel Gompers, respectively, and the United States is not officially identified with either while at the same time the interest of those affected by such problems as outlined in the first Whereas is guarded and the interest of the toilers, in so far as their having a voice in the formation or application of any International Agreements is concerned, is neglected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to enter into negotiations with President Hoover and such other representatives of our Government as may be necessary to the end that the Government of the United States may arrange whereby our Government shall have unofficial observers stationed in the International Labor Office at Geneva.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Urging Legislation to Provide for Employment of American Citizens in Construction of Boulder Canyon Dam.**

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell of the Los Angeles, California, Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has completed legislation of the Boulder Canyon Dam and the matter of building it has become a reality through official proclamation by the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, E. F. Scattergood, Chief Electrical Engineer of the Los Angeles Water and Power Department, one of the foremost authorities on electrical engineering in the world, who was instrumental in the compiling of practically all the details of the Boulder Dam, recently stated in an open meeting held in the Union Labor Temple of Los Angeles, and which he subsequently verified by a written statement, "that from three hundred to five hundred million dollars will be spent in the construction of this project during the coming eight to ten years, and that over two hundred million dollars will go directly to Labor for its compensation, approximately two hundred and fifty million dollars will be required for the purchase of materials and equipment produced or manufactured locally, and of this amount approximately fifty-five per cent. will go in turn directly to Labor for its production"; in other words, of the five hundred million dollars to be thus spent, over three hundred million dollars will be paid direct to Labor in Los Angeles and the southwest; and

WHEREAS, This great project is situated in that part of the United States which is greatly affected by the importation of cheap alien labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Forty-ninth Annual Convention, that the officers of the Federation be and hereby are instructed to use every effort to secure such legislative action or other methods that may be required to enforce the use of only American citizens upon any part of construction of this project, whether the work be done by contract or by the Federal Government direct.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Requesting Support of Theatrical Agents' and Managers' Union of New York City**

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Theodore Mitchell of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers, No. 18032, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has finally prevailed upon several important theatrical producers to enter into contractual relations with the Union wherein these theatrical producers have agreed to employ only members

of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers employed in the jurisdiction granted to this Union; and

WHEREAS, The membership of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers is in part dependent for its success upon the assistance and co-operation of those interested in the success of the American Trades Union Movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, in addition to being gratified to learn of the success of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers in securing contractual relations with the theatrical producers, call upon the officers and representatives of all affiliated unions to give to the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers and its membership any and all assistance within their power.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Wage Increases for United States Civil Service Employees**

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh, and Harry Norton, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. B. Bennett, of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald, of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor, of the International Plate Printers and Die Stammers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund, of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville, of the International Association of Machinists, and H. A. McConaughy, Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Wages paid United States Civil Service Employees cannot be adjusted by direct conference with their employers, the American public, but must be a matter of legislative action by the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Such legislation has always lagged and has been beset by many obstacles, notably the desire to reduce government costs to a minimum regardless of inadequacy of remuneration to faithful workers; and

WHEREAS, Apparent increases granted by the Congress from time to time in the past decade, taking into consideration the increase of productive efficiency, have fallen short of restoring the loss caused by the shrinkage

in purchasing value of the dollar, so that the real wages of government employes, in many instances, are lower now than before the world war; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in 49th Convention assembled directs its Executive Council to co-operate with the affiliated organizations of government employes to the end that their pre-war wage status may not only be restored but in addition these faithful public employes may secure a genuine advance in pay.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

#### Civil Service Retirement Legislation

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. F. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; and Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, There is now pending before the 71st Congress the Dale-Lehlbach Bill, which has for its purpose the liberalization of the Federal Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, A similar measure, following the endorsement of the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor, was passed by the 70th Congress, but not signed by the President and therefore failed of enactment; and

WHEREAS, While the pending bill does not entirely meet the wishes of the affiliated organizations directly affected, especially with respect to lower optional retirement age requirements, its speedy enactment is desired as a corrective of other existing defects; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in 49th Convention assembled, reaffirms its position in favor of a satisfactory Federal Retirement System and instructs the Executive Council to co-operate for the early passage of corrective legislation that conforms to convention pronouncements and is acceptable to interested affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

#### Improved Government Employment Standards

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. F. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville of the International Association of Machinists; H. A. McConaughay of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the elimination of harmful, objectionable speed-up practices; the liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; a reduction of night work; the establishment of higher wage standards and shorter working schedules, and kindred improvements; and

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of Government employes have been introduced—or will be introduced—for action by the 71st Congress; and

WHEREAS, These measures and prospective measures conform to the programme and urgings of the American Federation of Labor that the Government establish and maintain employment standards in advance—or at least abreast of—the highest standards prevailing in private industry; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this 49th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of government employes in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the programme and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

#### Shorter Saturday Work-Day

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the



National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gaiour, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. F. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Saturday work curtailment practice which wage-earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in state and municipal governments, and in a number of private industrial pursuits the five-day working week has been established; and

WHEREAS, Unfortunately, the United States Government in its capacity as an employer has not kept pace with this sound industrial and economic trend for shorter working schedules; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the need for having the government establish and maintain advanced employment standards, instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees for the purpose of having the shorter Saturday work day principle extended in government establishments to benefit every worker, in a manner best suited to the needs of each group, and as a forerunner for the introduction of the five-day week in government employment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Proposing That Post Office Department Establish a New System of Accounting, Discontinuing Charging Public Welfare Work of the Department Against Postal Revenues**

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gaiour, M. T. Finnan, Charles D.

Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. F. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, The United States Postal Service, as a well-managed and economically conducted public utility, operated on the principle of the elimination of competitive waste and in response to one primary objective—service to the people—has gradually reduced postal costs to the American people; and

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department in its annual reports to Congress has heretofore neglected to segregate the cost of varied services of a public welfare nature which are not properly chargeable to postal service operating costs; and

WHEREAS, In the aggregate the cost of these public welfare services now approximates \$150,000,000 annually, causing a fictitious book-keeping postal deficit and creating the widespread erroneous impression that the postal service is being operated at a financial loss; and

WHEREAS, Under an equitable system of accounting, whereby the Post Office Department would be given fiscal credit for the vast amount of public welfare services it now renders for nothing, or practically nothing, the postal system would show an imposing surplus and would thus be reflected in the public mind in its true light as a most efficient and highly profitable public business institution; and

WHEREAS, The existence of this alleged postal deficit, due entirely to the inaccurate and incomplete methods of fiscal accounting, reacts against the public in retarding the introduction of service improvements, and against the employees in delaying wage revisions and other employment betterments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, reaffirming its repeated pronouncements that the postal system should be operated for service and not for profit, hereby records itself in favor of the adoption of an adequate accounting system, either through legislative or administrative action, under which the public welfare activities of the postal service shall not be charged against postal revenues.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Urging Campaign to Secure Representation of Organized Labor on Textbooks Commissions.**

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; John B. Haggerty, Inter-

national Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Edward J. Volz, International Photo Engravers' Union; Winfield Keegan, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; Charles P. Howard and William Reilly of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The International Allied Printing Trades Association is conducting an extensive campaign to have textbooks used in public schools produced under conditions which recognize proper standards for the men and women engaged in production of such textbooks; and

WHEREAS, Adoption and use of textbooks produced under non-union conditions do not give such guarantee; and

WHEREAS, Concerns whose textbooks are produced under non-union conditions use high-powered and expensive sales methods to have their textbooks adopted, the cost of which is ultimately borne by the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon state, city and central bodies to enter upon active campaigns to secure representation upon commissions or other agencies empowered to approve and adopt textbooks for use in the public schools.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Favoring a Protective Tariff on Logs, Lumber and Shingles**

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates James A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and David Levine of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, For the past seven years the lumber and shingle manufacturing trades in the United States have suffered a continuous depression; and

WHEREAS, It is a well-known fact that this depression is caused by insurmountable foreign competition employing Oriental labor, British Columbia using about fifty per cent of Orientals in its timber industry; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has already gone on record favoring a tariff for the protection of the shingle industry only; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 49th Convention assembled, hereby go on record as favoring a protective tariff on all logs, lumber and shingles to protect American labor and furnish continuous employment to those employed in forest trades.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Urging Conservation of Natural Resources and Extension of Opportunities for Outdoor Recreation.**

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The conservation of our natural resources and our scenic assets and opportunities for the masses to enjoy outdoor recreation are essential to the future prosperity, physical well-being and happiness of the people of North America; and

WHEREAS, Short-sighted greed, carelessness and neglect are destroying our forests, obliterating our scenic features, polluting our waters and depleting our wild life resources; and

WHEREAS, The loss of these gifts of nature and the restriction of opportunities for hiking, camping, boating, swimming, fishing and hunting constitute a menace to public health and deprive our youth of assets which build character, initiative, self-reliance, strong bodies and alert minds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we strongly urge our respective governments to provide adequate machinery and more liberal funds for the restoration and protection of our natural resources, the cleansing of our rivers and streams and the extension of opportunities for outdoor recreation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Favoring Sunday Closing Law for Barber Shops in the District of Columbia**

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates James C. Shanessy, H. C. Wenzel, Leon Worthall, Roe H. Baker, William C. Birthright of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

WHEREAS, For over thirty years the organized barbers of the United States have struggled to secure Sunday as a day of rest; and

WHEREAS, In their efforts they have secured Sunday closing laws in forty-six states, thus adding health, happiness and opportunity for spiritual development to the life of the barbers; and

WHEREAS, In the District of Columbia the barbers are yet chained to Sunday slavery, thus casting a demoralizing influence over the barbers of the whole continent, an unwholesome influence and an unreasonable and unjustifiable practice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to take the necessary steps to assist the barbers in securing a Sunday Closing Law for barber shops in the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Favoring Co-operation of Pan-American Federation of Labor With International Federation of Trade Unions**

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal and Matthew Woll, representing the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Not only commerce and finance but also industry are being increasingly organized and controlled on an international basis, and this movement has been greatly accelerated under American leadership in the last few years; and

WHEREAS, American labor has always led in every movement to bring about a practical, efficient and permanent co-operation between the genuine economic labor organizations of the world on a basis of strict national autonomy; and

WHEREAS, The responsible heads of leading European labor organizations have of late publicly recognized the weakness of the methods hitherto followed to bring about this co-operation and their desire to discuss new methods; and

WHEREAS, It has been responsibly stated that there is in the International Federation of Trade Unions "no fundamental objection to the idea of Continental autonomy, provided the essential point, effective collaboration, can be secured"; and

WHEREAS, There is an immediate practical need for understanding and co-operation between the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the International Federation of Trade Unions, and such a plan of co-operation on an equal basis could in no way infringe upon the autonomy of the Pan-American Federation of Labor or the American Federation of Labor, while it would restore that permanent co-operation upon the basis of strict autonomy so auspiciously initiated by the A. F. of L. in 1919; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the American Federation of Labor at the coming convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to be held in Havana in January, 1930, favor permanent co-operation with the International Federation of Trade Unions on a basis of hemispheric equality, and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be authorized to formulate the general principles of such co-operation in accord with the resolution as to international organization laid down by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

**Urging That Over-Time Work Be Abolished**  
Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal and Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, The problem of unemployment is admittedly serious for those who have not passed the age of 40, as well as for those who have, promising to become more serious, not because of any fault in our machinery of production, but because of its perfection and the fact that we have not yet been able to adjust our relations properly to that machinery; and

WHEREAS, hours of labor bear a direct and striking relation to unemployment in modern industry and to a proper relation of humanity to machinery so that we may have a proper enjoyment of the fruits and benefits of machinery and machine processes; and

WHEREAS, It is obviously contrary to the principles of trade unionism, as well as inimical to general well-being, that some should engage in avoidable over-time work while others are unable to obtain any work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in addition to our fundamental policy in favor of a shorter work-day, a shorter work-week and an advancing rate of wages, we record it as our policy, commended to all affiliated bodies, that over-time work be abolished wherever possible and that it be resorted to only when its avoidance is rendered impossible by causes beyond the control of workers and management.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Favoring Exchange of Fraternal Delegates With German Trade Union Movement**

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal and Matthew Woll, representing the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Post-war developments have wrought great changes in Europe generally and in the trade union movement particularly, bringing the German trade union movement to an important position of strength and democratic influence and in hearty accord with the position, principles and aims of our own movement; and

WHEREAS, It has long been our custom to send each year two fraternal delegates to carry our greetings to the British trade union movement and to exchange information with our brothers of Great Britain; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to create the closest possible relations with the German trade union movement, the Executive Council be authorized to consider the practicability of an exchange of fraternal delegates with that movement.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

**Proposing a National Labor College for Workers' Education**

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a need for the operation and maintenance of a National Labor College, or colleges, wherein men and women of the labor movement may be educated and afforded a training that will enable them to carry on Workers' Education in their own or other communities; and

WHEREAS, It is essential that such college or colleges shall conform in their teachings, concerning the labor movement, with the recognized code and practices as accepted and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, in order that uniformity may prevail; and

WHEREAS, Such college or colleges will only be possible when they are inspired, established, financed and conducted through the regular channels of the labor movement and under the direct supervision of the President of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, With the ever changing aspects of our economic life, with their problems of mass production, substitution of the machine for man-power, with increased unemployment; the development of giant power, all bringing with them new problems, necessitating an intimate study of these as well as of more effective means for combating company unionism; and of better equipping our members for the active organizing work that is being demanded from us if we are to maintain even our comparative position and influence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we authorize our incoming Executive Council to give such consideration as is necessary to the above proposal, to devise ways and means for the establishment of such institution or institutions, and, if necessary for the success of the movement, that they be empowered to levy an additional one cent per member per month on the affiliated membership for such period as may be necessary to carry out the objects of this resolution, such levy not to be for a longer period than one year.

Referred to Committee on Education.

#### **Marble Workers Appeal From Printed Decision of Building Trades Department**

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Stephen C. Hogan, International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers.

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor grant affiliated unions the right of appeal from decisions of affiliated Departments; and

WHEREAS, The proceedings of the Building Trades Department Twenty-third Annual Convention, held in Toronto, Canada, October 2nd to 4th, 1929, erroneously record the action of the Department in convention

assembled on Resolution No. 1, pertaining to a jurisdictional dispute between the International Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers; and

WHEREAS, The error in the proceedings was pointed out to Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department, with a request that the mistake be rectified; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That if the proper correction has not been made in the finished proceedings that the subject matter of Resolution No. 1, Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department, Toronto, Canada, October 2nd to 4th, 1929, be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for adjustment.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Resolution No. 86—In Support of Radio Broadcasting Station WCFL**

WHEREAS, Radio Broadcasting Station WCFL at Chicago, Illinois, is the only broadcasting station in the United States owned and operated by and in the interests of Organized Labor, and has for more than three years maintained a high standard of service to Organized Labor and the public generally; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Radio Commission in its allocation of radio facilities in November, 1928, ordered Station WCFL off the radio frequency it had been using without time limitation, and put the station on a less desirable frequency, and restricted it to daytime operation only, with low power; and

WHEREAS, A hearing was had before the Federal Radio Commission in which nearly one hundred officials and representatives of many national and international unions, state and city central bodies and local unions appeared to give oral testimony, and at which hearing hundreds of affidavits were presented expressing the sentiment of practically the entire labor movement of the United States, together with hundreds of affidavits from prominent citizens outside the labor movement, all tending to prove that the public interest, necessity and convenience would be greatly benefited if Station WCFL should be granted the unlimited use of a radio frequency. Notwithstanding all this, the Federal Radio Commission denied the application, and its decision is now pending on appeal in the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, Many of the desirable radio frequencies have been given to great corporations and metropolitan newspapers, and are now being used to further the private interests of those concerns, in some cases with such high power as to blanket other radio stations and destroy their usefulness, with the result that this marvelous new method of communi-

cation, more powerful and effective in molding public opinion than the public press, has been in considerable measure, taken away from the people and handed over to great and powerful corporate interests; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor of America, with nearly 5,000,000 of dues-paying members, and representing the many millions of men and women who toil, and having principles and ideals of the utmost value to the entire world, is more justly entitled to the unlimited use of a radio broadcast channel than any hundred corporations in the land; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we endorse the efforts of Broadcasting Station WCFL to secure the unlimited use of a radio frequency, with adequate power and time of operation, in order that it may serve the labor movement and the general public by the promulgation of the principles and policies and ideals of Organized Labor; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That we regard it as contrary to the public welfare for the Federal Radio Commission to turn over this important new means of communication to a small group of corporations and metropolitan newspapers, to be used in their private interests; be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully call the attention of the Congress of the United States, and the other responsible officials of our Government, to the facts hereinabove set out, and that we urge such action on their part as will protect the interests of the American people in the field of radio broadcasting.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—James P. Noonan, President; G. M. Bugniet, International Secretary.

Lathers' International Union—Wm. J. McSorley, President.

United Association Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters, U. S. & C.—John Cosfield, President; Thos. E. Burke, General Secretary and Treasurer.

International Association of Machinists—A. O. Wharton, President; E. C. Davison, General Secretary and Treasurer.

International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—P. J. Morrin, President.

The National Association of Letter Carriers—Ed. Gainor, President.

National Federation of Post Office Clerks—Leo E. George, President.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, President; H. W. Strickland, Secretary.

International Seamen's Union of America—Andrew Furuseth, President; V. A. Olander, Secretary.

National Federation of Federal Employees—Gertrude M. McNally, Secretary and Treasurer.

Theatrical Stage Employees—Wm. F. Canavan, President.

Actors' Equity Association—Frank Gillmore, President; Paul Dullzell, Executive Secretary.

International Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers—John J. Gleeson, Secretary.

National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association—Albert L. Jones, Secretary and Treasurer.

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders—Felix J. Belair, Secretary and Treasurer.

National Federation of Federal Employees—L. C. Steward, President.

Upholsterers' International Union—Wm. Kohn, President; George V. Fay, Secretary.

International Typographical Union—Charles P. Howard, President; Woodruff Randolph, Secretary-Treasurer.

Cigar Makers' International Union—L. M. Ornburn, President.

Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America—Martin F. Ryan, President.

International Molders' Union—M. J. Keough, President; N. D. Smith, Secretary.

American Federation of Musicians—J. N. Webber, President.

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes—W. D. Mahon, President.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association—James Maloney, President; Harry Jenkins, Secretary.

International Printing Pressmen—George L. Berry, President; J. C. Orr, Secretary-Treasurer.

International Firemen and Oilers' Union—J. F. McNamara, President; Joseph W. Morton, Secretary.

International Union Operating Engineers—Arthur M. Huddell, President; D. Evans, Secretary.

Switchmen's International Union of N. A.—T. C. Cashen, President; J. M. Perry, Secretary and Treasurer.

International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Helpers of America—J. A. Frankland, President; Chas. F. Scott, Secretary.

Building Service Employes International Union—Jerry Horan, President; Paul B. David, Secretary.

Journeymen Barbers' International Union—James C. Shanessy, President; H. C. Wenzel, Secretary-Treasurer.

Order of Railroad Telegraphers—E. J. Manion, President; L. J. Ross, Secretary-Treasurer.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—M. Zaritsky, President; J. Roberts, Secretary-Treasurer.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers of America—L. P. Lindelot, President; Clarence E. Swick, Secretary.

International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union—Joseph Moreschi, President.

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers—M. F. Tighe, President; David J. Davis, Secretary-Treasurer.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance—Edward Flore, President; Robert B. Hesketh, Secretary-Treasurer.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs—Daniel J. Tobin, President.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union—A. A. Myrup, Secretary-Treasurer.

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association—John J. Hynes, President; William O'Brien, Secretary.

Journeyman Tailors' Union of America—Gust Soderburg, Secretary-Treasurer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### **Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers' Amalgamation**

Resolution No. 87—By I. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins and William Collins, Cigar Makers International Union.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council reported to this convention as follows:

Cigarmakers—Tobacco Workers—The New Orleans convention directed that President Green, in person or through a representative, attend the meeting of the Executive Board of the Tobacco Workers' International Union in January, 1929, for the purpose of presenting to that organization the views of the New Orleans convention that it would be desirable to merge the Tobacco Workers' International Union with the Cigar Makers' International Union. President Green discharged this duty in person. Later we were advised that the Executive Board of the Tobacco Workers' International Union did not believe that it would be to the best interests of the Tobacco Workers to become part of the Cigar Makers' International Union at this time but that they believed the matter should be allowed to wait for a more opportune time for this action.

When opportunity has been presented President Green has continued his efforts toward amalgamation. We recommend that this policy be followed until the two organizations are finally brought together.

WHEREAS, The report, action and recommendation of the Executive Council is agreeable to the Cigar Makers' International Union of America; be it

RESOLVED, That the question of amalgamation be left in the hands and at the convenience of President Green and that he be authorized and instructed to continue his good offices and efforts until an amalgamation has been effected.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

#### **Brookwood Labor College**

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Patrick Deloughery of the I. U. M. M. & S. W.

Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, in regular meeting, Sept. 24, 1929, endorsed the following resolution and instructed Patrick Deloughery, elected delegate, to present the same to the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Brookwood Labor College has been condemned upon uncertain evidence without a trial or official charges made against the institution; and

WHEREAS, Discontent and discord has resulted from the undemocratic procedure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to prepare official charges against Brookwood Labor College; that Brookwood Labor College be given a fair and impartial trial and a stenographic copy of the trial be placed in the hands of the Executive Council and the Board of Directors, Brookwood Labor College.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 3:35 o'clock, under suspension of the rules, the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, October 10.



# Third Day---Thursday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario.

October 10, 1929.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock. President Green in the Chair.

## Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Bryan, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Bennett, Gausmann, Watt (J.), Wood, McCluskey, Gross, Phillips, Lewis (J. C.), Campbell (J. C.), Robertson, Norrington, Jennings, Kelly, Johnson, Laude, Hoffmann, Becker, Southall, Watt (R. J.), Brandt, Bower, Curran, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Dorrington, Kromelbein, Power (S.), Saunders, Borris, Lopez, Caparol, Gallagher, Carozzo, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Campbell (E.), Mitchell (T.), Portway, Vaccarelli.

## SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Joyce submitted the following report:

We have examined the credentials of James William Fitz Patrick, representing the Waterbury, Connecticut, Central Labor Union, and William M. Rossell, representing the Chicago Federation of Labor, and recommend their seating.

In accordance with the instructions of President Keough of the International Molders' Union of North America, substitute the name of John P. Frey in place of William A. Preston. We recommend the seating.

The report of the committee was adopted. Delegate Wharton, Machinists, requested unanimous consent to introduce two resolutions which had arrived by air mail after the time limit for the introduction of resolutions had expired. The request was granted and the following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

### Establishment of the 44-Hour Week

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Daniel P. Haggerty, R. A. Henning, Clarence B. Cline, Jas. Somerville, Chas. W. Fry of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, We believe that the present unemployment now so prevalent throughout the country is due to increased production as a result of improved machinery and processes; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a shorter work week is one solution of this unemployment; and

WHEREAS, Private business has now generally adopted the Saturday half-holiday practice throughout the year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the securing of legislation establishing the forty-four (44) hour week, consisting of five days of eight (8) hours, with four hours constituting a day's work on Saturdays, in the industrial establishments of the Government, be made an issue of primary importance in our legislative program during the forthcoming sessions of Congress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, endorse the Jones-Gibson Bills, S. 471 and H. R. 712, introduced in the present Congress, the object of which bills is to establish a 44-hour week for mechanics, skilled and semi-skilled workers, helpers and laborers employed in the principal industrial establishments of the federal government.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Week.

### Government Work in Government Shops

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Daniel P. Haggerty, R. A. Henning, Jas. Somerville, Clarence B. Cline, Chas. W. Fry of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The world's outstanding statesmen have declared for the elimination of all profits from the manufacture of the instruments and munitions of war; and

WHEREAS, There are private interests promoting propaganda relative to National Defense who are, apparently, moved more by a desire to make profits from the manufacture of ships and instruments and munitions of war than by truly sane and patriotic reasons; and

WHEREAS, Believing that the greatest menace to a sane policy of National Defense is the vicious propaganda of those in private industry who aim to use the influence of Public Opinion on Congress so that unnecessary appropriations will be provided; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we favor necessary provisions for National Defense, including the building and maintenance of an adequate Navy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, declare as a matter of principle that private profit should be eliminated from the production of naval vessels,

instruments of war, and non-commercial munitions for National Defense; and that as a matter of policy we favor the construction and manufacture of all naval vessels, aircraft and their ordnance, and all non-commercial munitions for National Defense in Government industrial establishments; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we favor the construction in the Government navy yards of the fifteen (15) cruisers now provided for in the Naval Construction Program; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the A. F. of L. shall direct its utmost efforts to obtain additional legislation which shall make mandatory the construction and manufacture of all instruments of war in existing Government establishments. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: In yesterday morning's issue of the Toronto Mail and Empire there is a story in which they quote me as saying certain things relative to the speech that was made by Brother Whitney the other day. They quote me as saying: "We heard the same sort of talk in 1916 when the railway brotherhoods had the Adamson Act in mind. They were all strong then for coming into the federation. The federation helped the Adamson Act, reducing the hours of the U. S. brotherhood men from ten to eight hours, became law."

I want to deny that I and my associates discussed this matter in this convention with anybody and particularly with any reporters. We are not interested so far in what the results may be and it is rather premature at this time to discuss it. When the time comes we will be heard from, but in the meantime we are not fretting and we are not saying anything about it. We would request that the reporter who put those things in the paper be more particular about whom he is quoting.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegraphic communications:

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 8, 1929.  
The Officers and Delegates, American Federation of Labor Convention, Toronto, Ont.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: The Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis send heartiest greetings and best wishes for a successful convention. We trust your deliberations will include a program to organize women relatives of trade unionists into auxiliaries.

#### JOINT COUNCIL OF WOMEN'S

##### AUXILIARIES,

MRS. MARY E. RYDER, President;  
MRS. R. E. McCLANAHAN, Secretary.

New York, N.Y., Oct. 9, 1929.

William Green,  
President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Hall, Royal York Hotel,  
Toronto, Ont.

The Furriers' Joint Council has particular reason to be jubilant at this moment. Two and one-half years of ceaseless struggle with Labor's most dangerous enemy, the Communists, resulted in the complete defeat of these disruptive elements, removing them from every vestige of control and eliminating them as a trade factor. This task would never have been accomplished if it were not for the untiring efforts and splendid co-operation of the President of the American Federation of Labor, of Vice-President Matthew Woll and Organizer Edward F. McGrady. And for this splendid cooperation and service rendered by the American Federation of Labor the Furriers are eternally grateful to you. The Furriers' Joint Council greets you and hopes that your deliberations at this convention will be entirely successful.

**FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL.**  
CHAS. STETSKY, Manager.

New York, N.Y., Oct. 9, 1929.

William Green,  
President;  
Frank Morrison,  
Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Toronto, Ont.

The Italian Chamber of Labor of New York and vicinity expresses to you and to the delegates assembled at the Forty-ninth Convention its warmest greetings and sincerest wishes for success in your discussions and deliberations, together with its deepest hopes for a better future of the workers in America and for a stronger, aggressive, mightier and indivisible American Federation of Labor.

**ARTURO GIOVANNITTI,**  
General Secretary;  
**LEONARDO FRISINA,**  
General Organizer.

Kansas City, Kans., Oct. 9, 1929.

William Green,  
President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Toronto, Ont.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States extend greetings to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We endorse and support your traditional stand for sturdy Americanism. May your councils result in a program that will continue and enhance the welfare and prosperity of our country.

R. B. HANDY, Jr., Adjutant-General.

Detroit, Mich., Oct. 9, 1929.

Frank Morrison,  
Convention Hall, Royal York Hotel,  
Toronto, Ont.

We are not able to send a delegate, but wish you all success.

P. O. L. UNION 17857,  
CHARLES THOMPSON, President.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 7, 1929.

Frank Morrison,  
Convention American Federation of Labor,  
Toronto, Ont.

I hope all is going well for Boston in 1930. I am hoping we may entertain you here at Hotel Statler.

B. F. CUSHING,  
Manager Hotel Statler, Boston.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that Sir Henry Thornton, the president of the Canadian National Railways, will address the convention this morning. He will be here about 10:45. The Chair desires to appoint Brother Bert M. Jewell, representing the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor, and Brother Bugniet, of the Electrical Workers, representing an organization affiliated with the Railway Department, and Brother Fljoldal, of the Maintenance of Way Employees, as a committee to wait upon Sir Henry Thornton and escort him to the convention hall.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I would like to call the convention's attention to an editorial in the Scripps-Howard papers in which the Federation is taken down the line in a most remarkable way. If you have not had your attention called to it, I think it would be well for you to get hold of it, because it needs some consideration. I haven't got it here, but I had it read to me out in the lobby.

President Green: The Chair's attention has been brought to the editorial, Brother Furuseth, and I have seen it and have read it. It is rather difficult to understand this change of attitude of the Scripps-Howard papers as expressed in this editorial. So far as my observation goes, the editorial is a repetition of what some representatives who claim to serve uplifting purposes have been saying about the American Federation of Labor for some time. There seem to be a great many people who have taken it upon themselves to direct, or to seek to direct, the policies and procedure of the American Federation of Labor. They seem to know what we should do better than the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor know what we should do. They seem to be very gratuitous with their advice. They seem to freely and most profusely tell our great movement what we should do.

I have frequently said that the policies of the American Federation of Labor are shaped and formulated in conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Execu-

tive Council are endeavoring to carry out the policies formulated by this supreme body. So that any criticism of the American Federation of Labor—and we welcome that—or any condemnation of the American Federation of Labor and its officers is, in effect, the condemnation of the supreme body of the American Federation of Labor itself. I propose to make inquiry regarding this matter. I propose to ask representatives of this string of papers whether this editorial represents a change and fixed policy on the part of these publications toward the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Furuseth: I am very much pleased at that. That is the thing that stunned me in hearing it read: that it comes from those who have always been friends, as far as I know, and I know from things that I overheard on Capitol Hill that it expresses to some extent the idea that we have been gradually drifting into a capitalist frame of mind. For that reason, and because it is the friends that are criticizing now, instead of the men who are enemies, it is not because we are on the wrong track, it is because they seem to think we are not doing what we ought to do—

President Green: Because we are not doing what they tell us to do, and they are not going to tell the American Federation of Labor what it ought to do.

Delegate Furuseth: That is perfectly true, Mr. President, but I don't think it can be disposed of just in that way. The fact that you are investigating it is the best thing I have heard, and I am glad of that because I hope it will have some attention. Some of the things in there—unquestionably there is a basis of truth in them.

President Green: We will give attention to everything they refer to. We will meet everything fearlessly.

President Green: I desire to present to you at this time a young lady representing the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association. The Industrial Department of this Association has manifested great interest in the problems of organized labor. It has developed apparently a broad, progressive attitude toward the consideration of these problems. There are two representatives here this morning for the purpose of observing the work of the convention and visiting with us during the time our convention is in session. Miss Peggy Everett, who will address you for a few moments, happens to be a member of an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the United Tex-

tile Workers of America. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Miss Everett, representing the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association.

#### MISS PEGGY EVERETT

(Industrial Department, Young Women's Christian Association)

Honorable Chairman, officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor: It gives me very great pleasure to be formally introduced this morning, although I feel that I already know most of you, following the excursion of yesterday, which, I am sure, was a great success. I bring you at this time the greetings of the industrial workers of the Young Women's Christian Association.

At the National Industrial Assembly held last year, a motion was made that one of the industrial girls attend some such session as this, and as a result of the vote taken at that time I am here with you today. Every year at summer conferences about nine hundred industrial girls meet to discuss labor and its problems. Unions play a great part at these times. The work at these conferences stimulates the interest of the young people, but it is not enough to carry on that great work. With the co-operation of some such convention as this, great advancement could be made.

As a textile worker from New Bedford just emerging from a six months' strike, I feel there is no time like the present to instill into the young people the need for union membership, and to instill into them the qualities of good union members. The young people of today are the coming generation, and some day they will help you to fight and win your labor battles. May I say at this time that a great deal may be accomplished by having each town or city represented at your next industrial assembly by some younger person of the union.

I thank you.

President Green: I am sure we all are pleased with the remarks so sincerely offered by Miss Everett. You enjoyed them, I enjoyed them, and we are very glad to hear her message.

#### ADDRESS BY SIR HENRY THORNTON AND INTRODUCTION BY PRESIDENT GREEN

President Green:

I know that ever since I announced that Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian National Railways, would address this convention, the officers, delegates and visitors have been looking forward in most pleasant anticipation to this event. We find it possible for Sir Henry to address us this morning. He is here to bring to us his message. We are very happy indeed that we are privileged to listen to an address from a great, outstanding international figure who is dealing with large ques-

tions, large economic, human and industrial questions, in a very large way.

Sir Henry Thornton is President of the Canadian National Railways, a great railway system 23,000 miles and more in extent, operating numerous hotels and touching numerous ports on the great American Continent. There are in the employ of this great corporation more than 100,000 men—a great army of toilers. Many of you have been privileged to read from time to time the inspiring addresses delivered by Sir Henry at various times and on numerous platforms, and these addresses have touched us deeply. They have been filled with a wonderfully humane and economic philosophy. They impress us with the breadth of the man, with his grasp and understanding of humane, social and economic problems.

He has developed upon this great railway system a spirit of co-operation, and only recently it was announced that under his direction the men in whom we are greatly interested on the Canadian National Railways were granted freely a considerable period of time each year as a vacation period with full pay.

Under the direction of Sir Henry Thornton this great railway system and its subsidiary managers are dealing with organized labor and with the membership of the trades represented in our shop crafts organization. He is also dealing with the other transportation groups, recognizing the right of workers to organize, to work collectively to promote their collective interests. This is a wonderfully advanced position taken on the part of this great executive of a great railway system.

I fear I am taking too much time in presenting these facts to you prior to the illuminating address which I know will be delivered by our distinguished visitor. Without any further expression on my part, I take exquisite pleasure in presenting to you this morning, for an address, Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian National Railways.

#### SIR HENRY THORNTON

(President, Canadian National Railways)

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: After hearing the complimentary remarks of your Chairman I find myself almost inarticulate with embarrassment. I wish that the half of what he has been kind enough to say were true.

I am not going to take any chances with this address this morning and I propose to read it to you rather than to trust to the vagaries of tongue and memory. Let me say, however, in the first place, that I think this is the largest grievance committee that I ever have had the pleasure of meeting. Personally, I always welcome grievance committees, because a man with a grievance can usually be made a friend, but he who has no grievance leaves you nothing whatever to work upon.

In what I hope to say to you this morning I would like you to understand that it is the presentation of an idea—an idea which I hope both capital and labor will be able to take and turn into something which will be expressive of improved mutual relations, and work to the welfare of both sides of the equation. I am particularly complimented that I have this

opportunity of appearing before so large and so influential and so important a gathering.

In the course of my somewhat checkered career I have dealt with labor in the United States, in England and in Canada. I am happy to number amongst my friends many of those who have won leadership in the ranks of labor, and I can say with truth that thus far I have never had either a labor leader or a labor organization break his or their word or let me down.

You who are here gathered represent a great and important factor in economic and social life. Your deliberations will affect substantially every conceivable form of industrial activity, and your conclusions rank in importance with those of legislative bodies. In recent decades educational opportunities and the acceptance of such opportunities by those who stand in the ranks of labor, coupled with constructive leadership, have attached a dignity and wisdom to the deliberations of labor which justifies attention and consideration by all classes of society. Such being the case, it must be obvious that your discussions should reach beyond those domestic matters which relate to the details of your various occupational pursuits and, if you are to fulfil your responsibilities, deal with matters and policies of national and international importance.

To provide the necessary perspective for the subject I wish to discuss with you, let us consider for a moment the historical background in the relations between what was in ancient days the master and the servant, but in more modern times the employer and employee. It is the history of the uplift and improvement of the masses, the battle against servitude, and the progressive advancement of labor in independence, dignity and wisdom.

In ancient days the world was divided broadly into two classes: those who ruled and those who served—the master and the slave. Mechanical devices, excepting in their simpler form, were unknown, and in its mechanical sense energy was chiefly found in arduous labor. This was of necessity a condition of antiquity. Initiative, knowledge and power were the heritage of but few, and were the right of heredity or the reward of the conqueror. The value of men was estimated by the power of their backs and their ability to resist the ravages of ceaseless toil, inadequate food, and a poor protection from the elements, and life represented a precarious existence. Ignorance of better conditions induced an amazing satisfaction. The greatest of all pursuits in those ancient days was warfare. Wars were waged at will for the benefit of the few, and the uncomplaining masses regarded their sacrifice upon the altar of Mars as a necessity of life. The chief and almost only source of man's power in the physical sense was represented by slaves. It was the day of the master and the slave.

The first dawn of the dignity of industry as distinguished from the glory of military pursuit appeared in the formation of craft guilds, which flourished in many countries and awakened the pride of the master craftsman and the artisan. These guilds grew in power, importance, and contributed much to the advancement of industrial pursuits. In most instances the home of the master craftsman

was likewise the factory. There he gathered his apprentices, taught them his trade, and over them exercised a paternal influence. The master craftsman, his family and apprentices, became partly a family and partly an industrial unit. The remains of these old guilds are found today, notably in England, and are represented in modern times by the great city companies such as the Ironmongers, the Fishmongers, the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, and many others. In this enlightened day the great London city companies cherish the best traditions of the craft, and although they have largely ceased to have any industrial importance they still exercise a benevolent and worthy influence.

The discovery of steam as a form of energy, and the invention of machines which performed mechanically the work of many hands, completely changed the social and economic structure of the more advanced countries and enormously expanded production. The factory displaced the shop of the master craftsman, and the artisan became an employee of capital. These combinations were a necessary evolution in the progress of industry. It was found that the establishment of factories with steam-driven machines involved a greater outlay of capital than was within reach of the former master craftsman; consequently, companies were formed for this purpose and numbers of individuals acquired an interest in these enterprises by financial participation. As a result, the paternal influence of the master craftsman disappeared and those who toiled found themselves working for enterprises whose chief object was the production of satisfactory financial returns to the shareholder. This applied equally to mines, railways, textile and steel works, and finally to all forms of industrial activities. In the initial stages of this development the employing company in its relations to its hands quite naturally acted as a unit. The employees attempted to act as individuals. Remembering that in those days there still lingered in the minds of those who ruled industrially the flavor of feudal days and the traditions of master and servant, oppression was substituted for the benevolent influence of the master craftsman, and conditions in most industrial centres became intolerable to the worker. As a protective measure, the inevitable result was the combination of workers into craft unions, and they then effected that unity of purpose and action which characterized the employer. Naturally in such an atmosphere conflict was inevitable; a conflict which was stupid on both sides, in that each regarded the other as a natural and inevitable enemy.

After some decades of such conditions there arose sane minds on both sides who recognized that industrial warfare was just as costly and quite as unsatisfactory as military warfare, and a more intelligent policy made its appearance, which was characterized by a recognition on both sides of the rights of the other, until we have today happily a general feeling of consideration between capital and labor and a recognition of each other's rights. Such, briefly, has been the arduous and slow advancement of the toiler from slave to his present position. Of all of the things which have characterized the advance of civilization, the improvement in

the position of the masses has been the most outstanding and the most important. It may have been slow, but it probably moved as rapidly as circumstances would permit. It may have been achieved only by toil and self-sacrifice, but the result has been worth while.

The progress is by no means finished; indeed nothing in this world is ever finished. There is still another step to be made, and now we stand upon the threshold of a new and better relationship which I describe as "the partners." The future contact between capital and labor and between the employer and the employe will in the decades to come find its greatest progress and its finest expression in the era of The Partners.

Industrial pursuits are fundamentally the utilization by efficient method of men and materials. The steel rail, the bridge, the building, the locomotive, the automobile, and all of those thousand and one things with which we are familiar, represent the application of men and materials; materials in their raw form wrought into some useful device by brain and manual effort; and the inanimate material is of lesser importance than the human contribution which turns those materials to useful purpose. We investigate, analyze and test the materials we purchase; we store, protect, and treat them with something akin to paternal care. Those whose brains and muscles revolve the wheels of industry, converting bricks into buildings, and steel into structures, merit equal care. The skilled mechanic, the trained employe, is commercially worth quite as much as many units of material. When for one cause or another he leaves the service of his employer, there are lost knowledge, experience, and productivity. These are the things which enlightened employers cherish and protect.

It is obvious that capital as applied to production becomes quite useless unless accompanied by labor. Both are equally essential for economical and efficient production. One cannot proceed far without the other. Dissatisfaction on the part of one or the other interferes with the smooth running of the whole. In the true sense of the word, these two great elements must be partners if the interests of each are to be served. No industrial or commercial enterprise, no matter how scientific its formulae, or how efficient its administration, can be successful unless there is contentment on the part of workers, and a desire born of pride to give of their best. No general, however great his skill, ever won victories with a discontented army. Labor has won its right to partnership, and sagacious capital will welcome such a partnership. With a recognition of the partnership principle, there automatically must disappear that contention and strife which is just as expensive in the industrial world as it is in the relations between nations. Warfare has been described as the only game in which both sides lose. Therefore, why play with loaded dice! In the present day, and in the days to come, those industries will prosper most which accept labor as an equal partner, and labor will best prosper when it recognizes the obligations and the dignity of that partnership.

As illustrative of the partnership theory, I

will ask you to bear with me while I describe briefly something of the co-operative movement on the Canadian National Railways, which we have come to regard as our greatest asset. A few years ago, in 1924, I had been thinking of what had been accomplished through the cooperative movement as it found expression on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, through the wise and far-seeing administration of its President, Daniel Willard. Almost simultaneously with that thought, Mr. Bert Jewell, whom you all know as President of the Railway Employees' Department, suggested to me the inauguration of a similar movement on the Canadian National Railways. The idea was alluring because it seemed sound and was in keeping with the more enlightened and progressive relations between capital and labor. Mr. Jewell was fortunately assisted in his proposal, and in subsequent inauguration, by Captain Beyer, and to both of these gentlemen the Canadian National Railways owes much. Suffice it to say, and to make a long story short, that we commenced the cooperative movement in the shops of the Canadian National Railways. In so far as the company and the men were concerned, the objectives were:

1. Continuity of employment.
2. A more kindly and satisfactory relationship between the railway on the one hand and our shop employes on the other.
3. An improvement in output, with reduced unit costs.
4. The introduction in our shop administration of the brains of our men, and the provision of an outlet for their ingenuity.
5. A more accurate conception on each side of the other's point of view.

After a few years of trial, I assert, as far as the railway is concerned, and I think those who represent our men would speak similarly, that all of these objectives have been measurably achieved, and certainly the results have been well worth the effort. Since the inception of the plan 6,358 suggestions have been made looking towards improved shop conditions and output, of which far the greatest proportion originated with the men. Of these suggestions 73 per cent have been accepted, 15 per cent are still under consideration, and only 12 per cent rejected. This I regard as an amazing result, of incalculable benefit to both sides. Most of these proposals, many of which are of major importance, would never have come to light had it not been for the partnership movement.

The present co-operative plan is in effect at all of the shops of the Canadian National Railways, and embraces some 16,000 men. In other words, we have now in our shops 16,000 partners instead of, as formerly, 16,000 employes. It requires no flight of the imagination to appreciate the benefits which have accrued from this movement.

In the matter of continuity of employment, which is perhaps the largest factor affecting the men, stabilization as represented by percentages has risen from 73.6 per cent in 1924 to 83.4 per cent in 1927. In 1924 the disturbed time factor chargeable to the company was 20.1 per cent, while in 1927 this was reduced to



8.5 per cent. So far as we can estimate, the improvement in continuity of employment has resulted in raising the average earnings of all of our employes in all of our shops by about \$150 per year per employe.

The above figures indicate the material advantage to the employe which, when taken into consideration with other factors, I think stamps the whole movement as an unqualified success.

The partnership shop movement has been so satisfactory that it has now been extended to maintenance of way employes, and, although it has only been in operation in that department a few months, it promises equally advantageous results. Should this extension of the cooperative movement meet with the success I fully anticipate, an effort will be made to introduce the same movement in train and engine and clerical services. In fact, I think I can almost visualize the day when the entire staff of the Canadian National Railways in all departments will be operating under appropriate cooperative partnership plans. This means that, so far as details are concerned, the administration of the railway will become practically automatic; responsible officers will be relieved of a mass of details and detailed supervision, and will be enabled to devote themselves to the more important problems of the railway and to the study and development of more efficient methods. Every employe will in a sense become a partner in the enterprise. He will go to his daily work with the pride of a partner, will feel a proprietor's interest in his work, and will find a greater pleasure and satisfaction in his daily pursuits. So far as the company itself is concerned, I think I can say beyond doubt that such an atmosphere and such a condition will reflect itself in a better service to the public and an infinitely better financial performance on the part of the company. But, what is also of great importance, that improved financial performance will reflect itself in increase in the revenues to the Government, which in turn ought to find expression in reducing the capital debt of the nation and afford whatever relief to the individual the Government of the Dominion may think wise. In short, such a situation and such an attitude on the part of our employes will bring to them a fine patriotic pride in the knowledge that their efforts are a substantial contribution to the welfare of their own country.

The constructive functions of great labor organizations are not in dealing with such domestic things as hours of work, rates of pay, and conditions of employment. The right to fair treatment and fair dealings in such things has long since been won and is recognized. However essential they may be, they represent day-by-day activities and may be regarded as details. The great constructive work of labor organizations lies in the conception and development of those larger policies which form a foundation upon which to erect an enduring industrial structure which will best promote in its bigger sense the welfare of man. I believe it is given to Labor to make such a momentous contribution to the advancement of civilization, a contribution which will

rank equally with the great discoveries of the ages.

The power of Labor is recognized. Disciplined, organized, and well led, it constitutes an irresistible force. But great power carries with it equally great responsibility. To those who are given the ability and opportunity to create, there is also the obligation to build. To neglect that obligation is both cowardly and stupid. He who is profligate or unwise with his power is akin to the spendthrift and the fool, and this applies to labor and capital alike. So far as thought and experience lead me, I believe that labor and capital will together make their greatest contribution to the welfare of mankind in the active and unceasing promotion of the partnership theory in all forms of industrial activity. The moment is ripe for the prosecution of such an idea. Progressive and sagacious leaders of both sides will, I believe, lend their best efforts to implement such a theory. You have seen what, in a relatively small way, it has accomplished for the Canadian National Railways; and yet I consider that we have but hardly scratched the surface of its possibilities. Carried to its logical conclusion, it means to the employe contentment, happiness, continuity of work, and pride in his undertaking. It means tranquility, freedom from anxiety, and improved results to the employer. To the world at large it constitutes an example of what can be accomplished by the development of a sound theory of cooperation consistently pursued. Surely such potentialities justify the effort!

The policy which I have discussed will at best not reach its full fruition in a few years. Such large potentialities involve much preaching, considerable conversion, and a period of trial, but if embarked upon, a progressive improvement will be found, increasing in geometrical proportion; and if it should finally develop that the partnership theory in industry has banished contention and enthroned tranquility and peace, it will mean that the nations of the earth will learn the same lesson, and a greater spirit of consideration and co-operation govern our international relations. Perhaps here lies the true road to the banishment of war and the establishment of perpetual peace. The opportunity, it seems to me, is here for Labor to grasp the torch and to be a light to lighten the world and to lead classes, peoples, and nations to the haven of peace, prosperity, and happiness: Truly a noble mission.

President Green: I am sure I express the sentiments of everyone in the audience when I say to Sir Henry Thornton that we thank him most sincerely for his visit here this morning and for the delivery of this magnificent address. It will become part of the proceedings of the convention, and I know I can assure Sir Henry that his address will be studied most profoundly and carefully by the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention and by every student of economic and social problems. We are indeed

fortunate in that we have been permitted to listen to this wonderful address this morning. We thank you most profoundly and sincerely for your visit.

It is the purpose of the Chair, following this address, to call upon some representatives of labor who have been associated very closely with the development of this co-operative plan referred to by Sir Henry Thornton. I think we can with much profit to ourselves listen to the experiences and suggestions of those representatives that I may have the pleasure of presenting to you.

First I want to call upon Mr. Otto S. Beyer, Jr., Consulting Engineer of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Beyer was referred to in a most complimentary way by Sir Henry Thornton. He is employed by organized labor, the Railway Department of the American Federation of Labor, to serve as an engineer in connection with this work on a number of railways. He has a message that will be of profound interest and of educational value. I take great pleasure in presenting to you just now Mr. Otto S. Beyer, Consulting Engineer of the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor.

**MR. OTTO S. BEYER**  
(Consulting Engineer, Railway Employees'  
Department, American Federation  
of Labor)

Mr. President, Friends and Brothers: Of necessity it is with a certain amount of hesitancy that I respond to the suggestion of your president to contribute a few remarks on the subject which Sir Henry so effectively presented to you this morning. It has happened, as both President Green and Sir Henry have pointed out, to have been my privilege to have served the organized labor movement in more or less of a technical capacity in the promotion of this movement which has come to be known as Union Management Cooperation. The history of the movement in itself stretches now over a period of approximately ten years. During the period of Federal Control the railway labor organizations, by virtue of the fact that they were regarded as the proper agencies to speak for the employees of the railroads, saw fit to propose to the Railroad Administration a plan or a program which placed those organizations of labor in a position of help to the Railroad Administration, the theory being a theory of reciprocity. The administration had recognized labor, and labor in turn felt called upon to in some way respond to that recognition. So the spokesmen for labor suggested a plan whereby the organizations of labor would be instrumental in trying to improve the morale and the service of the railroads. The whole program, however, as far

as the United States Railroad Administration was concerned, fell by the wayside because of the return of the railroads to private ownership. Then, as you all know, a period set in when many leaders of industry became imbued with the erroneous idea that the thing they had to do was to liquidate the organizations of labor and all they had accomplished during the period of Federal control. But despite this onslaught the shop craft organizations in particular carried this idea of cooperation between unions and management along and advocated it day in and day out upon every opportunity available.

They eventually found the ear of President Daniel Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and despite the very modest way Sir Henry put it, I want to say it was almost coincidental with the suggestion to the Baltimore & Ohio that Sir Henry himself, if you please, when he first landed in Canada, invited the spokesmen for labor to meet him in Ottawa in order to discuss with them some of the problems confronting the Canadian National Railways, so as to determine to what extent he and organized labor could work together to solve those problems. It was out of this particular conference, early in 1923, that President Jewell of the Railway Employees' Department, then President Johnston of the Machinists', and myself subsequently, suggested to Sir Henry that the best way to carry his idea into practice was to do on the Canadian National Railways what labor had just started to do on the Baltimore & Ohio. The upshot of these proceedings was that two shops were selected, one on the Baltimore & Ohio at Pittsburgh and the other on the Canadian National Railways at Moncton, New Brunswick, for the purpose of demonstrating how management and organizations of labor could work together for the purpose of furthering the railroad industry, as well as furthering the interests and the welfare of those who work for the industry.

It happened to be my privilege in a technical capacity and with the consent of the railroad managements, retained as I was by these organizations of labor, to go first to Pittsburgh and then to Moncton, and there put this theory of labor management cooperation into practice. What we found in those shops was the conventional situation which you frequently find in almost any industrial set-up: grievances, misunderstandings, discontents, and the conception that labor organizations and those who represented labor were at best a necessary liability. All of those ideas had first to be eliminated. It is a long story how this was done and I haven't the time to tell you the many things we did to first accomplish this purpose.

The upshot, however, of our endeavors to translate into reality this idea of unions and managements working together for mutual benefit and public service eventually culminated in a series of regular conferences between the shop committeemen, the union representative of the men in these shops, and representatives of the local managements. The purpose of these conferences was not only to take stock of and correct the grievances which were agitating the men, but also to remedy

the petty difficulties which were interfering with production, as, for example, the complaints that the men had about sanitation, safety, heat, light, tools, facilities and the like—all things which either go to make a job for men a good job or a bad job, and make a shop for a railroad a good shop or a bad shop.

The whole program, after a year's demonstration at both of these plants, revealed the fact that the union shop committeemen, to illustrate, were raised in dignity, were put in a position of responsibility, became respected in the shop in a new way. In short, they became a necessary part of the plant administration, their presence as the spokesmen for the men closing a gap between men and management which had been growing decidedly in width in recent years.

Now behind this local or shop joint procedure which I have just described there is in reality something far more fundamental, as I see it, at all events, than would appear on the surface. In the first place, I dare say anyone in this hall who knows anything about the position of the typical business agent or shop committeeman, the man who has to police union agreements, who sees to it that the employes get a square deal out of the negotiated rules and regulations, knows that the position of such a man is anything but enviable or desirable. Under the old or conventional set-up he is simply permitted to function as a purveyor of grievances. Whenever the bosses or the managers see him coming they become gun-shy. The local union representative is not, in the eyes of the usual type of employer, a welcome sight. However, under the new scheme of things I am describing the whole status of the local representative of the workers is changed. Immediately he is raised to a new status. He becomes a necessary, indispensable part of shop administration.

But, important as this phase of the subject is, there is another angle which is also very important, and that is the extent to which the worker, the individual employe, the member of his organization is immediately changed from a simple tender of a machine or a simple performer of a job to a man who, through his own organization, is beginning to have some concern, some interest, not simply over the typical working conditions, but also over the way the shop is being run, the way the whole job of running his railroad is being done. That it is of importance, I dare say no leader in or student of the labor movement will dispute. What a competent workingman wants first is to be enabled to do a good job, and what he wants next is the right and privilege to be of influence as an intelligent thinking human being in shaping all of the conditions which affect his job and his livelihood.

So much for the so-called joint committee procedure. In due time the arrangement was extended from the local shops of these and certain other railroads to include the system representatives of the men, the so-called general chairmen and the higher officers of the carriers. Periodically they review the accomplishments of the local committees, covering whose proceedings minutes are kept. The program also provides that the international officers of the

unions themselves and their associates counsel from time to time with the railroad managements with the larger end in view of furthering the welfare of the railroads concerned and their employes. The subjects that have been discussed under these auspices have ranged all the way from consolidation and reorganization of railroad systems, the Railroad Labor Act, and many others of far-reaching significance—all typical of the new relationship which has come into being in the railroad industry between organized labor and management.

Obviously, the one question that immediately arises, that I dare say would necessarily arise in every thinking man's mind, is this: Why should a group of workers take any interest in production—why should they be concerned at all about doing things more efficiently than they are being done? For, in the last analysis, as you know only too well, under the usual conditions it would mean that somebody is about to be thrown out of a job. The answer to that question is this: that it is possible to prevent unemployment in railroad shops if the railroad managements will devote as much intelligence and as much energy, will be as conscientious about the problem of regularizing employment as they are usually concerned about dealing with other problems. It so happens in the railroad service, both in the maintenance of way and in the shop departments, that irregularity of employment has been so bad in the past it was not very difficult to do a whole lot by way of remedying the situation. It was clearly recognized early in the development of the cooperative movement that what had to be done was to make certain that men would not suffer through unemployment due to their interest in the increase of production, the elimination of waste and the improvement of service. It is in the record, as Sir Henry has pointed out to you this morning, that it proved possible really to do something tangible and constructive along this particular line. Not only on the organized railroads, not only on the railroads where this program is now in effect, but, if you please, in the entire railway industry there has come about a new conscience in respect to what the responsibilities of the management are in respect to stabilizing employment. And as I see it, this has come about because of the attention focused by organized labor on the necessity of bringing about regularity of employment—a most worthy reform which was definitely on the cards, provided the will existed to really want to do something about it.

Many of us are frequently asked, "What is this so-called cooperative program?" and, if I may, I want to depart right here and say that other terms could perhaps have been attached to this newer and more inclusive relationship between labor and management. It could have been labelled "workers' control of industry," or it could have been called "democratic control of industry" or "workers' participation in management." By some fortunate combination of circumstances, however, labor's constructive policy for industry was labelled "union management cooperation"—a happy term, for it seems to have antagonized the fewest people. Not that there have not been some people who have been antagonistic to it, extremists in the labor movement and

extremists among employers whose slogan was, "Make no contracts with organized labor." The long and short of it, however, is that what has here been demonstrated and stated upon more than one occasion—not by myself but by others—what in reality has come into being as a definite movement is really based on a newer and a more generous concept of the organized labor movement. Inherently in the organized labor movement today, in the voluntary organizations of labor, such as the workers themselves create, there lies the seed of a newer and better industrial order. If you study what has been happening, not only here in the United States but the world over, you will detect evidence of this new concept coming home to people in important positions in industry, be they with labor, management, capital or statesmen. More and more people are following the lead of such men as Sir Henry and our own labor leaders in recognizing that the solution for our so-called industrial problems lies in taking a stand for the regular organizations of labor and bringing into being relations between them and managements whereby the spokesmen for the organizations of labor counsel with management, not only on wages and working conditions, but in respect to the whole gamut of subjects which affect the control and conduct of industry. Such is the meaning of the conferences we have read about in England, in Germany under the German Federation of Workers, and such is the meaning which we get from reports which are rendered by special commissions and investigators from Australia, France, Great Britain, and the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. We see this idea spreading, growing, thriving in industry today.

Personally, I think it is exceedingly fortunate that the railroad workers and their standard organizations of labor have the opportunity to make the demonstration they are making here and now on the Canadian National Railways under the co-operative program by way of showing precisely what kind of railroad in the last analysis you get, and what kind of service that railroad renders. Here, in reality, labor enjoys a new dispensation!

This new dispensation, as far as the railway industry is concerned, has been amplified into a group of so-called principles, which principles have been set forth in the special publication of the Railway Employees' Department, entitled "The Cooperative Policy of the Railway Employees' Department, A. F. of L." They bear brief repetition here:

First—Full and cordial recognition of the standard railroad unions as the properly accredited organizations of the employees.

The reason for that particular provision is this: that unless the workers feel that they have effective means at their disposal in the form of independent unions to help collect what they have helped to create, there cannot be that confidence upon the part of the workers so that they will really feel free to give their heart and soul to genuine cooperation with management.

Second—Acceptance by management of the standard unions as helpful, necessary and constructive in the conduct of the railroad industry.

Third—Development between unions and management of written agreements governing wages, working conditions and the prompt and orderly adjustment of disputes.

Fourth—Systematic cooperation between unions and management for improved railroad service, increase of efficiency and the elimination of waste.

The reason for that particular provision is that the public interest, the interest of those whom industry serves, must be and should be adequately protected. The best way to protect it is to improve service, safety and economy.

Fifth—Willingness on the part of managements to help the standard unions solve some of their problems in return for the constructive help rendered by the unions in the solution of some of management's problems.

Union-management cooperation, in short, is a matter of reciprocity.

Sixth—Further willingness by management to do everything within its power to regularize employment as well as to share from time to time the gains arising from cooperation with the employees.

Seventh (and this is incidentally very important, although it is the part I pointed out first)—The establishment of joint conference machinery, representative of both the unions and management, to promote and maintain cooperative effort.

Unless we take these principles, this spirit and this desire and translate them into reality by means of definite joint machinery, many of the pious wishes for cooperative effort in industry go by the board. Consequently, I consider the principle a very important plank in the whole program.

Much can be said about the results of union-management cooperation in the railway industry. For the purpose of my remarks, however, a short summary will suffice. Such a summary is as follows:

#### A. From the viewpoint of the railroad employees and their unions.

1. On those railroads where the cooperative policy is in effect old difficulties centering around the adjustment of grievances and the interpretation of working rules have virtually disappeared.
2. Physical working conditions, safety, sanitation, lighting, shop cleanliness and the like, have greatly improved where the cooperative policy is in effect.
3. The cooperative policy has been instrumental in strengthening and improving the system of apprentice education and training.
4. It has revealed that so-called wage incentive systems are more of a menace than a help in the long run toward improved output, particularly in the railway industry.
5. It has played a conspicuous part in re-establishing certain working conditions which had been changed by the now defunct United States Railroad Labor Board.
6. It has blazed the way for the more regular employment of railway maintenance employees, both in the shop and the roadway.

7. It has helped substantially to bring back railroad work to railroad shops.
8. It has been directly responsible for securing the establishment of a new standard of employment in the railway service, namely, vacations with pay.
9. It has helped to increase wage income, the hourly rate as well as the yearly total.
10. It has helped in the efforts to organize railroad employees.

**B. From the viewpoint of the railroads and their managements.**

1. The co-operative policy has reduced petty and annoying grievance disputes to a minimum.
2. It has improved railroad service by bettering safety, decreasing locomotive and car defects and failures, and so reducing train delays.
3. It has, through its insistence on the regularizing of employment, also regularized production of shops, thereby greatly increasing shop efficiency.
4. It has reduced material expenses through the interest developed on the part of the men in material conservation.
5. It has improved shop efficiency and economy not only through the interest of the men in production, but also through the mobilizing of thousands of useful practical ideas latent among the employees.
6. It has not only made possible but actually stimulated the managements to devise and introduce improved methods of shop operation, work planning and the like.
7. It has greatly improved the morale of the railroad, and stimulated its employees to help secure and hold new business.
8. It has encouraged many hundreds of employees to make themselves more useful to their railroad through various means of education.
9. It has greatly improved the confidence of the public in the cooperative railroads, thus benefiting their reputation, and assuring them of a degree of respect and prestige with the public never before enjoyed.

Because of the scientific value both to organized labor and industry of the results achieved to date under union-management co-operation the railroad unions directly concerned have felt that a careful investigation should be made to show just what has been accomplished and how this was done. For this purpose they have therefore recently organized the Railway Labor Research Foundation, whose first task it will be to make a careful survey of the cooperative movement and publish the findings.

Inherently labor has a very profound concern for improved industrial performance. This fact has been stressed by organized labor and its spokesmen with increasing frequency and emphasis in recent years. Labor's "social wage theory" its desire for the shorter work week as well as its insistence upon the pre-

vention of unemployment go hand in hand with its interest in more efficient industry.

Labor, however, has not always been in a position to contribute its share of help to improve industrial performance. The basic conditions for realizing this help, which I have already outlined, are still the exception rather than the rule in industry today. Only within the last few years have we witnessed, as for instance on the Canadian National, systematic, statesmanlike efforts to secure the collective help of the great army of workers to promote better industrial performance.

It is precisely because an appreciation has at last developed of the value of labor's collective help to industry that, as I see it, organized labor is now confronted with an unusual opportunity to benefit both the workers of industry and the public. With the introduction of the machine, the position of labor as compared with that of capital has become less satisfactory. The cream of all that science, engineering, mass production and technological progress in general have achieved has gone to capital; the ever-growing masses of labor have had to be content with what was left over. But a new phenomenon has crept into industry in recent years. Industrial output, service, efficiency, it now appears, can be favorably influenced by organized cooperation between labor and management. The more, therefore, that the natural, voluntary, independent organizations of the workers in industry, that is, the labor unions, are able to develop intelligent disciplined control over the capacity of labor to co-operate with management for better industrial performance, the stronger becomes labor's strategic position in industry, and the more effective its bargaining power in respect to the proceeds of industry. It should not be difficult to visualize the unusual opportunity at the disposal of labor as it improves and strengthens its policy of co-operation. As the lion's share of the great gains in productivity, resulting chiefly from the introduction of the machine, has slipped away from labor, so labor today, by virtue of organization, discipline, intelligent leadership, and control over co-operative effort, has available powerful tools whereby it can secure its fair share of all future gains in productivity. And lest anyone may conclude that this is a one-sided proposition, permit me to observe that it fits ideally into the theory of high wages and their benefits, so effectively advocated by the American Federation of Labor.

My last note is on the public's interest in this program. In the last four or five days news has come from Philadelphia to the effect that a foundation has been organized which is going to try to harmonize relations between capital and labor by the route of employee ownership of industry. That is a very interesting and perhaps a very worthy thing to try to do, but I frankly have my own opinion about that method as a way out. It seems to me the proper way to approach our problem is the way we have started on some of these railroads, and that is to place the workers and their organizations in a position of advice, in a position of counsel with management, so that the various minor lapses, the various shortcomings, the inadequacies and

things of that kind from which industry suffers a great deal will be checked up from day to day—a shifting, in other words, of the interest, of the incentive from the conventional owner, so-called, of industry to the workers of industry, who in reality have far more at stake than any stockholder ever did have or ever will have in industry.

Union-management cooperation in the railway industry, in short, has clearly shown that it arouses genuine interest among thousands of organized railroad workers in preventing inefficient and uneconomical practices. Innumerable cases are on record which show conclusively just how the workers on the job feel about poor tools, waste in the use of materials, shortage of supplies, or improper production methods. Through their unions they adopt policies which help to correct these defects. Frequently they go further, and with the aid of their officers and technical advisers work out, in detail, improved methods for doing jobs or for dealing with major managerial problems. Thus many of the practical steps which have been taken to regularize employment and production in railway shops have been worked out by the unions.

All this serves to stimulate management in a new way. The men on the job, because, on the one hand, of their intimate practical knowledge of railroading, and because, on the other, they are enabled to benefit directly from improved performance, are helping to set the pace for management. With the elimination of the major cause for disputes—namely, differences about the status of the employees' unions—and with the emphasis on the prevention of grievances, the energy of management which formerly dissipated in adjusting labor disputes is devoted, under co-operation, to better planning and performance. And the employees, instead of resisting new management devices, methods of increasing output, and the like, take, through their unions, an interested and encouraging attitude in these matters, readily suggest detailed ways of making improvements gleaned from their own rich experience, and quickly fall into line when these improvements are put into practice. Much of the resistance, indifference and apathy so common when new ways of doing work are introduced into shops never develops in an atmosphere of systematic cooperation between unions and management. This newly demonstrated ability of the voluntary independent unions of labor to set standards for management is of paramount importance to industry, to the public and, last but not least, to labor itself.

I cannot speak as I have to you without paying my personal respects and compliments to Sir Henry Thornton. It is easy enough for me to become eloquent because of my associations with him and to tell you personally how I feel about him. I had the privilege this summer of spending a great deal of time among the rank and file of the Canadian National employees. Those of us in the labor movement know full well that if we do not have the support of the rank and file we are pretty soon out of luck; but with railroad presidents it is not always the same way. They are not elected by the rank and file. But against that you have a situation which I think must be re-

freshing to a man such as Sir Henry Thornton, who has had the courage and foresight to do the things he has done in co-operation with organized labor on the Canadian National. I am telling you right now that in conversation after conversation this summer with Canadian National men in their homes, car men in their shacks, round-house men under and alongside of engines, conductors on trains, sectionmen on the tracks, as well as many, many others, with one accord they assured me Sir Henry had their fullest confidence and support, that they literally felt inspired because they were able and permitted to work with him. They knew that in the relationships between the organizations of labor in which they have put their faith and Sir Henry things are all right at the helm.

President Green: I know that you are thinking more than ever before about this question, and I know that you are determined to study it for yourself, to appropriate to your minds and your judgment all the facts that have been submitted. Mr. Beyer speaks to us as an expert; he has been living with this question for a decade or more. No man that I know of in public life serving men, serving organized labor, is as competent to speak on this subject as Mr. Beyer. We are fortunate indeed in that we have him here this morning to make his contribution, supplementing the splendid address delivered by Sir Henry Thornton.

In behalf of the delegates and visitors to the convention, I thank you, Mr. Beyer, for your visit here this morning and for your address.

President Green: Now may I call upon another representative of an organization affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, Secretary Bugniazet, representing the Electrical Workers' organization.

**DELEGATE G. M. BUGNIAZET**  
(Secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The question has been pretty well discussed, but I wish to say that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are one hundred per cent. for this plan. They are sold on it. They have it, not only on the railroads, but with utility companies for many years, and it has proved profitable to the employers and to the members of our organization. We have it in the building trades part of our organization. In 1921 a committee of five members of our organization and five members of the electrical contractor employers was formed. Our organization wants to do everything possible to improve the industry we are part of.

In the remarks this morning I think there is one part that was not touched on that the Electrical Workers would like added to the



discussion. We have many employers who come to us and want to try out this co-operative scheme with their plant, their factory or their shops, but they do not want to enter into contractual relations with our organization; they want to leave that to the individuals. We tell them our organization has always carried out its promises and we cannot say the men employed by the contractor cannot do anything unless we control them.

You cannot do much with a co-operative plan unless those who represent the organization can say that the men who perform that work are members of our organization. You have got to be big enough to tell your members that they are wrong when they are wrong, and make them do the right thing. That is a very profitable thing for any labor organization. It has proved so to us, it has proved profitable to the industry, it has proved profitable to the employer and, in the last analysis, it has proved profitable to the public we are both serving.

We have reduced a lot of the opposition of the public to our organization through our co-operation with the employers. I am satisfied no organization can make a mistake in adopting such a plan. It brings contentment, not only to the men and the employers, but to the public as well; it improves the working conditions of the men and their compensation; it makes for better and happier homes and it makes for better citizens. I am sure that any member of our organization will support me in saying that where we have had the privilege of putting that plan into effect, whether in the contracting business, the manufacturing end, on the railroad or in the lighting plants, it has proved one hundred per cent. successful where it is carried out and given time to develop.

President Green: Thank you, Brother Bugnizet, for your contribution.

Now may I call upon President Wharton of the International Association of Machinists for an expression of his views on the matter as he would like to express them. I want to present to you a staunch trade unionist, the head of a great organization affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor, A. O. Wharton.

#### DELEGATE A. O. WHARTON

President, International Association of  
Machinists)

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: Some years ago I had occasion to make an investigation involving what might be termed the causes of strikes and lock-outs as they affected the railroad industry. That information was gathered for the purpose of presenting a statement to the mission on Industrial Relations. Approximately ninety per cent. of the strikes and lock-outs in that industry affecting the Shop Trades resulted from failure on the part of management to recognize the right of the employees to organize, or from discrimination against men who did organize.

The loss of employment and all the ills that grow out of failure of the employer to be reasonably fair in approaching the question affecting the right of employees to join together and place themselves in a position to bargain collectively are things, as I see it, that deal directly with this much-talked-of efficiency, stabilization of employment, ability to pay wages, and all the evils that grow out of a general unrest in industry.

I think it was in 1918 that I was first approached with a definite plan, with the thought in mind of bringing about a working understanding between a number of railroads and organizations of railroad employees. Out of that conference some progress was made in the direction of bringing about understandings which would, on the part of the employer, remove opposition to the organization of the men.

It seems to me that one of the things that should result from union-management cooperation is the removal to a reasonable degree of the causes of unemployment, and loss in the way of efficiency because of strikes which have taken place, a majority of which, I think, without exception are caused by failure of the employer to deal with organizations, or, dealing with them, to decline to enter into agreements establishing conditions based on justice and equity and prevailing in the industry where management deals with organization.

In the great railroad strike of 1922, which affected the shop crafts almost exclusively, it was estimated the railroads lost approximately \$500,000,000. That did not mean loss of time by the men, but a loss caused by turnover in labor and the employment of untrained men. It was a strike which involved a wage that was inadequate in consideration of the measure of service rendered, as well as due to a mistaken policy on the part of the employers as to what the industry could afford to pay, augmented by decisions of a government tribunal a majority of whom were biased and lacked understanding as to what wages could be paid and as to the welfare of the public.

Efficiency means many things. Efficiency means nothing to the great mass of the people if, as a result thereof, we are to have unemployment increased; if it means that unskilled men at lower rates of pay are to replace the skilled men receiving higher rates of pay; if it means longer hours with the lower rates of pay. I do not know what the final or ultimate answer will be, but I do believe that any intelligent, thinking human being will agree with the philosophy that unemployment, and long hours for those for whom employment is available, is not a contribution to the welfare of the people, the nation and the world as a whole. If the ultimate consumer has not the means, and is not placed in a position where he may procure the means, of purchasing the product of industry, there is something wrong with the system and it will not produce the desired results in the interest of the people as a whole.

What does this union-management plan mean, after all? The workers, on their part, say that fundamentally we must have the right to organize into unions of our own free will and selection, differentiating in that respect

as between a free association of free men and the company union which men are compelled to join at the will of the employer, without any opportunity to express their own wishes. And if we are granted that right—and certainly we do not interfere with the right of the employers to organize—then the sensible thing to do is for each to recognize the right of the other, and the employer and employee then sit down and talk these problems over, each speaking for those he represents.

If we place ourselves in that position and the employer places himself in a like position, I am satisfied, out of our experience in dealing with questions of this kind, and the desire of the employer, in the last analysis, to preserve his own industry, he will be willing to pay a reasonable wage, establish working conditions and hours of service and other conditions warranted by the changing conditions in industry. Some of the men we have come in contact with have been willing to approach this question on the basis of reason: such men as Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio and Sir Henry Thornton of the Canadian National Railways, two outstanding characters, not only in the railroad industry but throughout the civilized world, because of their general fairness of attitude toward the rights of others.

This is not an easy program to work out, nor is it a panacea for all our problems. We have difficulties in working out this program, but we rely on the fact that men granted the right to organize develop a degree of responsibility which makes it possible for them to realize the responsibilities of the employer, and sitting down and discussing those difficulties in a sane and sensible way will result in good not only to the people directly interested, but to the people as a whole.

There are some employers who fail to realize the advantage of an opportunity of dealing with an organization of employees, preferring to introduce methods of fear and oppression as a basis upon which to operate their industries, and believing that by maintaining the lowest possible standards of wages and working conditions they will prosper thereby.

I do not think it takes a great deal of reasoning to compare a condition where the workers are organized on the one hand and the employers on the other, dealing with a degree of friendship and a recognition of responsibility in that relationship, one with the other, with the condition that exists in a plant where a man may not join an organization, but feels when he enters the shop in the morning that he may lose his position before night because of some slight infraction of rules or because of the displeasure of some petty foreman. That man is working under a condition of fear and oppression, as compared with the condition of the man who has a right to join an organization and enjoys the privilege as well as the knowledge that his grievances will be handled by his chosen representative.

Much depends upon the mental attitude of the employers and the employees, and, after all, a desire on the part of both to be mutually helpful in solving some of the problems that are coming to us almost overnight, things we never dreamed of, but they become reali-

ties the next day. There is a general situation of unrest, an uncertainty as to the future industrially, not only among our people, but among the people of the whole world.

I am confident that by perfecting the organizations of the workers and placing ourselves in a position to meet the employers we can work out a program that will be of mutual benefit and advantage to all.

I am proud to be associated with the number of organizations that were pioneers in putting into effect the union-management co-operative plan, and it is a question of desire, ability and reasonableness on the part of all concerned to extend it and give it a more thorough trial.

We had an experience recently with the American La France & Foamite Corporation, of Elmira, New York. Prior to a strike we had in that concern some time ago, we worked in harmony with them. A change in management came and the strike resulted. Now we are back in the shop and we are trying to work out a program which will be mutually beneficial to the men and to the company. The company has signed an agreement with the organization, recognizing the union and basing its action on the theory that cooperation will be given a fair trial as to whether or not that plant can operate under union conditions more favorably than under open shop conditions.

We sometimes permit ourselves to become involved in situations where great effort is spent, large sums of money are lost, hatred is created—and all for what? The company is paying more for its labor today than before the strike occurred, and it is confronted with the necessity of going out and regaining the trade that was lost because of the strike. We wrote letters to the board of directors and used every friend we had who could help us to bring about a conference in an effort to settle our differences. After the strike was settled, the president of the company said to me: "Mr. Wharton, if we had met you before the strike I am sure it would not have occurred." It should not have been necessary to have all that strife and expense in order to get a conference with the men in charge. When men are in earnest and sincerely desire to bring about a better relationship, we will have a better relationship and not before.

I desire, with orders, to extend to Sir Henry Thornton our sincere appreciation for the pioneering he has done in Canada in connection with this union-management cooperation program. Did you ever think what a week's vacation means to 16,000 men? The 16,000 weeks were granted by Sir Henry Thornton, based upon the results which he recognized had come from the union-management co-operation introduced on his railroad. He said the men had earned the vacations. That illustrates what a broad-minded man who has had a world-wide experience thinks of the possibilities of working these problems out in a manner that results to the advantage of both employer and employee.

President Green: And in like manner I know we all appreciate the address of President Wharton. We are pleased indeed to

have his point of view. An experienced trade unionist of many years dealing with men and with the problems of men, he stands before us this morning telling us of his experience with this proposal, and we are very glad to hear what he has to say. We thank Brother Wharton for his address.

There are a number of others associated with the Railway Employees' Department who would come before you and in well-chosen words confirm all that has been said by the representatives of labor this morning, and perhaps confirm the conclusions reached by Sir Henry Thornton in his address; but it seems to me the subject has been well covered and we will wait until some future date when we can give it more consideration before calling upon these other able representatives. I know they will be prepared to talk to us at some other time when it seems fitting and appropriate.

I am reluctant myself to impose upon your time and patience by expressing my own thoughts just now, trying to interpret in words my impression of the discussion which took place. You have listened so patiently and so attentively to all that has been said that I would prefer to conclude this morning's session now, leaving you in your present frame of mind to analyze and think about all that has been said; but it seems to me that in consecutive order I ought to say a few words for the benefit of today's proceedings.

Organized labor from the very beginning has stood staunchly for the acceptance of collective bargaining. That has been one of the great principles we have advanced. We were one of the first, I think, among the organizations of workers to declare in favor of collective bargaining. Collective bargaining presumes that the rights of workers as well as the rights of management shall be respected. First of all, the very fundamental upon which collective bargaining rests is organization of working men and women. Our right to organize has been so constantly challenged that we have been compelled to fight first of all for the exercise of the right to organize.

That is what we are fighting for in the South at the present time; that is what we are fighting for in the mass production industries of the country, that is why the American Federation of Labor is supporting any group of unorganized workers who will fight for the right to organize. But we have contended most vigorously that if management and employers will cease their opposition to the exercise of

this fundamental American right on the part of working men and women, that we will engage in collective bargaining with them; that we will give the best service of which we are capable; that we will make agreements and keep them, and by reason of that fact we will serve to stabilize industry.

We hear this morning an exposition of the exercise of collective bargaining, of the development of collective bargaining, perhaps the highest point it has attained. There could be no collective bargaining on the Canadian National until first the right of the workers to organize into democratic trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was recognized. That was a primary requirement.

Now, my friends, when that right is recognized and they tell us to work and walk with them; when they tell us to collectively work with them, are we to continue industrial warfare? Is collective bargaining a myth? Does it press no virtue? Is fight and struggle and sacrifice and blow for blow the normal state for men?

There was an organization formed, or attempted to be formed, at one time in America that claimed workers were to be organized for the purpose of continuing eternal and unrelenting, never-ending war between capital and labor. And they preached the doctrine that when there was a pause in the struggle and this organization could function in industry it was the duty of its members to sabotage the industry on the inside. Trade unions never believed in such a false philosophy, and no organization preaching such doctrine could live, because, after all, the whole life, the wages, and the enjoyment of happiness on the part of workers depended upon getting out of industry all we could secure.

In the development of this plan, as I see it, the workers do not enter into this relation for the purpose of sabotaging the industry, for the purpose of inflicting blow after blow. We are not seeking an advantage to inflict upon it injury and distress, but we preach collective bargaining because we believe that is the means through which we can develop understanding, industrial peace, cooperation, high wages, vacations with pay, reduced hours of employment, and all the benefits and blessings which come to mankind.

We can learn many times more by comparison than in any other way, and the way

for us to determine the value of co-operative relationship and collective bargaining is to compare the industries where these things obtain with the industries where they do not obtain. I would rather have a week's vacation with pay, better wages, collective bargaining and a voice in the management of the industry than to be on the Delaware & Western Railway in a company union.

I am thinking now about this development of co-operative bargaining as explained to us this morning and this continual warfare in the South, where workers poor, distressed, abused are striving and fighting and giving of their lives for their right to organize; and what do we say? "Give us the right to organize in the South and let us develop collective bargaining and it will be better for your industry." Which would we rather have—this condition in the South or the condition referred to here this morning? As for me, give me the right to join my union, to speak independently, to express my views through my union, to fight for higher wages and better conditions of employment through my union—give me that opportunity in preference to all this fighting and struggling in the industries where they still pursue an inhuman policy and where inhuman conditions prevail.

It seems to me that here is a great object lesson, here is a great question that we can well study. I think Sir Henry Thornton, Mr. Beyer and those others who spoke this morning made the most unanswerable arguments in favor of organized labor and collective bargaining. We want to tell others what we are able to do and willing to do if we are given a chance. I do not mean by this that the millennium is here, that it can be here; there will always be a difference of opinion regarding the division of the joint efforts of those connected with industry. Labor must always fight under any plan, but we can fight intelligently. We have fought, we have gone through many

struggles, and I think we can well compare the results of struggle and fight with the results obtained through co-operative relationship and collective bargaining.

I am glad this record is made this morning. In many of these fights the winners lose, and the sacrifice is so great to everybody that I wish the employers of this country who oppose the organization of the workers would come to understand the value of co-operation and industrial peace and allow us to organize and give to a co-operative relationship the service we are capable of giving.

That, I believe, is the sentiment in the heart and mind of every worker. We do not want to occupy a supine position where we will not struggle for the attainment of ideals; there is nothing in this that will stop us from fighting against the abuses that enter our social and political life; but when we can have peace, let our people settle down and enjoy peace and a happy life. That is the position of the American Federation of Labor.

I hope you will all examine this record closely as it has been made this morning. It ought to be helpful as we go out trying to organize workers and win men to our cause. A powerful argument has been presented here this morning and we will take advantage of it wherever it presents itself.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers: I think this is the most interesting session of a convention of the American Federation of Labor I have attended in almost a quarter of a century, and I would not want to see this record embodied alone in the proceedings of the convention where the average worker in industry will not locate it. I therefore move that the address delivered by Sir Henry Thornton, and the addresses which followed, be printed and give the American people the benefit of the pleasure that has been ours this morning.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

At 12:35 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock of the same day.

# Third Day--Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

## Thursday Afternoon Absentees

Dullzell, Schulte, Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Bryan, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Nesbit, Fagan, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Burke, (J.P.), Sullivan, (H.W.), Watt (J.), Wood, McCluskey, Gross, Phillips, Lewis (J.C.), Robertson, Norring-ton, Kelly, Johnson (J.W.), Laude, Taylor (J.T.), Hoffmann, Becker, Buckley, Watt (R.J.), Booth, Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Doyle (F.E.), Kromelbein, Power (S.), Tapken, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Carrozzo, Caldwell, Lawson (O.L.), Mitchell (T.), Portway.

## SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Joyce, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

In accordance with request received from Secretary John J. Gleeson of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, we recommend the seating of Wm. J. Lyons in place of William J. Bowen, who will not be present at the convention.

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends the seating of Thomas R. Downie, representing the Galesburg, Ill. Trades Assembly, with one vote; also Morris Tigel, representing Theatre Ushers' Union No. 15293, Greater New York and Vicinity.

Substitute the name of Louis Sidney for that of Michael Carrozzo, representing the License Investigators' Union No. 17996, Chicago, Illinois, who is leaving the city.

The report of the committee was adopted.

## Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

Atlantic City, N.J., Oct. 10, 1929.  
William Green,  
President,  
A. F. of L. Officers, Delegates in Convention Assembled,  
Toronto, Ont.

Best wishes for a successful and constructive progressive convention, the earnest prayer of the Atlantic City Central Labor Union, and I have been instructed at our meeting last night to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold their next convention in this city, the home of conventions; facilities unsurpassable.

THOMAS CHRISTIE, Secretary.

Delegate Iglesias, Porto Rico Federation of Workmen, obtained unanimous consent to incorporate the following editorial extract from the New York World of October 9, 1929, in

the proceedings, to be considered in connection with a resolution submitted by him on the same subject:

## Porto Rico's Anxious Future

In his inaugural address as Governor of Porto Rico, Col. Theodore Roosevelt makes the right kind of announcement when he says that he will devote his chief attention to the economic problem. But it is an announcement which will not mean much unless he has constructive support in Washington. Porto Rico is an economic dependency of the United States. Her economic life is ruled by American capital and American laws—notably the tariff laws by which we have given an artificial stimulation to the sugar industry and made Cuba dependent on us for food. That economic and social conditions are in many respects deplorable there can be no doubt. The overcrowded island suffers from unemployment, bad housing, tuberculosis, malaria and illiteracy. It is better off than some Caribbean neighbors, but far below what we like to call the American standard.

But no Porto Rican Governor or Legislature can take steps needed without well-planned help from the United States Government. The main elements of the program required seem fairly plain. They include the encouragement of manufacturing to help cure unemployment, the encouragement of emigration to the United States for the same object, enforcement of the land laws against monopolistic holdings, the systematic multiplication of small farms, and the diversification of agriculture. Every one of these items will meet opposition from powerful American interests. American corporations will oppose enforcement of the law against holdings of more than 500 acres. American sugar and tobacco interests will oppose agricultural diversification. American labor will look askance at the stimulation of Porto Rican emigration. If proper reforms are to be carried through, Mr. Hoover's vigorous aid will be needed.

President Green: I announced at the morning session that we would be privileged this afternoon to hear the messages brought to us by the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. I know you are eagerly awaiting these messages of good-will and of constructive suggestions, of helpful advice. We always like to hear from our fraternal delegates who attend the conventions of the American Federation of Labor clothed with authority to represent the members of organized labor in Great Britain and in the Dominion of Canada.

Brother Brownlie is acquainted with a number of outstanding trade unionists in the United States and Canada. He has been in our country before, so that in that respect he is not a newcomer. He has been trained in the trade union movement of Great Britain and speaks out a wealth of experience. I am glad to welcome him here in the name of and on behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

I am happy indeed to be privileged this afternoon to present to you Brother Brownlie, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

### MR. J. BROWNLIE

(Fraternal Delegate From the British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President, Fellow Trade Unionists of the United States and Canada, Guests and Visitors: In the first place, Mr. President, permit me on behalf of my colleague, Mr. James Bell, and myself, to express our deep appreciation and grateful thanks, not only for the kind references you have made to the work in which we have been engaged in the British trade union movement for many decades, but also for the great kindness and unflinching hospitality extended us during our most pleasant visit to the Dominion of Canada. As you have said, Mr. Chairman, I am no stranger to many folk in this great convention, and, moreover, I hope before I leave the much-boasted city of Toronto to have made new friends that I shall cherish for the remainder of my existence.

In the first place, let me say that Brother Bell and myself are more than pleased to stand here today as the duly accredited ambassadors of the British Trades Union Congress, a Congress that has for over half a century, aye, sixty-one years, given light and guidance to the organized hosts of labor throughout the civilized world. In bringing to you good wishes and fraternal greetings, let me say that we have watched with considerable interest and sympathy the progress that you have made in this great continent of North America and the manner in which you have tackled the problems that are peculiar to the United States. When you rejoice we rejoice, and when you are sad we commiserate with you in your sadness, and the sadness must of necessity be of a temporary character, because organized labor never admits defeat.

On these occasions it is customary to make reference to the work of that section of the movement which we have the honor to represent, because not only is it that phase of our activities that we know most of, but it is what I believe you are anxious to know, what your fellow conferees on the other side of the Atlantic are doing. Therefore, in the course of my submission I trust that you will bear with me if I should say anything that a hypersensitive American trade unionist might not consider as hardly in keeping with the polite amenities that should exist between host and guest. Let me say here and now with all the emphasis at my command that I cast no reflection in any way, either direct or implied, with respect to your policy and outlook in behalf of those whom you have the honor to represent.

Let me be perfectly frank at the beginning. I am interpreting, as I believe I am capable of interpreting, what I conceive to be the considered policy of the British trade union and labor movement and its aspirations. I do so not only as one who has given nearly forty years of his life in the trade union and labor movement, I do so not only as one who

has an understanding of social, industrial and economic history as applied to Great Britain and all other civilized countries, but I do so as one who has been associated with the organized trade union Labor and Socialist movement throughout the continent of Europe. Therefore, with becoming humility, you will agree that I have some justification for what observations I may make with reference to the great movement to which you and I and each of us are so proud to belong.

Since our distinguished predecessors from the British Trades Union Congress addressed your convention twelve months ago a great event has happened in the old country. An event has occurred which has not only inspired and thrilled the trade union and labor movement of the United Kingdom, which has not only reacted in the great continent of North America and the Dominion of Canada, but has inspired the whole of the organized forces of labor throughout the continent of Europe and the civilized world.

I refer to the great historic event that occurred in the early days of June or the latter days of May of this year, when the organized battalions of labor marched in serried ranks, led by their inspired leader and an inspired message, and made an attack on the citadel of organized capital and predatory wealth and won a great victory by constitutional means—namely, the return of two hundred and eighty-eight men pledged, solemnly pledged, to give effect to the aims and aspirations of organized labor. I wonder if you folk on this great continent appreciate the amount of energy and sacrifice that has been made by those who helped to build up this great political movement of ours in the old country?

What is known as the Labor Party of Britain came into being somewhere in the closing years of the last century. I think we celebrated our majority last year at Blackpool. However, in 1900 trade unions, arising out of the deliberations of the British Trades Union Congress, an assembly similar to that which is meeting in this hall today, by resolution the Parliamentary Committee of the old Trades Union Congress, like your Management Committee of the American Federation of Labor, were instructed to take into their earnest and serious consideration the appointment of some body or institution, and arising out of that resolution what is historically known as the Labor Representation Committee came into being.

Fortunately, in the first General Election following the birth of that much-despised weakling, Labor succeeded in securing the return of two members to the British House of Commons, that is, two members returned to the British House of Commons who were pledged to pursue a policy of strict independence so far as the two great historic political parties of Great Britain were concerned. In the General Election of 1906 we began to mark a definite stage in the political development of the movement, when we secured the retirement of twenty-nine candidates, twenty-nine members of the House of Congress.

And you will pardon me, Mr. Chairman,



if I should make a personal observation, so that it may clear up any misapprehensions that exist in the minds of some folk that the British Labor Party is made up wholly and solely of trade union officials. At the General Election of January, 1910, I, working at the bench as an ordinary machinist, who previously had been elected by the members of my organization to become one of their Parliament candidates, went and fought that election. I did not succeed because I had what we call the Tory and the Liberal against me, but I justified my existence, went back to the shop, picked up my tools again and carried on. I believe I can say with considerable justification and without fear of contradiction, Brother Green, that I was the first lay workman who stood and fought for a seat in the House of Commons who was working at the trade. I was not a trade union official. I did not fall from grace, Mr. Chairman, until many years later.

However, there is no use in giving more figures. The facts are that the Labor Party is now the Government; the Labor Party constitutes the greatest political party in the British House of Commons. True, they have no absolute majority and they are to some extent at the mercy of him we call the Welsh Wizard, Lloyd George. I am not one of those who imagine for one moment that the Labor Party is going to create a social revolution during their political life as a government, though the Labor Party must, of necessity, stand to effect a revolution in the social, economic and industrial state of society. They have a historical justification for their existence. I shall endeavor to show you later why I arrive at that conclusion.

That being so, a Labor government must of necessity, of imperative necessity, have their forces well organized and consolidated in the country, because as they press forward to effect these great changes demanded by our present social system they will be faced with the organized determination of the organized forces of predatory wealth. It may be—but I have my doubts, Mr. Chairman—it may be that the representatives of predatory wealth as expressed by your Liberal Party and your Tory Party, representing territorial and industrial interests, may, in consequence of the great volume of opinion that is being created in the country and elsewhere, be forced like the representatives of the ancient society, or during the early days of the French Revolution, to forego all their feudal rights. Maybe they will do so, and if they are wise folk they will, because they can no more arrest the onward march of the organized forces of labor than they can arrest the sun from shining in the heavens tomorrow.

Give the Labor government a chance and they will justify their existence. One thing that the Labor government have done, or declared their intention of doing, which has given inspiration to the trade union movement throughout the continent: they have declared that it is their big intention to ratify the findings of the Washington Convention. Some of you may think that is of small importance. To me it is of the greatest importance. To

me the fact that the Labor government will ratify the findings of the Washington Convention is an indication that we are going to make that a fixture for all time. We—and when I say we I am speaking of the organization which I represent—succeeded in inducing the organized employers of the engineering industry to go with us to the government in 1925 and get them to take all possible steps to secure the ratification of the Washington Convention. It has not been accomplished, for the obvious reason that the people who occupy the high places of state and control the executive forces of government do not represent the common folk as you and I do. They recognize organized capital, industrial and territorial interests, and, Mr. Chairman, it would be rank imbecility on my part or on anyone else's part, who has an intelligent conception of the trade union movement, to expect that these people are going to get off our backs. History is not built up on those lines.

I think it was your representative, Fitzgerald, addressing the British Trades Union Congress at Swansea last year, who, in the course of his submission, said that he had been with his British friends for five or six days, that he had listened to our discussions, and who said he felt that he was present at a convention of the American Federation of Labor because we were discussing problems precisely similar to those you were discussing in the United States. They may vary in degree, they may vary in detail, but they are inherently identical because they spring from the same sources. That is, they arise, they have their roots deeply imbedded in the economic soil which we understand, and therefore these problems must of necessity be identical, more or less, in all countries that have resorted to what we call capitalistic production.

One sad commentary upon our present social and industrial system which cannot be silenced by eloquent speeches or the wave of a magician's wand, one problem more grave than others, to which your President and others have made reference in the present convention, is the problem of unemployment. I think it was old Tommy Carlyle who said that the average workman fears unemployment more than he fears the wrath of God, because he knew what unemployment meant—nobody knew it better than himself, one of a family of ten, and the father a stonemason.

Unemployment obtains not only in Great Britain, where we are said to have a million and a quarter of men unemployed; unemployment obtains in Germany, I am told, where there are over a million people unemployed and several hundreds of thousands of people only partially employed. It obtains only in a lesser degree in Belgium, Scandinavia, France, Switzerland, and the new countries that have recently adopted our industrial system, in the Far East, in Japan; and it also obtains, Mr. Chairman, in this great continent where we are metaphorically said to be rolling in wealth. What the number of unemployed in this country is I don't know and I did not make it my business to find out.

But much depends upon the political aspect or the political views of the individuals to whom I have been speaking as to what

percentage of unemployed people there is in the United States, and yet the estimate varies from three million to six million. I don't know whether it is a smaller figure, but the fact that there are people unemployed and undergoing all the terrors and the horrors of perdition, poverty and misery is quite sufficient for any rational, reasonable-minded man to concern himself as to the cause of the problem.

I am old enough, Mr. Chairman, to remember our distinguished politicians, men whose names are household words, men like Gladstone, John Martin, Henry Asquith, and others, who used to tell us that the cause of unemployment and poverty of the work people was due to drink. Mr. Chairman, you can't say it is due to drink in the United States, because you are declared to be a dry country. They had told us that if the British workman was not so fond of beer and bad whiskey, because he could not aspire to the choice liquors that adorn the tables of the idle rich, he would not be unemployed.

But they could not allow those in that unfortunate position to remain without the means of sustenance, and they organized soup kitchens. Then there were folk belonging to our own social order who were sufficiently astute and interested to study the science of political economy, and they told us that unemployment was not due to drink. Can you imagine it, friends. A distinguished professor of political economy, a man of international reputation, Professor Stanley German, said about four decades ago that unemployment was due to spots on the sun. He solemnly declared in one of his publications that unemployment was due to spots on the sun. The argument is this: that when the phenomenon of spots appears on the sun it affects the harvest of the world, and in the grain-growing countries there is not the demand for labor to take the harvest from the country in which it was grown into the cities of great population.

Then we were told that unemployment was due to overproduction. We have got rid of that argument, as I shall show you later, but we will answer them by saying that there was never a period in the history of the human race when there was more wealth or the necessities of life than could be consumed by the people of that country. The trouble was, those who produced the goods were unable to purchase the goods which they had produced by their social labor.

The cause of unemployment is not overproduction, but under-consumption. You have already admitted that. Your President, in his distinguished addresses, has said so and implied it most effectively, and he has asked that you should have a proper wage, that the hours of labor should be reduced, so that every man and woman engaged in the industries of this country might be in possession of all the necessities of life and not in fear of want.

I am going to make one or two observations or quotations, and the figures I am going to quote I obtained from the journal of my fellow organization, namely, the International Association of Machinists. I consider them of sufficient importance to quote to you because they are helpful in my submission. The quotation is as follows:

"In an unusually well-prepared article by Mr. Evans Clark, the New York Times published, under date of February 26, 1928, some startling figures that furnish the explanation for the shrinkage in the employment opportunities. Mr. Clark points out through a series of charts that since 1914 the output of American manufacturing plants has risen 70 per cent. and that the number of workers employed in these plants has risen but 12 per cent., the population having risen some 18 per cent.

"Equally marked is the tendency towards greater productivity with fewer workers, even in the agricultural industry, which is less susceptible to technical improvement than manufacturing. Mr. Clark's charts show that farm production has increased from 1899 to 1925, a period of 26 years, 48 per cent. A gradual increase in employment up to 1912 totalling 5 per cent and a steady decline from then on until 1925 show that the number of opportunities for employment in agriculture are no greater than in 1899. Farm population during the same period has increased 16 per cent."

He also gives a series of industries showing the production increase per cent and the number of employees decreased correspondingly. I am not going to weary you by enumerating all of the industries mentioned, but suffice it to say that the production in the automobile industry increased by 69 per cent between the years 1922 and 1926 and the number of employees in that industry decreased during the same period by 48 per cent—pointing out that the increase in your productive power, aided by mechanical devices—science applied to industry—was 69 per cent in the automobile industry between the years 1922 and 1926, and a decrease in the number of workpeople employed in that same period in that industry of 48 per cent.

One more quotation—"Mr. E. Stewart, United States Commissioner for Labor Statistics, speaking at the fifteenth convention of the Association of Government Labor Officials of the United States and Canada, held at New Orleans in May, 1928, said: 'During recent years production has increased 49 per cent, whilst employment has declined.'"

That is the phenomenon. What obtains in the United States obtains in the United Kingdom, in Germany, and in other continental countries of Europe, and your maneuvering by appealing to the benevolent instincts of the representatives of organized capital will not solve that problem. I am one of those who believe, as a result of close observation as a student of economic industry and as one in position to obtain valuable information, and as a member of the Balfour committee appointed by the Labor Government when it was in office in 1924, which was in session for four and a half years, that we are living in the most interesting period in the world's history.

I spoke to you some time ago of the difference in our policy. Consequent of different economic and industrial conditions, only different in degree but not fundamentally; consequent of the difference in the area of that little island in the northeast and this vast continent of North America, our policy must, of necessity, take on a different part due to these considerations. The United States and

the United Kingdom are not comparable, but we are being driven by certain economic factors which are world wide. Therefore, our problems to that extent are similar.

If there are any people amongst all the English-speaking people of the world who should appreciate what is meant by liberty and freedom, it is you people of the North American Continent, for your history teems with inspiring incidents whereby your forebears fought against a tyrannical government for freedom and democracy, as you did at the end of the eighteenth century, and won that independence from a tyrannical, imbecilic monarch. You are believers in democracy. Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as the government of the people, by the people, for the people. Nobody quarrels with that. At all events, we don't here. But I want to give you a modern definition of democracy as defined by a leading British statesman a short time ago, namely Lord Grey, familiarly known as Sir Edward Grey, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the outbreak of the Great War. Lord Grey, addressing a gathering of employers in the city of Birmingham, said, among other very fine things, when he was dealing with this theme of democracy: "Democracy is based upon the assumption that the people have a capacity for self-government. If this capacity is really present there is no reason why it should be restricted to political channels alone. Indeed, if the capacity be real, it will certainly manifest itself in all departments of human affairs."

We claim to have that capacity. We claim, and it has been reiterated during the sessions of this convention and emphasized today by Sir Henry Thornton, that the representatives of the work people chosen from the trade unions have the capacity to deal with these matters.

British labor men are not doing these things in consequence of an intellectual introspection on their part, or being born of an innate idea—they are doing them because they are being driven by sheer economic forces, and they have got charge of the executive power of the government, centrally and locally, and they recognize that we are on the verge of a great historic change. It is inevitable, because if the work people want better housing conditions they don't go to the philanthropist and ask for better housing conditions; they necessarily go to the local authorities. If they want better educational facilities for the children, they go to the public authorities. If they want better sanitation, they don't go to well-disposed medical men and ask them to do something to secure hygienic conditions; they go to the local authorities. If they want a great change in regard to social conditions which cannot be effected by the local authorities, they go higher, and it is because they are forced to do these things that they build up their own political party, locally and nationally. And we are now the government of the day, and I want to show you why I think we are on the verge of a great historic change.

Mankind has the power over nature that enables him to produce wealth with a rapidity and an abundance totally unknown in the history of the world. Historians and scientists

tell us that mankind has made more progress during the past one hundred and fifty years than was made during the preceding period of the five hundred thousand years that the human race is said to have inhabited this planet. It is a common but none the less striking comparison that a modern historian makes when he writes that "Pericles, Julius Caesar or Charlemagne would have been at home amid the social and economic conditions familiar to Louis XIV, Frederick the Great, or George III," because few changes have taken place in the general living conditions of the people of Europe from the third to the eighteenth century. It would have been easier for a Roman boy to understand and appreciate them than it is for us, despite the fact that in point of time the eighteenth century is ten times nearer to us.

Then the historian goes on to say that we are familiar with railroads and telephones, steamships and automobiles, threshing machines and farm tractors. These, in the time perspective of history, are quite new—the discoveries of yesterday which have revolutionized our world.

These are the dynamic forces that are driving the organized labor movement toward its goal. Remember that in that period I am speaking of—the five hundred thousand years, less the one hundred and fifty—great historic revolutions have taken place. Human society has changed, and capital is only about one hundred and fifty years in existence; and with the great knowledge that we possess, with the great resources at our disposal, we are going to use these to bring about great historic changes.

I must be getting on, because I have talked to you longer than I really intended. My closing note is again one that is applicable to the movement. The real economic cleavage is not, as is often said, between employers and employed, but between all who do constructive work, from the scientist to the laborer, on the one hand, and all those whose main interest is the preservation of existing proprietary rights, on the other, irrespective of whether they contribute to constructive work or not.

Economic systems have a great influence in promoting or destroying life. Except slavery, the present industrial system is the most destructive of life that has ever existed. Machinery and large-scale production are irremediable, and must survive in any better system which is to replace the one under which we live. Industrial federal democracy is probably the best direction for reform to take.

The first principle is that industry should be subordinated to the community in such a way as to render the best service technically possible, that those who render that service faithfully shall be honorably paid, and that those who render no service should not be paid at all, because it is of the essence of a function that it should find its meaning in the satisfaction, not of itself, but of the end which it serves.

The second is that its direction and government should be in the hands of persons who

are responsible to those who are directed and governed, because it is the condition of economic freedom that men should not be ruled by an authority which they cannot control.

The industrial problem, in fact, is a problem of right, not merely of material misery, and because it is a problem of right it is most acute among those sections of the working classes whose material misery is least. It is a question, first, of function, and, second, of freedom.

Fellow delegates, I have only indicated to you in a brief way the great forces that are affecting the workers throughout the world and in which we are all interested. I have directed your attention to the cause of unemployment. I have briefly indicated to you, in language with the authority of those who are competent to speak, the progress that has been made by the human race in the time it has occupied this planet in the last one hundred and fifty years. I have indicated to you the changes that, in my opinion, are inevitable.

A short time ago we used to hear a great deal about markets—get new markets, exploit the world, the undeveloped countries of the world, the backward people. They don't talk about new markets today, for the simple reason there are no new markets. The world has been circumnavigated, the world is being exploited in various degrees of development by the owners of the means of production, and no longer is the slogan of new markets used—they have a new slogan, the slogan of rationalization.

Now, what is rationalization? The word "rationalization" has got considerable vogue in these days, and many people use the word "rationalization" as their forebears used the "blessed word Mesopotamia," without appreciating the full significance of the term.

"Rationalization," as defined by the Geneva World Economic Conference, 1927, covers the methods of technique and organization designed to secure the minimum waste of either effort or material. It includes the scientific organization of labor, standardization both of material and of product, simplification of processes, and improvements in the system of transport and marketing.

That is what rationalization means—the elimination of waste. These people or industrial lords recognized that competition is waste. They formed national combines, trusts, interlocking companies with not only national but international ramifications. They wanted competition to be eliminated entirely, and that you should contribute in every way possible—for the production of what? Profit. Profit, in the language of John Ruskin, is the relative term to the word "loss," inasmuch as no section of a community can enjoy profit without another section of the community standing a loss.

The committee to which I have referred, the Balfour committee—I am going to give you an excerpt from their minority report on rationalization—and I am not opposed to rationalization; it is nothing more nor less than a new term being applied to a present economic system. It has been expressed in your trusts, combines, interlocking companies, etc. Rationalization is inevitable, and I am going to

assist it because it not only marks an economic gain, but it makes it easier for an enlightened democracy to take over these great social forces and use them in the interests of the people, and not for the benefit of the few.

Following upon the quotation given of the definition of rationalization by the Geneva Conference, I quote the following:

" 'Rationalization' in this sense, however, may obviously be a purely mechanical process, which takes no account of the worker as an intelligent factor, or of the general interest of the community. In so far as it is this, and no more than this, it cannot bring into action the motive of service, and may fail to diffuse the benefits resulting from a reduction of real cost through the body of consumers. At all stages, both responsible participation by the workers and a vigilant maintenance of the general social interest by the State, as representing the community, are essential if industrial reorganization is to raise the national standard of life."

My last word, fellow members, is an amplification of my first word. I am glad to be here. I recognize what it means to come among you folk, duly accredited representatives of those among whom you live, you who know their life and you who understand their aspirations, but are not capable of expressing them in a manner which those who have been fortunate and those who have been educated at the old seats of learning are capable of doing. But yet you realize there is something; you have faith in your chosen representatives and the opinions expressed by your distinguished President from time to time. It falls to his lot to make himself conversant with this great world movement, and it falls to the lot of each and all of us to show and take an interest.

I am more than pleased that my old friend Ramsay MacDonald has come to America. He and I stood in the market places of England and proclaimed gospels for which we were called fools and idiots, dreamers of dreams and seers of visions. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we were dreamers of dreams and we had vision. Let me say this: that when a people dream, when a people have vision, those dreams and visions are realized. Ramsay MacDonald and I and others stood out in the cold night preaching the gospel to a few disinterested people, and in the course of a generation there has come that great change which has induced the workers of your great country to boost their representatives—not due entirely to intellectual conditions, but due to the dynamic factors that were driving them forward.

We have inspired confidence with those we have the honor to represent. And my last note is this: The responsibilities of the English-speaking people are great. The United States of America and the British Empire must necessarily be united in their endeavors to reduce armaments and maintain the world's peace, thus setting a striking example to other nations to follow their lead in the furtherance of a higher civilization that will insure a high standard of life, culture and social well-being of the workers, whereby riches and poverty are unknown, but wealth prevails in abundance. These are the underlying principles of the

trade union movement. The American Federation of Labor and the British Trades Union Congress can do much to realize these ideals.

President Green: Now I am pleased to present to you the colleague of Brother Brownlie, who journeyed with him from Great Britain for the purpose of bringing his message of good-will from our fellow workers in that great country. Brother Bell is here representative in a direct way of the workers employed in a great industry in Great Britain, and in a larger and more comprehensive way the workers of all trades and callings in that great country. I am happy indeed to be privileged to present to you Brother J. Bell, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, who will now address you.

#### MR. J. BELL

(Fraternal Delegate From the British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President—and I am not going to say ladies and gentlemen, I prefer to say friends—I want to join with my colleague Brownlie in expressing pleasure that we have been given the opportunity to come to this great continent of yours in order to convey to you the fraternal greetings of your comrades in our land across the sea. My comrade Brownlie has covered so much ground and in a much more effective way than I could possibly do, that I am not going to attempt to repeat anything that he has said, but I am not going to forget that, sitting on this platform the other day, I had perhaps the best example that I have ever had of a country and a city being boosted for what it was. I am not going to quarrel with anybody for boosting either Toronto or Canada or the United States. Probably they deserve all of the good things that have been said about them, but I am going to claim this: that our great trade union movement for which you stand in this land and for which we stand in our own country does not need boosting, because every one of us knows that there is no movement in this great world of ours that has done so much to uplift the masses of the people to which you and I belong as our great trade union movement.

We bring greetings from a trade union movement that Brownlie rightly said has been an example to the Old World. And I think, Mr. Chairman, it is true when we claim that that little country of ours has been an example to the world in its form of democratic government and in its method of organizing the working people that are engaged in our great industries.

So far the workers in this great continent have not thought it wise to copy our example in the development that our trade union movement has made. It may be that what we have done in our country is impossible of achievement in this great continent; but, just as you have studied our methods in the past and have copied from our methods what you thought was good and what you thought was useful

to your movement over here, I venture to say, Mr. President, that just in the same way you will study the development that our trade union movement has made in our country, and what you find useful in this development you will have the intelligence and the common sense to use to advantage for your great continent over here, perhaps not exactly in our way.

What are those developments? Brownlie referred to them. And when we think that in the short period of thirty years, out of our trade union movement, and out of no other movement in our country, has grown that great political organization which now controls the government of our country, we realize the growth of our trade union organization.

You speak of injunctions in this country. Your employers and your governors might learn the lesson that out of the injunction they sought to inflict upon the workers of our country arose to a very large extent the need for our great political movement; and the more they prosecuted us, the more they thought to cripple our trade union movement, the more it drove the working people of our country to seek to control the political machinery of that country. When anybody tells me that we made a mistake and that labor ought not seek to control the political destinies of the country, it only makes me smile.

And even whilst I have been attending this convention I have heard the expression that Labor makes a mistake when it enters into the political arena: that Labor cannot govern. I did not expect to hear on this continent a repetition of that famous phrase of Winston Churchill's when he said that Labor could not govern. I do not want to say anything further on that line except to put this problem to you—if Labor cannot govern, what are we here for? I venture to say that our trade union movement governed by you men and by you women takes as much brains to govern as any government there is in the world today.

I had a short experience, I had four years in our House of Commons as a Labor member of Parliament, and I want to assure you that those men I used to regard and that perhaps you still regard as the men with all the brains, all the intelligence, that there is in the nations of the world are no better than you, and a lot of them not as good. And I said during the time that I was in Parliament and we developed sixty Labor members there that I would take our sixty Labor members, myself included among them, and anybody in the land could choose sixty members from all the rest of the members in the House, and I would match our Labor representatives with the sixty chosen from among the rest and we would beat them in intelligence any time.

Let me give you one illustration. On one occasion we were discussing what was called the Industrial Court Bill, and the Labor members in the House of Commons were asking the government not to insert anything in that bill, which was then before Parliament, which gave either employers' organizations or working people's organizations the right to be represented before the Industrial Court by counsel.

Of course you know what I mean by counsel. And in reply to our argument that we did not want to bring the legal gentlemen before these industrial courts, the employers sitting on the opposite side of the House pleaded with the government that they should be allowed to engage counsel in order to state their case before the Industrial Court. With a flourish of their arms toward our benches, they said: "We know quite well that the gentlemen opposite who will appear to represent the working people of this country can argue their case better than we can, and we want counsel to give us their assistance."

Labor government? Why, out of our trade union movement, out of our great labor movement in our country has come one of the greatest political characters in the history of the world, and one of the leading statesmen of the world today. Ramsay MacDonald is a product of our labor movement, he is a product of our trade union movement in our country. When I came across the Atlantic on the Berengaria and I landed in New York and saw and heard that magnificent reception that Ramsay MacDonald got from your great country, I want you to believe me when I tell you that it made me feel proud that I belonged to a trade union movement and a labor movement, and that I was present to see that magnificent reception that our great leader received from your country. Aye, and shall I say that from our leaders, from our trade union and labor movement, not only in England but in the United States of America and in Canada, the intelligent part of our world is looking with hope and with confidence in our labor movement to bring an end to wars, to bring peace on earth—more faith in our movement than the world has ever had in any other movement that has preceded us.

Now I want to turn to another question altogether. Brownlie spoke, shall I say, very largely for the men of our country. In the lobby of one of your hotels some of your ladies made the remark to me that they wondered what part the women had in this great convention of yours, as women were never referred to. I reminded her, of course, that already I had listened to three or four ladies from this platform: but I come from a great industry, the textile industry, which employs probably more women than any other industry in our country, and if I was following my ordinary work and I called a meeting of the members of the organization for whom I have the honor to work when I am at home—I am referring now just to my local association—and if I engaged the largest theatre in the town I would have it packed by the members of our association, an audience of between two and three thousand people, and it may interest you men when I tell you that there would not be a hundred men in the theatre. They would be largely women workers engaged in our great cotton industry.

And don't flatter yourself, don't think that you have more intelligence than women workers have. Sometimes I have been asked how I manage all these women. If you will believe me, I can manage a crowd better than I can manage one.

These women are engaged in that great

cotton industry, and I was asked if I would be good enough to convey to this convention something of what is wrong with our cotton industry and why the cotton industry of our country is in the state that it is at the present time. I know yours is not very much better off, if any better off, than my own, but I know more about my own.

This may be a lesson in co-operation, Mr. Chairman, but a lesson of the wrong sort. Some eighteen months ago our employers asked us if we would not meet them to consider some reports they had drawn together, and these reports deal with a number of things that they thought could be done to improve the condition of the cotton industry—and I am quite ready to admit that the representatives of the work people engaged in that great industry were just as eager to bring about an improvement in the industry as the employers themselves. We regard it as much our industry as theirs, because we have to get our livelihood out of it, and when we saw those recommendations that they wanted us to discuss we found in those recommendations two particular ones that at once caused us to pause.

One recommendation was that they wanted to depart from the 48-hour week and they wanted to work longer hours, they wanted us to join with them and co-operate in recommending longer hours for the workers in the cotton trade. Another clause said that they wanted to reduce the wages, they wanted to recommend that wages should be reduced by 25 per cent. from standard labor, which meant about 12½ per cent. from current wages. We met the employers, but we did not meet with them in order to co-operate on those lines. We at once told them that we were quite willing to sit down with them at the table to consider what could be done to improve this great industry of ours, on condition that they withdraw all reference to reduced wages and longer hours. We said: "If you will do that and you will consent to add another recommendation that we want to suggest, then we will sit down with you and we will try to cooperate and see what can be done to bring about an improvement in our industry."

Our suggestion was that they should agree with us to ask the government to set up a committee of inquiry to ascertain the facts, and when they had ascertained the facts of the depression in our industry we would be in a condition to consider remedies. What did we want to know? We wanted to know all the facts of our industry.

And let me tell you this, because perhaps you don't know it: That the cotton is brought from your great country across the sea to England, and it is landed at Liverpool and taken from Liverpool and distributed over our country. Perhaps you don't know that before it reaches our country there are a lot of fingers dabbling with that cotton and some of them never touch the cotton. It is sold, and sold, and sold, until it is turned over thirty times before it reaches Lancashire. Then it is taken to our spinning mills at Oldham, where it is turned into yarn. And then from Oldham, which is seven miles from Manchester—I will use that as an illustration—they will send the warp and woof further up in the county to Black-



burn and Burnley and other towns, and in those towns the warp and wool are turned into cloth. Then it is brought back across the country to another place to be finished and dyed.

When you are talking about rationalization, Mr. Brownlie, and the elimination of waste, our cotton industry will provide a very good example of what rationalization can do for a great industry. And we tried and tried and tried again to get our employers to let us know all that went on in the industry. At one of our meetings that we held with the employers, one of the biggest employers in the country gave us an example that we had asked for.

He produced a piece of cloth—I dare say the same thing goes on in the United States of America—but he produced a piece of cloth he had bought in Manchester that day and said: "I have paid six and sixpence per yard for it in one of the great stores in Manchester. This particular cloth was woven on a loom in my own mill and was turned out exactly as I have got it here and I received for manufacturing that yard of cloth one and sixpence, which included the price of raw cotton, the cost of the labor and any profit I might be able to get out of it."

Can you wonder that, representing the working people in the textile industry of our great country, they were not satisfied with the condition of things that allows so many middlemen to come in? And whether it is underconsumption or what it is, our employers admit that if they could get a penny per yard, that instead of getting one and sixpence they could get one and sevenpence, they could advance the wages of our workers in the textile industry by 50 per cent and then have something left for themselves.

When we asked the employers to agree with us in demanding an inquiry from the government the employers did not agree, and we went to the government. The government we went to was a Conservative government, with Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister. The employers went to the government and asked the government not to grant an inquiry, and the employers had more influence with the Tory government than we had—of course they had! That is why we set up our labor movement and our Labor Party in our country: because we recognized that the employers always had more influence with the other political parties than we had, because their friends were in touch with the parties, and their friends were in the government.

When the election took place—and here is a very striking commentary—when the election took place and our Labor government assumed office, at once, immediately following the election when our great cotton constituency in Lancashire had returned Labor members to represent them and look after their interests in the House of Commons, as though it was some punishment to the labor people for having returned Labor members, our employers gave us notice of a reduction. They did not ask for a conference; they said they would meet us, but the reduction would take effect on a certain day.

Knowing the conditions, we did not want a stoppage in the industry. We ultimately asked the employers to meet us and we asked them to withdraw the notice they had given for a reduction in wages, and we asked them to weigh the facts that might be brought out in the government inquiry which the Labor government told us would be held.

The employers would not wait and, perhaps foolishly, perhaps wisely, we decided to take a risk in order to avoid a stop, and we asked the employers to submit their case to arbitration and we would agree to accept the findings of an arbitration court. The employers refused and the stoppage took place and the whole of our cotton industry was shut down for three weeks. Toward the end of the three weeks the employers said they would agree to submit their claim to arbitration, but they would not agree to the kind of arbitration we suggested. We ultimately agreed on an arbitration court of two chosen by the work people and two chosen by the employers, with a neutral chairman, and if the four could not agree, then the chairman should have the deciding vote.

The employers suggested a name and we suggested a name as to who should be chairman of that court, and, unfortunately for the working people, the employers' nominee agreed to accept the position as chairman. We went to arbitration, and whilst I don't like strikes and I don't like stoppages, if that is the only kind of arbitration we can get, I prefer the strike and the stoppage to that kind of arbitration.

The employers stated their case on Wednesday, and on Wednesday night the chairman told the other four that if they did not agree to accept the reduction of wages he would do it himself, and he had not heard a word of our side of the case. On Thursday afternoon they did what school children could have done: they agreed to split the difference and give the employers half of what they asked for. The result is a seething dissatisfaction among the work people in our textile industry.

You will see statements made that one of the reasons why our textile industry in England is not flourishing is because the operatives' trade union will not agree to certain things. Just imagine employers asking us to agree to extend forty-eight hours when their own policy has been to work short time and less than forty-eight hours. You will see it stated that we would not agree to the improvements in machinery that have taken place. That is not true. What we have told the employers and what we are prepared to tell anybody is that the operatives in the textile industry are prepared to accept any improvement in machinery on certain conditions.

When I tell you, Mr. Chairman, that wages in our textile industry, as admitted by the employers in cross-examination before that arbitration court—and let me tell you that we have something like half a million work people in our cotton industry and we have something like five million people dependent upon that industry directly—the employers admitted that there are more weavers in our industry

earning less than two pounds per week than are earning over two pounds. You will understand how it is that our men and their wives and children have had to go into our factories in order to earn a livelihood and keep a household together.

We told our employers if they wanted to bring in improvements we would welcome them, but we wanted a wage in our industry sufficient to enable a man to keep his wife at home and keep his children in decency without having to turn them out to work in the early days of their lives.

And they tell us, "You can improve the industry if you will agree to work two shifts." I dare say that in some of the textile districts of the United States two shifts are being worked. We are told that two shifts and even three shifts have been worked in Japan, and because two shifts are worked in other countries they ask us to agree to work two shifts. We have not yet agreed, and neither have the employers agreed, that a system of two shifts working will be of any benefit to our industry.

But, Mr. Chairman, even if it would benefit the industry, so far as I am concerned that is not going to be the only consideration. Women and girls are working in our country and they want them to start back to work at six in the morning, work until two o'clock and then another shift will work from two o'clock in the afternoon until ten o'clock at night. Imagine the conditions of a home where working people are going out in the early morning and returning home at night. What kind of a home life are they going to inflict on our working people if the employers can have their way?

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think I have said enough. Brownlie and I came here, and although he has been here before and it is my first visit to your great continent I think we can claim to represent perhaps the greatest trade union movement the world has ever seen, and we can certainly claim to represent the greatest labor movement politically that the world has ever known. And from that great trade union movement, from that great labor movement to which the world is looking with hope and expectation, we want to assure you that we come to you from them with our hands stretched across the sea waiting for the workers of America to grasp our hand and cling to it tightly, because we know that you and we together, joined hand in hand and heart to heart in one great movement, one united movement, can do more than any other movement in the world to guarantee that there never shall be war in the world and to guarantee to the workers of the world a fair share in the wealth that they produce.

President Green: Now, my friends, I take great pleasure in presenting to you one of our fellow workers, who comes here with authority to speak for the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. This great movement is a part of our own; we are part of it, but in accordance with tradition and custom fraternal delegates have been sent to us from the Trades and Labor Congress at each annual convention of the

American Federation of Labor. We have always been glad to have them come to us, and their messages have hope and encouragement and inspiration for us. We have always welcomed them with open arms, and that same welcome is extended to Brother Whitebone. I take great pleasure in presenting Brother Whitebone.

#### FRATERNAL DELEGATE JAMES A. WHITEBONE

(Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters: Ever since the day I was selected as a fraternal delegate representing the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to this convention I have dreaded this moment. I realized that these conventions were composed almost entirely of the leaders, of the great men in this movement, and I might say that I have had very little opportunity to come in contact with these men, situated as I am, down in the Maritime Provinces, which are considered of the beaten track. I had always considered an international president, for instance, with a feeling of awe, and I was more or less afraid of him. I want to say, however, that since I have been in Toronto and have mingled with the delegates two things have happened to me—I have come to realize that you men who are entrusted with the leadership of the great international unions are much bigger men than I had thought you were; and I am no longer afraid of you.

There have been so many brilliant speakers who addressed you from this platform that I really do not know what I can say to you; but I have been entrusted with a message to deliver to you, and I now deliver it with all my heart, and that is that I wish to convey to you the very warmest, sincerest fraternal greetings from your brothers and sisters of Canada who are members of that great international labor movement. I want you to know that we are with you, that we honor you and that we love you. We are all one.

Much has been said of the imaginary boundary line. I might make a few remarks which would call to your mind that sometimes the boundary line is not so imaginary. However, we will not go into that. Our blood is mingled with yours; your problems are our problems; it seems inconceivable that there should ever be the slightest barrier between us, and I am sure that there never will be. I am sure that the ranks of the labor movement will never have any split between us.

When President Green was introducing the fraternal delegates he said we might have some advice for you. I am sure you have profited from the words uttered by the two fraternal delegates from that country across the sea which we Canadians are proud to refer to as our Mother Country; but I should be presumptuous indeed were I to attempt to give you any advice. I am practically a newcomer so far as you are concerned; I am young both in years and in the labor move-

ment, but my sincerity in the movement cannot be measured by the number of years I have served.

You are quite familiar with what we are doing in Canada in labor circles, and it would be superfluous for me to attempt to outline any of the legislative matters we have handled over there. I say "over there." Sometimes I have to stop and think which country I am in. I have attended conventions of my own organization in several United States cities, and really I cannot see any difference. Whether we are in Toronto or some United States city, I always feel that I am at home.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, through its conventions, is able to get a clear idea of our aims and objects regarding legislative matters. Our Canadian labor movement has always taken the lead in every social discussion which has taken place since the Congress was organized. Every piece of social legislation on the statute books in the various Provinces in this Dominion owes its inception to the international labor movement of Canada.

There are only two great pieces of social legislation which I feel I can discuss. One is the Workmen's Compensation Act, which we know has been a Godsend to the families of the workmen of this Dominion who have suffered from industrial accidents. This Province of Ontario, of course, leads all other Provinces in the matter of social legislation, but the Workmen's Compensation Act is in operation in every Province in the Dominion, and while some of the acts are not what we would like to have them, I think we will be forgiven for taking some pride in what we have accomplished in the last few years. We are continually asking the Provincial Governments to make improvements in the acts so that they will give the families a little more relief during the time the bread-winners are not able to work.

The Old Age Pension Act, which is a Dominion measure, is now on the statute books of the Dominion, and practically every Province is prepared to take advantage of it. Both these acts were made possible only through the efforts of those courageous men of vision who made great sacrifices, and in some instances became ostracized for their activity in connection with these acts. I was not active in the labor movement when these great pieces of social legislation were conceived. It has taken many, many years of hard work to induce the Dominion to place these acts on the statute books.

I do not know what else I can say that would be of interest to you. I suppose I am expected to say something about the dual movements which exist in our Dominion. I am happy to say these dual organizations and revolutionary labor movements are not causing us much concern at the present time in Canada. This will be evident when I tell you that the increase in the membership of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada last year was more than the total membership of all the revolutionary organizations in the Dominion of Canada combined.

We feel that there is only one labor movement which can accomplish anything for the

workmen of Canada and that is the great international labor movement that is exemplified by the American Federation of Labor, and we are mighty proud to be a part of that wonderful organization—as somebody said the other day, the greatest organization in the world.

I want to again say to you that we are glad to have you meet in the Dominion of Canada. While it is not my duty to welcome you here, for I think you have been made to feel welcome, it is a tangible expression of your good-will toward us in holding this convention in this Queen City of Canada. I think the Mayor succeeded in selling you Toronto, and I got the feeling when I heard him talk that many of you would sell out your homes and move up to Toronto. I assure you that the proudest duty I have had to perform in this convention is to convey to you the greetings of your sisters and brothers in Canada. My wife and myself have been having the time of our lives while we have been here, and I am sorry I cannot wax as eloquent as my colleagues and the other speakers have done. I am just an ordinary fellow trying to get a start, and when I next address you I hope I will deliver a speech I will be proud to read in the proceedings the next morning. I hope they will not print this one.

President Green: Now, my friends and delegates and our brother fraternal delegates who have so wonderfully interested us in the addresses delivered today, I wish to make just a brief response, and in doing so I wish to voice our deep appreciation of the sentiments expressed, of the information submitted and of the earnest, sincere and effective way in which these addresses were delivered. These fraternal delegates are among friends, true friends, friends who are interested in them and in those whom they represent, and it is our purpose and desire to make their visit with us most happy and interesting indeed.

We are glad to receive these fraternal greetings, these words of well wishes, these expositions of economic and political conditions to which we have listened. In return may I ask them to carry back to the men and women of labor in their respective countries the fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor and our best wishes for their well-being and their happiness.

There is a very close relationship between the workers of Great Britain and of our own American Continent. When I refer to the American Continent I refer to the men and women of labor in the Dominion of Canada and in the United States of America. For many, many years we have maintained a beautiful tradition, a custom of exchanging fraternal delegates between the two countries, and as a result we have developed and strengthened the

utmost of friendship and good-will. I believe that as a result of this relationship we have made a distinct contribution toward the solution of economic, social and industrial problems throughout the world.

I know I voice the sentiments of American working men and women when I say that we are deeply interested in the general welfare of our fellow workers in Great Britain who are represented in the British Trades Union Congress. We have watched with increasing interest their experiences in dealing with employers of labor, with stern economic facts and in their political undertakings. We have been happy when they succeeded, we have rejoiced with them when they realized to a very large measure their ideals and their objectives, and in like manner we have shared with them their disappointment when they failed. Their road has not been a royal road to success.

We recall when the great general strike took place in Great Britain how we hoped that it might be made a complete success. We take it for granted that it represented the best judgment of the working men and women in that country, and when it was settled without the workers realizing in full measure their hopes and aspirations we were disappointed. We were disappointed when the railway workers of that country voluntarily took a reduction in wages; we were disappointed when the miners were compelled to surrender a part of their short workday, and when they were compelled to accept substantial reductions in wages. We were sorry, too, when the cotton workers, as stated by Brother Bell, not long ago, were forced to accept substantial reductions in wages. These things, of course, were noticed by our working people in this country, and we observed that the workers there were dealing with stern economic facts, just as we are compelled to deal with them here.

And then when we learned that through their political solidarity they had achieved in a wonderful way we were happy indeed. I was glad to send a letter, as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, to the leader of the Labor Party in Great Britain, to the members of the Cabinet who were labor people and whom I knew, expressing to them in the name of labor our felicitations, congratulating them upon their success and expressing the hope that they would enjoy immeasurable success. And today I know I but echo the feeling prevailing in your

hearts and minds when I say that we wish for our fellow workers in Great Britain full and complete success in all their political and economic undertakings.

We are attempting to achieve as they are attempting to achieve. We want to reach up and out and raise the standard of life and living among the working men and women of our country, and we realize the economic power that is necessary in order to do these things. And so we are attempting to mobilize our economic strength to its maximum power and influence, so that we can go forward advancing the common interest of the working men and women of our nation. There is no difference, so far as I can see it, in our common objective. We are inspired by the same desire; we are reaching for the realization of the same ideals, our purposes are similar; we are going forward along a well-beaten path, attempting to make life worth while, to bring to the realization of every working man and woman the enjoyment of an abundant life.

There may be difference in methods. Our fellow workers in Great Britain have found that it is possible in that country to advance their common interest through concentrated, independent labor political action. I am frank in saying that thus far the great congress of labor in our own country, having weighed the subject, find we can advance our political and economic interest here by pursuing a different policy. And in doing so we do not minimize the virtue and strength of political activity or political power. We place upon political power and influence that same measure of value that our workers in Great Britain place upon it; but we are hard-headed men; we have studied the subject, we arrived at our opinions as a result of experience, and we do not, simply because it is followed in some other country, adopt the same policy unless we are sure it will bring to us great results.

We have a different country here, a great nation. It is as far from New York to San Francisco as it is from New York to London. We have forty-eight states with forty-eight governments. Fully half of these states are larger than Great Britain itself. We have here a cosmopolitan population, men speaking all languages, men of different tongues and different nationalities. Then we have our racial questions. These people coming here and being blended into our American citizens

ship bring with them all their inherent weaknesses due to national prejudices and national feeling.

The difficulties are tremendous. It is not possible in this great expanse of country to develop the same party strength and party organization that could be developed in a country as compact as Great Britain itself; but we are trying as best we can to avail ourselves of all the opportunities that present themselves in order to advance our interest along political lines. We are attempting to concentrate labor's political power in support of those who are the real friends of labor, and we are endeavoring to unite that same power in opposition to those who are our known enemies. We are endeavoring to place our own people in the legislative bodies of the state and of the nation.

In Great Britain, when an act is passed by Parliament it applies to the people of Great Britain. In our own country we must go into the forty-eight states in order to secure the passage of workmen's compensation legislation for the workers of our country. Here is the difference that must always be kept in mind when we consider political policies to be adopted by our organized labor movement.

We have not failed to secure the enactment of social legislation for the working people of our land. We have succeeded in securing the passage of workmen's compensation legislation in practically every state in the Union; we have abolished the sweatshop; we have dealt with the question of convict labor; we have dealt with the old age pension, and in many of our states our people have secured the passage of old age pension laws. We are pressing on, dealing with the questions in the light of human experience.

We do not want to injure, we want to help. We know we are on the right track now, but if the time should come when the great congress of labor believed that the best interest of working men and women would be served by the development of a Labor Party we would not hesitate to face the issue.

It is for the men and women of labor to decide that policy. These policies are formed here in the supreme body of the American Federation of Labor. I repeat again that we will not fail in our endeavors to send labor men into the state legislatures, into the city councils, and even into the Congress of the United States. Labor men have been elected to serve in these bodies. I stand before you

myself as one labor man, an humble coal miner, who was elected for two terms to the legislature of a sovereign state of this Union, and when I was elected—pardon me for this explanation—I introduced and secured the passage of the best workmen's compensation legislation in the United States of America. I secured the enactment of laws in the interest of the miners of which they were proud, and I secured legislation limiting the hours of labor.

In the State of Washington labor representatives have been elected, as they have been in many other states, and I wish from the bottom of my heart that many more were sitting in the state legislatures and in the Congress of the United States.

My good friend referred to a casual remark of someone in the lobby of this hotel in which it was stated that labor is not capable of governing, that labor representatives are not capable of serving in the law-making bodies of our country. Well, I don't know what unthinking person would say that. There is no true labor man who would give utterance to such an expression. The facts are that I could go out among our labor representatives and select a large number of men who are capable of serving in any responsible position. We are conscious of the fact that we have in our ranks of labor men who are capable of serving in any position in the state legislatures or in the government of the United States.

Now, my friends, I have covered these things because it seemed to me proper that I should say them. They are not said in a spirit of criticism. I want our fellow workers from across the sea to understand our situation here. We have a great agricultural country, three thousand miles in length; we have forty-eight states, more than half of them larger than Great Britain, some of them empires in themselves; and then think solemnly of the great task we would have in attempting to set up an independent political labor party.

Then there is a lack of party spirit. That is being evidenced now in Washington, where they are splitting up into blocs and groups. There has got to be developed in this country a party consciousness and a party spirit before we can succeed along these lines.

In conclusion, may I ask you to weigh well these words I have uttered, and we will weigh most carefully all you have said. I ask you to accept the message I have just now delivered in the same spirit in which we

accepted the messages which you have delivered.

To our brother from Canada, may I say we express appreciation of his sincere and earnest message to this convention. We hope that all our fraternal delegates may enjoy a delightful visit here and in the communities they visit after this convention adjourns, and may they have a safe return to their homes and to their loved ones.

Secretary Morrison read a notice to delegates from state federations of labor to attend a meeting called for Thursday evening.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming: May I say that

in the past two conventions those who attended meetings of the delegates representing state federations of labor felt they were a help in formulating state legislation.

President Green announced that Honorable James J. Davis, Secretary of the United States Department of Labor, and Honorable Peter Heenan, Minister of Labor in the Federal Government of Canada, would address the convention at the Friday morning session.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday, October 11.



# Fourth Day---Friday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario.

October 11, 1929.

The convention was called to order at 10:00 o'clock by President Green.

## Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Dubinsky, Bryan, Hogan, Rode, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Watt (J.), Wood, McCluskey, Phillips, Lewis (J. C.), Norrington, Kelly, Johnson, Rossell, Laude, Hoffmann, Becker, Southall, Watt (R. J.), Bower, Curran, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Doyle (F. E.), Kromelbein, Power (S.), Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Sidney, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway.

Vice-President Woll obtained unanimous consent to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 91---By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Union of Photo Engravers, and Joseph N. Weber, American Federation of Musicians:

**RESOLVED,** That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor expresses its horror at the recent outrages perpetrated by Arabs upon Jewish life and property in Palestine. The savage murder of defenseless people, many of whom were American citizens, have shocked and filled us with indignation.

We express our deep sympathy with those who have been bereaved, or suffered through these wanton and brutal attacks.

We trust that the Government of Great Britain, the Mandatory Power in Palestine, will take such measures as will prevent similar outbreaks in the future, and as may, in accordance with the terms of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration, enable the continuation in Palestine of Jewish effort for the establishment of the Jewish Homeland, the peaceful development of the land, the furtherance of economic progress, and the raising of living standards and conditions of all the inhabitants in Palestine, regardless of race or creed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of two committees to call upon the Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada and the Secretary of Labor of the United States of America for the purpose of escorting them to the hall as soon as it can be conveniently done. I wish to appoint on

the committee to escort the Minister of Labor to the hall Delegates Varley, Munro and Marsh; and on the committee to escort the Secretary of Labor to the hall Delegates Tighe, Anderson, and Hutcheson, President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters.

President Green submitted the following documents:

## REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES (To the British Trades Union Congress)

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor,

Greetings:

The New Orleans Convention honored us by unanimous election as Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, which Congress met in Belfast, Ireland, Monday, September 2, 1929, and continued until Friday evening, September 6. In conformity with law we are presenting our report to your Honorable Body.

**Appreciation:** In the very inception we wish to acknowledge the distinct honor conferred on us and for which we now return our thanks, but we were never unmindful of the fact that this honor carried with it a responsibility, a responsibility we endeavored to discharge to the best of our ability.

**Membership, Delegates, Unions, Groups and General Council:** We found that there were 3,673,144 men and women holding membership in the British Trade Union Movement and who were represented in the Congress by 592 delegates. This membership is made up of 202 Unions, and, for legislative purposes, these 202 Unions are divided into 18 Groups. Each Group elects its own representative or representatives on the General Council, the number of representatives for each Group varying from one (1) to four (4), making a total membership on the General Council of Thirty-two (32).

**Convention Hall:** The seating arrangement in the convention hall was worked out on a chart and so designed that the delegates from the various Groups were seated together, thereby enabling them to confer with one another conveniently. This also served the purpose of distinguishing those of one group from that of another.

**Opening:** The Congress was opened much the same as our own conventions. Addresses of welcome were delivered by Sir William F. Coates, the Lord Mayor of Belfast; Councillor Dawson Gordon of the Belfast Labor Council, and others. They were responded to by the Chairman of the congress, Mr. Ben Tillett, who presided over all of its sessions.

**A Clearer Picture:** In order to give a clearer picture of this Group arrangement it is well to present a tabulated statement outlining the number by which each group is known, the title of each, the number of unions holding membership in each, the number of delegates representing the various groups, as well as the membership of each group, the number of members on the General Council representing each group, and this we give thus:

No. of Group	Title of Each Group	No. of Unions	No. of Delegates	Membership of each Group	Members on General Council
1	Mining and Quarrying	8	126	631,631	3
2	Railways	3	23	411,878	3
3	Transport (and other railways)	7	48	315,144	2
4	Shipbuilding	3	4	75,510	1
5	Engineering, Founding and Vehicle Building	25	48	329,688	3
6	Iron and Steel and Minor Metal Trades	21	26	115,100	2
7	Building, Woodworking and Furnishing	17	40	341,378	2
8	Printing and Paper	12	22	135,976	1
9	Cotton	44	82	287,381	2
10	Textiles (other than cotton)	18	27	160,810	1
11	Clothing	8	16	84,734	1
12	Leather and Boot and Shoe	5	17	87,838	1
13	Glass, Pottery, Chemicals, Food, etc.	16	34	199,782	1
14	Agriculture	1	4	30,000	1
15	Public Employees	4	8	25,254	1
16	Non-manual Workers	6	13	58,021	1
17	General Workers	4	54	383,019	4
18	Women Workers	—	—	—	2
		202	592	3,673,144	32

**Reports, Resolutions and Chairman's Address:** The Report of the General Council consisted of 217 printed pages, wherein the Council gave a review of 293 subjects. In addition to the report of the Council there were 46 Resolutions presented to the Congress for consideration and action, while the address of the Chairman occupied 11 closely printed pages. This outline will give the reader a rather comprehensive idea of the many subjects occupying the attention of the Congress.

**Preparation of Our Report:** It is impossible for us to even refer to most of the subjects brought to the attention of the Congress, nor can we deal at length with any subject. The difficulty confronting us in making this report will be appreciated when you realize that the printed proceedings of the Congress occupy 509 pages, or 150 pages more than the proceedings of the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, space, time, judgment and the patience of those who may read this report must be given due consideration in its preparation.

**Relations With Russia:** The Congress adopted a resolution reading—"That this British Trades Union Congress, representing approximately 4,000,000 organized workers, views with anxiety the trade depression in the staple industries of the nation, and, having regard to the vast potentialities for trade between this country and Russia, urges upon His Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to secure the resumption of diplomatic relations between Russia and this country, believing that such action would stimulate trade and thus secure the placing of orders in this country for the products of those industries, thereby alleviating unemployment. Further, that the Trades Facilities Act should be re-enacted and extended to British-Russian trade."

**Unemployment:** This is the big problem in England and this will be all the more appreciated when it is understood that there were an average of 1,339,906 unemployed between January 1 and April 8 of this year, this being the latest information available. This number registered at Employment Exchanges. The new Labor Government is expected to solve this problem. While many suggestions are being presented, no real and lasting remedy has so far been found and the situation is truly alarming. Some of the remedies offered are: Keep children in school for a longer period; retire on pension persons who reach the age of 65; the government furnish funds to enable idle people to emigrate by groups; orders for government and municipal supplies be placed in the home country; trade facilities re-instituted under more liberal conditions; export credits increased; the Government to finance important national schemes; rationalization of industries hastened.

**Mond-Turner Conferences:** On November 23, 1927, Sir Alfred Mond, now known as Lord Melchett, along with a group of thirty (30) other influential industrialists, invited the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress to a conference in order to discuss industrial conditions. The invitation was accepted and their first meeting was held January 12, 1928. Mr. Ben Turner was then Chairman of the General Council, hence the name Mond-Turner Conferences. Many meetings have been held and several recommendations have been presented, but, so far as we were able to learn, few have been put into effect. Their reports, however, are worthy of close scrutiny and further efforts closely noted. They are considering all phases of industrial conditions, including rationalization, and rationalization has been defined to mean "the methods of technique and of organization de-

signed to secure the minimum waste of either effort or material. It includes the scientific organization of labor, standardization both of material and of products, simplification of processes, and improvements in the system of transport and marketing". The results of the conferences occupied considerable time at the Belfast Congress, a resolution being offered authorizing that they be discontinued. The resolution was defeated and the conferences shall go on, and we suggest the advisability of keeping in touch with additional developments.

**Industrial Unionism:** It will be of interest to our readers to learn that Mr. A. J. Cook of the Miners' Federation presented a resolution to the Congress reading: "This Congress instructs the General Council to appoint a committee to deal with the question of reorganization in the principal industries on the basis of one union for each industry." The debate on this subject was animated and occupied considerable time. The resolution was defeated by a rather small vote, it being 1,668,000 in favor to 1,923,000 against the proposal. The temper of the Congress suggested that the proposition would be adopted, but the vote was as herein given.

**The Daily Herald:** This is a daily paper owned and controlled by the trade union movement. A scarcity of funds has resulted in the influence of the paper being restricted, so a plan of refinancing the paper was considered at an executive session of the Congress. Indications were that an important announcement will soon be forthcoming which will serve to enlarge the possibilities and influence of this publication, while the majority of stock will be held by outsiders. It is understood that the labor policy of the paper will be continued.

**Labor Government:** The spirit of the Congress indicated that the workers, as a rule, were very agreeable to biding their time without any serious complaints being registered until the Labor Government shall have an opportunity to place their house in order. Once that period is passed, the new government will be expected to solve the many perplexing problems confronting the English working people, and we in America may do well to be close observers of what transpires during the immediate future, as it is just possible that accomplishments will not measure up to the expectations of those who pin their faith in the Labor Government and look to it for results that may prove impossible of accomplishment.

**How Legislation Is Considered:** The Congress does not refer the report of the General Council to committees, like we do, but all items in the report as well as all resolutions introduced in the Congress are considered in the Congress proper. Each delegate is furnished with a copy of the report of the General Council, copy of the agenda, and copies of all resolutions. The Chairman calls the different items by number, and any delegate wishing to discuss a given subject proceeds to the front of the hall and enters a pulpit. From this

pulpit he speaks. In front of the person in the pulpit is an electric light with a red bulb. This light is controlled by the presiding officer or his timekeeper, and when the speaker has about consumed his allotted time the light is flashed and remains lighted until he concludes. The rule provides that the mover of a motion is granted 10 minutes, while all others are limited to 5 minutes.

**Ability of the Delegates:** We were impressed with the ability of the delegates. They are well versed, excellent speakers and splendid reasoners. Their logic and their method of approach to their problems make clear that they have studied their subjects, this being more noticeable in the British Trades Union Congress than in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. The regrettable thing, however, and which we do not understand, is why, with their able men, they have not made greater progress in securing higher wages and many of the other comforts of life that we enjoy in the United States and Canada. Can it be that their time and energy have been too closely wrapped up in the political affairs of their government, and that they fail to apply their energies and their abilities on the economic field to the extent they should?

**Method of Voting:** All their ballots are secret. In this way they elect the General Council, and in this way they take their votes on subjects that call for division.

**Their Happy Mood:** It seemed that those comprising the Congress were possessed with exceptional happy dispositions. They are real community singers. They sang before the Congress opened, and remained singing, led by Chairman Tillet, for an hour before it closed. They do not seem to take life as seriously as we do.

**Other Fraternal Delegates:** There were five other Fraternal Delegates, they being: J. W. Buckley of the Brotherhood of Railway Car-men, who represented the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress; V. R. Kalappa, representing the All-India Trade Union Congress; John Sassenbach, representing the International Federation of Trade Unions; W. J. McGuffin, representing the Cooperative Union, and J. Compton, representing the Labor Party. Luis N. Morones, who was to represent the Mexican Confederation of Labor, was unable to attend, due to illness.

**Our Addresses:** Each of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor addressed the Congress. Our addresses are recorded on pages 351 to 357 of the proceedings. In the course of our talks we referred to injunctions, child labor, convict labor, workmen's compensation, high wages, prohibition, communism, more time being allotted to our representatives to address the Congress, the freedom of the seas, labor banking, machinery in industry, education, inventions, mass production, and universal peace. Our addresses were printed verbatim.

**Conclusion:** It was an interesting and instructive week that we spent in Belfast. We formed acquaintances and friendships of many of the representative men of the labor movement, and we aimed to conduct ourselves in a manner that would reflect credit on the men and women who honored us when we were chosen to be your Fraternal Delegates.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM J. ROONEY,  
WILLIAM P. CLARKE.

President Green: This report will become a part of the proceedings of today's session.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

One of the greatest problems of our time is to make the law of the land a more truly social science. This involves making legal doctrine and judicial procedure more responsive to new conditions of life. With reference to our trade unions, employment relations and industrial disputes, there is an ever-growing understanding and a nation-wide insistence that our courts are not in harmony with economic realities and that labor organizations and trade unions must be allowed liberty to pursue ends and to employ means which under an older economy were considered illegitimate, but which under present industrial conditions are rendered inevitable and imperative as a means of protecting the workers' interests. The community of interest on the part of the wage earners has been increasing by leaps and bounds. It is greater today than ever heretofore, yet we find limitations imposed that were conceived and applied under an older and fast-disappearing order. Indeed, we find these limitations extended in character, application and severeness. These limitations are imposed by means of the "Conspiracy" doctrine, which in itself must be removed if the wage earners are to be allowed freedom to solve present-day problems of life and living. It is therefore imperative that wage earners should be protected through their trade unions and that they be exempted from the "conspiracy" doctrine and restraints placed upon them through the Sherman, Clayton and other like anti-combination laws. It is essential that the wage earners and their trade unions be accorded like exemption, encouragement and support now given to the farmers and their associations. In response to this need and in keeping with declarations and decisions of former conventions of the American

Federation of Labor, the Executive Council has under consideration and will cause a legislative proposal to be presented to the United States Congress having for its purpose the amending or repeal or both of the Sherman, Clayton and like restrictive laws or such parts thereof as a further study of this subject will warrant.

What is true of the conspiracy doctrine is true of the interpretation of property and property rights. There is everywhere a growing concern for the under-privileged—the unpossessed, and which concern is deep-rooted and soundly based on a long record of social injustice. It is freely conceded that injunctions may be wisely used for protection of certain forms of tangible property under exceptional circumstances. Objections are not urged against the use of injunctions for extremely essential and practical purposes and under such safeguards and procedure as will not infringe upon the personal rights and liberties of man and as guaranteed protection by the constitutional requirements of the land. We do hold and insist that the injunction process and the restraints not only made possible thereunder but enforced almost exclusively against labor were never intended to apply to trade unions, employment relations and industrial disputes. We question seriously the constitutional power of both Congress and the judiciary to define labor and employment relations in such a way as to make free labor state-regulated or subjected labor. We protest against the use of such definitions for the purpose of bringing labor, employment and industrial relations under the power granted to Congress to regulate interstate commerce, and under guise of such definition place labor, the service of free men, under the same restraints and limitations as well as under the same classification as articles of trade to be bargained for in like principles and practices as commodities of commerce. Under such strained definition and construction both the reserved constitutional rights of all American freemen as well as powers exclusively delegated to our several state governments may be trespassed upon, limited or denied at any time and at will by those temporarily in governmental authority.

In full accord with previous declarations of conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the subjects of freedom from the conspiracy doctrine and the injunction writ in labor disputes, the Executive Council,

through its president, directed the appointment of a special committee to study all legislative proposals submitted and to review former decisions and legislative measures heretofore approved, to the end that some practical yet sound legislative measure might be formulated and advanced and which would offer the opportunity for early enactment into law. This committee consisted of Matthew Woll, John P. Frey and Victor Olander. It devoted considerable time to a study of this subject and consideration of all factors involved. It was assisted in its efforts by men of eminence and prominence in the legal profession. It is with the further consideration and approval of the Executive Council we herewith submit for your approval a legislative proposal which it is firmly believed will effectually solve the problems herein referred to, and that, if and when enacted into law, will establish such equality of freedom in our industrial life and industrial relations as to accord to the wage earners of America full protection of and in their rights, and to afford them, through their trade unions, like opportunity of conserving and advancing their community of interest as now accorded to the farmers of our land through their associated effort and in support of which our national government has been prompted to add other helpful and valuable considerations.

#### A BILL

To amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

That no court of the United States, as herein defined, shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except in strict conformity with the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. In the interpretation of this Act and in determining the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States, as such jurisdiction and authority are herein defined and limited, the public policy of the United States is hereby declared as follows:

Whereas, under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for owners of property to organize in the corporate and other forms of ownership association, the unorganized workers are commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty

of contract and to protect their freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms of employment and conditions of labor, wherefore it is necessary that they have full freedom of trade union organization association, and the designation of their representatives to negotiate terms of employment and conditions of labor, and that they shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; therefore, the following definition of, and limitations upon, the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States are hereby enacted:

SEC. 3. Every undertaking or promise, such as is described in this section, and every undertaking or promise contrary to the public policy declared in Section 2 of this Act, are hereby declared to be contrary to public policy and wholly void, and shall not be enforceable and shall not afford any basis for the granting of legal or equitable relief to any person by any court of the United States, including specifically the following:

Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, express or implied, constituting or contained in any contract or agreement of hiring or employment between any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation, and employe or prospective employe of the same, whereby—

(a) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises not to join, become, or remain a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers; or

(b) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from an employment relation in the event that he joins, becomes, or remains a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization.

SEC. 4. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in cases involving or growing out of any labor dispute to prohibit any person or persons from doing, whether singly or in concert, any of the following acts:

(a) Ceasing or refusing to perform any work or to remain in any relation of employment;

(aa) Ceasing, failing or refusing to work upon, handle or use any product or material made or produced, in whole or in part, by non-union

labor or by a rival labor union, irrespective of whether such material has been shipped in interstate commerce;

(aaa) Ceasing or refusing to patronize or employ any person participating and/or interested in a labor dispute, or any other person whatsoever, regardless of whether he stands in the relation of employer and employee or is participating and/or interested in a labor dispute;

(b) Becoming or remaining a member of any labor organization or of any organization of employers, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in Section 3 of this Act;

(c) Paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person or persons any strike or unemployment benefits or insurance or other moneys or things of value;

(d) Aiding any person or persons in any labor dispute who is or are being proceeded against in, or is or are prosecuting, any action or suit in any court of the United States or of any state;

(e) Giving publicity to the existence of, or the facts involved in, any labor dispute, whether by advertising, speaking, patrolling, or by any other method not involving fraud or physical violence;

(f) Assembling to act or to organize to act in promotion of their interests in a labor dispute;

(g) Advising or notifying persons of an intention to do any of the acts heretofore specified;

(h) Agreeing with other persons to do or not to do any of the acts heretofore specified; and

(i) Advising, urging, or otherwise causing or inducing without fraud or physical violence the acts heretofore specified, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in Section 3 of this Act;

(j) Nor shall any of the acts described in this section be considered or held to be unlawful acts.

SEC. 5. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction upon the ground that any of the persons participating and/or interested in a labor dispute constitute or are engaged in any unlawful combination or conspiracy because of the doing in concert of the acts enumerated in Section 4 of this Act.

SEC. 6. No officer or member of any association or organization, and no association or

organization participating and/or interested in a labor dispute, shall be held responsible or liable in any court of the United States for the unlawful acts of individual officers, members, or agents, except upon clear proof of actual participation in or actual authorization of such acts, or of ratification of such acts after actual knowledge thereof.

SEC. 7. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a temporary or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, as herein defined, except after hearing the testimony of witnesses in open court (with opportunities for cross-examination) in support of the allegations of a complaint made under oath, and testimony in opposition thereto, if the defendant or defendants elect to introduce such testimony, and except after finding of facts by the court to the effect—

(a) That unlawful acts have been committed and will be continued unless restrained; and

(b) That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow; and

(c) That complainant has no adequate remedy at law; and

(d) That the public officers charged with the duty to protect complainant's property are unable or unwilling to furnish adequate protection.

Such hearing shall be held after due and personal notice thereof has been given, in such manner as the court shall direct, to all known persons against whom relief is sought; provided, however, that if a complainant shall also allege that, unless a restraining order shall be issued without notice, a substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will be unavoidable, such a restraining order may be issued upon testimony under oath sufficient, if sustained, to justify the court in issuing a temporary injunction upon a hearing after notice. Such a restraining order shall be effective for no longer than five days, and shall become void at the expiration of said five days. No restraining order or temporary injunction shall be issued except on condition that complainant shall first file an undertaking with adequate surety sufficient to recompense those restrained or enjoined for any loss, expense, or damage caused by the improvident or erroneous issuance of such restraining order or injunction, including all reasonable costs (together with a reasonable attorney's fee), and expense of defense against the order or against



the granting of any injunctive relief sought in the same proceeding and subsequently denied by the court. The undertaking herein mentioned shall be understood to signify an agreement entered into by the complainant and the surety upon which a decree may be rendered in the same suit or proceeding against said complainant and surety, the said complainant and surety submitting themselves to the jurisdiction of the court for that purpose. But nothing herein contained shall deprive any party having a claim or cause of action under or upon such undertaking from electing to pursue his ordinary remedy by suit at law or in equity.

SEC. 7a. No restraining order or injunctive relief shall be granted to any complainant who has failed to comply with any obligation imposed by law which is involved in the labor dispute in question, or who has failed to make every reasonable effort to settle such dispute.

SEC. 7b. No restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction shall be granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except on the basis of findings of fact made and filed by the court in the record of the case prior to the issuance of such restraining order or injunction, which order or injunction shall not be granted in violation or disregard of any provision of this Act; and every restraining order or injunction granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute shall include only a prohibition of such specific act or acts as may be expressly complained of in the bill of complaint or petition filed in such case and as shall be expressly included in said findings of fact made and filed by the court as provided herein.

SEC. 7c. Whenever any court of the United States shall issue or deny any temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, the court shall, upon the request of any party to the proceedings, forthwith certify the entire record of the case, including a transcript of the evidence taken, to the Circuit Court of Appeals for its review. Upon the filing of such record in the Circuit Court of Appeals, the appeal shall be heard and the order or decree affirmed, modified, or set aside with the greatest possible expedition, giving the proceeding precedence over all other matters except older matters of the same character.

SEC. 8. In all cases where a person shall be charged with contempt for violation of a restraining order or injunction issued by a

court of the United States in cases involving or growing out of a labor dispute (as herein defined), the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed; provided that this requirement shall not be construed to apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the administration of justice, or to apply to the misbehavior, misconduct or disobedience of any officer of the court in respect to the writs, orders, or process of the court.

SEC. 8a. Any restraining order or injunction heretofore issued or granted in contravention of the provisions of this Act is hereby declared to be null and void and of no effect.

SEC. 9. When used in this Act, and for the purposes of this Act—

(a) A case shall be held to involve or to grow out of a labor dispute if the case involves persons who are engaged, either as employer or employee, in the same industry, trade, craft or occupation; or who are employees of the same employer; or who are members of the same organization of employers or employees; or who are members of several organizations of employers or employees engaged in the same general industry, project, undertaking or activity; or who are members of an organization composed of representatives of several organizations of employers or employees; whether such dispute is (1) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employees or associations of employees; or (2) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employees or associations of employees; or (3) between one or more employees or associations of employees and one or more employers or associations of employees.

(b) Persons shall be held to be participating and/or interested in a labor dispute if relief is sought against them and they are engaged either as employer or employee in the same industry, trade, craft or occupation in which such dispute occurs, or are employees of the same employer; or are members, officers or agents of any association of employers or employees engaged in such industry, trade, craft or occupation; or are members, officers or agents of several organizations of employers or employees engaged in the same general industry, project, undertaking or activity; or who are members, officers, or agents of an

organization composed of representatives of several organizations of employers or employees.

(c) The term "labor dispute" includes any controversy concerning terms of employment or conditions of labor, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing, or seeking to arrange terms of employment or conditions of labor, or concerning employment relations, or any other controversy arising out of the respective interests of employer and employee, regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee.

(d) The term "court of the United States" means any court of the United States whose jurisdiction has been or may be conferred or defined or limited by Act of Congress.

(e) The term "persons" shall be held to include all persons, associations or corporations, and the singular thereof.

SEC. 10. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of such provisions to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 11. All Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to define and limit the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, and for other purposes."

In urging approval of the foregoing draft of Bill, the Executive Council is mindful that further discussion and legislative considerations may require amendment or alteration to some extent. In thus approving this proposed legislative measure it is suggested that the Executive Council be clothed with authority to make such future changes, alterations or additions as in its judgment future developments and requirements may demand.

The Executive Council is of the firm conviction that no subject presented or problem dealt with is of greater importance to the wage earners and to the trade unions of America. Thus every other activity should and must be subordinated to this undertaking; plans must be formulated at once and movements started that will arouse such impressive attention to this most grievous complaint of Labor as to prompt the United States Congress to act promptly, adequately and without equivocation. Our purpose should and must be that

Congress clearly and in unmistakable language and legislation shall manifest its regard for and interest in the rights of Labor to organize, to federate and by collective action to protect and promote Labor's community of interest, and by that method and procedure usher in a better, fairer and more wholesome industrial order and industrial relationship.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
President.  
FRANK DUFFY,  
First Vice-President.  
T. A. RICKERT,  
Second Vice-President.  
MATTHEW WOLL,  
Third Vice-President.  
JAMES WILSON,  
Fourth Vice-President.  
JAMES P. NOONAN,  
Fifth Vice-President.  
JOHN COEFIELD,  
Sixth Vice-President.  
ARTHUR O. WHARTON,  
Seventh Vice-President.  
JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
Eighth Vice-President.  
MARTIN F. RYAN,  
Treasurer.  
FRANK MORRISON,  
Secretary.  
Executive Council,  
American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate McNally, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows: We have a partial report to submit, and will report first on the sections of the Report of the Executive Council referred to this committee.

##### Organization Work

During the past year, the Federation's organization work was concentrated in three regions: the textile mills of the South, the oil fields of the Southwest, and rehabilitation of conditions for the unions in the garment industry in New York City.

Your committee congratulates the American Federation of Labor on the organizing work done during the year, and urges that it be continued more intensively during the coming year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Oil Fields in the Southwest

Unions in this section of the oil industry suffered a severe set-back after the World War. The officers of the Oil Workers' Union, which still held gains in California, asked for aid in a campaign to regain lost ground. This is an industry that has earned fabulous for-

tunes for many, but it wants to work its employes twelve hours a day for such niggardly wages that men cannot afford wives and families. In addition to sending organizers to help in the campaign, the Federation prepared special literature for the workers in this industry.

Twelve new local unions have been organized and the membership of the International more than doubled.

Your committee congratulates the American Federation of Labor on the work done and gains made in the Oil Fields of the Southwest during the past year and urges that it be continued until this industry is completely organized.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### New York Needle Trades

The Federation has given active support to the constructive efforts which unions in the needle trades in New York are making to regain former conditions in this industry. Due to situations in the industry and to a disruptive element among the garment workers, the needle industry has been going backward to a return of sweatshop conditions. Results of this work are now apparent. The fur workers now have the best conditions that have ever existed in the fur industry, and the women's garment unions have established joint machinery whereby constructive standards can be established and maintained.

By the rehabilitation of these unions we have established bulwarks against destructive forces.

Your committee concurs in the work done in the Needle Trades of New York City and urges its continuance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Awakening South

An outstanding labor development of the year is the awakening of the South. It came in a spontaneous revolt. For the past thirty years the American Federation of Labor and the United Textile Workers have been trying to organize Southern textile workers. Some results of this work were shown in scattered organizations, but it was not until the stretch-out system lashed their sense of justice into action that they realized the need of unionism. Strikes in textile mills have not been uncommon, but this movement was different. It was general throughout the industry. Aggressive revolts occurred in Elizabethton, Tennessee, several cities in South Carolina, Georgia and North Carolina. The initiative to action came from the textile operatives. The Federation responded to their call for help by sending organizers to help direct efforts along constructive lines and by appeals for financial assistance from all unions.

Industrialization has progressed more slowly in the South than in most of the other sections of the United States. Unions had been

generally formed in the printing and building trades and some other handicrafts. Such unions dealt largely with local companies and managements. With the industrialization of the South by textile, steel, tobacco, power, paper, furniture and other industries, has come the problem of dealing with large corporations, absentee capital, holding companies, mill villages, and related problems. Progress in power transmission has been followed by wider distribution of factories and has opened up factory employment to workers from agricultural and mountain districts. Thus the great majority of textile operatives in the South are persons not only with no union background but with no industrial experience or standards.

In a number of cases the company made an agreement with a committee of its employes. As these committees consisted mainly of leaders of new unions, the result was definite progress. These workers in the South are poor and they have suffered much by the recent strikes. It will take time to develop self-supporting unions. Responsibility of establishing higher wages and better conditions of employment must rest with national and international trade unions. The Federation can assist and has assisted with organizing literature, information, organizers, and suggestions. Upon national and international trade unions and local labor organizations must rest chief responsibility for sustained work.

It is a most opportune time for all organizations to strengthen their unions in the South. The development of unions simultaneously with further industrialization of the South will assure sounder, better balanced progress. Permanent progress cannot be built up on low wages, long hours, and special concessions. The South has raw materials, American workers, power resources, and a need for more industries. But unless these industries are prepared to give a square deal to workers they are not only pillaging the resources of the South but are sowing the seeds of class conflict in most dangerous soil. The Southern worker will not meekly bear injustice when experience teaches him standards of justice.

We urge all organizations to include in their organizing plans for the coming year definite provisions for work in the South.

Organizing work in the South cannot stop until all industries are thoroughly organized.

Your committee concurs in the request of the Executive Council that all organizations, whether or not directly interested, take an active part in the work of organizing the South during the coming year and co-operate with the American Federation of Labor to that end.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Organizing Methods

Where unions undertake definite organizing work their first question is, How shall we do it? Increasingly, there is appreciation of the importance of planning methods to suit locality, industry and prevailing conditions. Discour-

agement has often followed the use of wrong methods, whereas right methods and conditions result in new unions and increases in memberships.

In many localities of the North and Middle Atlantic and East Central states mass meetings are no longer an effective method, whereas in Southern communities they are a necessary part of all organizing work. Where mass meetings are not effective, the most successful way of interesting non-unionists has been distribution of literature as workers go to work. In a number of places organizers have been on the job at four, five and six o'clock in the morning, even during the winter months.

Philadelphia and Portland have used the method of meetings of paid representatives of unions to stimulate these responsible agents.

Los Angeles mapped out the city into districts, mobilized union members in teams for each district. Each team divided itself into five sections, each section to visit non-unionists one night each week. Card reports of all persons visited were sent to the Central Labor Union office, giving names, addresses, trades of persons visited, with suggestions for follow up. Cards of good prospects were then turned over to the appropriate union representative.

A number of places reported social features in their campaigns. Savannah had a spring festival which served a double purpose—pleasure and financial. A number of central labor unions and local unions have had social meetings, musical entertainments and educational features to interest members and non-members. Women's auxiliaries have played an important part in the social events of some unions.

Four states have reported state-wide campaigns. Two of these were educational in character. Ohio undertook a state-wide program of forums for central labor unions to study trade union principles and policies. The oil workers in the Southwest provided educational opportunities for the executives of its new unions so that they might be familiar with the principles of unionism and thus able to help in organizing work.

Unions undertaking organizing work should make careful study of methods before deciding their plans and should just as carefully evaluate results so as to check up on their application. Organizing work will always be successful if efficient methods are used in the most intelligent, efficient manner. We urge all individuals and unions to keep careful records of methods, and report experience with such methods to the American Federation of Labor for publication in THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST in order that the whole movement may profit by their experience.

Your committee is pleased to learn of the methods used by City Central and State bodies in their organizing campaigns during the past year and the results gained therefrom. This work should not cease now, but should continue with unabated zeal and energy until every person eligible is within the folds of the organized Labor movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Organization Progress

Not since war years has there been manifested such a spirit of interest and activity in the labor movement. The past ten years has been a period of remarkable change in industry, which has meant a degree of uncertainty to wage earners, retarding union growth. The fear of losing a job, the necessity of finding new employment, failure to appreciate the value of organization in solving their problems, and above all the painstaking, aggressive and elaborate efforts of industrial corporations to devise substitutes for standard trade unions, were manifest handicaps to the growth of the union movement.

However, the elements of the new era are now taking definite form so that we no longer have to contend with fear of the unknown. We know that technical change is a thing to be expected in any industry at any time and that organized workers are in a better position to plan against the serious hardships that technical change and displacement bring to wage earners. There is a developing sense of responsibility on the part of industry for the welfare of those who give their personal resources to production. This is manifest in the efforts of industries to regularize employment. The whole business world is reaching that degree of interrelation in organization that brings appreciation of interdependence of interests and the function of consumers in maintaining the equilibrium necessary to business prosperity. The background of economic thought brings out clearly that real partnership should exist between groups engaged in production and the service which trade unions can perform in developing the method and spirit of partnership. It is only organization of workers that can use this opportunity to develop the constructive spirit of partnership and thus avert the impasse which results in class conflict between workers and management.

Development of satisfactory human relations in industry has not kept pace with progress on the material and technical sides. Industry is just beginning to realize the waste from not co-ordinating the full creative power of wage earners into the channels of thought control that constitute management in industry. The elimination of this waste of human intelligence will make it possible to gear industry to new standards of output and excellence of work.

But a more vital consideration is involved in the organization of wage earners than business prosperity, essential as that is to human welfare. There are involved the development of human personality, opportunity for continued growth, and the highest personal development of the masses of men, women and children living north of the Mexican boundary. Trade unionism enables the workers to reach and travel that road which leads to responsible freedom. Along this road workers march side by side with management to higher levels of endeavor and achievement. Organization of workers in unions is the first step toward this ideal of working together for the promotion of joint interests instead of conflict between

groups or arbitrary authority imposed by management, and is the ideal which guides the American Federation of Labor in our efforts to spread the gospel of trade unionism.

The extension of unionism cannot be accomplished at the will of the organizers. Workers must be convinced that the step is for their own best interests and they must be willing to take it. Joining a union means accepting a responsibility as well as an opportunity that revolutionizes life. Constructive organizing work brings in converts who become dependable members of union organizations. These new members must learn how a union works as well as their own duties as union members.

Your committee fully concurs in the report of the Executive Council on this matter. Organization of workers is the first step towards their betterment. They must be shown the advantages to be gained through combined and united effort and action. They must be taught the necessity of Trade Unionism, so that once within our ranks they may remain loyal and faithful members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Union Progress

Reports from central labor unions and district organizers show that the Double Union Membership campaign has brought substantial results.

We heard from 235 cities, representing probably well over half the membership of the Federation. In 149, or 63 per cent., of these cities organizing work was carried on and brought real gains in the strength of the labor movement. In nearly all cases there were substantial gains in membership. The campaign also brought lasting results in a closer knitting together of the labor groups; better affiliation with central bodies; reorganization of groups that were not functioning; new unions organized; better co-operation of all unions in organizing work and other additions to advance the cause of Labor; more friendly feeling in the community.

These campaigns did not depend for success on help from international or American Federation of Labor organizers, although outside officers co-operated in many cases. The initiative to start the campaign, the constructive ideas which brought results and the steady, persistent effort which carried it through all came from the local groups, with only occasional assistance. This year's results show the quality of our local leadership.

Your committee is pleased to learn that the slogan inaugurated at our last convention in New Orleans in November, 1928, to Double Union Membership and put into effect by City Central and State Bodies has brought substantial results. We urge that these campaigns continue even more vigorously during the coming year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Central Labor Unions

We had reports from 136 cities covering 925,899 members, nearly one-third of the membership of the Federation. In 87, or 64 per cent., campaigns for membership or special organizing work were carried on. Of these 87 campaigns, only 8 failed to bring definite gains; the 87 cities showed a total increase in membership of 33,715. In the other 49 cities, where no campaigns were carried on, there were losses in membership in some cases, and on the whole the membership records for cities not carrying on special organizing work show a decline of 2,333 since last year. The net gain for all cities reporting for both years is 31,382.

Central bodies have also gained in affiliation this year. The 123 cities reporting affiliation for both years showed 136 more locals affiliated this year than last, an increase of 5 per cent. In all, 3,067 locals were affiliated and 829 had not yet affiliated with central bodies.

Your committee congratulates Central Labor Unions for the gains in membership during the past year and urges that these organization campaigns be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### District Organizers

A very important part of the active organizing work was carried on by the Federation volunteer organizers. We had reports from 155 organizers in 102 cities. In 50 cities they report new unions organized. There were 90 new unions in these cities, with a total membership of 26,451. Taking the new unions reported by central bodies, but not by organizers, we find in addition 94 unions organized this year, or a total of 184. Membership is not given for these 94.

The organizers also report 77 cities where unions increased their membership. In these cities 272 unions added 24,805 members. Thirty-one other unions also increased membership, but gave no figures, making a total of 303.

The Federation deeply appreciates the faithful services given by volunteer organizers.

Your committee concurs with the Executive Council in appreciation of the faithful services of the volunteer organizers. They are doing a noble work, for which they get little recompense and less thanks. They are at least entitled to our thanks for the service they render.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada and the Secretary of Labor of the United States are ready to enter the hall and I ask the committees to escort them to the platform.

When the speakers had reached the platform, President Green said: We are very happy to

have with us this morning the Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada, and the Secretary of Labor of the United States of America. They come to us this morning in response to our invitation to address the convention. I know that each of them will bring to us a message of very great interest and of inspiration. Brother Heenan—I think I can call him brother—the Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada, has long been associated with the problems of labor in relation to the problems of administration and of government. Because of his long association with labor and the work of labor, he is eminently fitted to speak to us as an authority and as an expert upon these problems.

We are indeed fortunate in that we have the representatives of the two governments serving in these positions so closely related to labor and its work. We always feel happy if we are privileged to have one such representative attend our convention; we are doubly honored this morning because we have two, one from the Dominion of Canada and the other from the United States of America. First of all I want to present to you the Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada, Mr. Heenan, who will now address you.

#### HONORABLE PETER HEENAN

(Minister of Labor of the Dominion of Canada)

Mr. President and Friends: You have had the welcome of the city of Toronto extended to you by His Worship the Mayor and you have had the welcome of the Province extended to you by the Minister of Labor for the Province, Dr. Godfrey. It is a great pleasure to me as the Minister of the Federal Government to extend to the delegates and officers of the American Federation of Labor a welcome to Canada. I also want to say what a great pleasure it is to meet for the first time your President, Mr. Green, and to extend to him a personal welcome to Canada. It is a great pleasure, too, for me to have the honor and opportunity of extending to one of labor's great friends, in the person of the Secretary of Labor of the United States, Mr. Davis, a welcome to the Dominion of Canada.

The great work that has been and is being accomplished by organized labor throughout the world is receiving more recognition every day. The fact that we have people in all the countries that are working in the interest of humanity seems to be catching hold of the public all over the world. Their work is not only recognized as in the interest of humanity, but it is coming to be realized that it is in the interest of the nation as a whole. We have recently had the endorsement of such a body of men in Great Britain. Your work on the American side is becoming more and more recognized, not only by the people, but by the

government of the United States, and your brothers here in Canada are making real progress.

Canada, as you know, is a young country yet as the lives of nations go, and with only about ten millions of a population. The labor organizations of Canada are doing a wonderful work in the interests of Canada and in the interests of the nation as a whole.

One thing that we in Canada have that is an advantage is that we are as yet but a young nation; we are undeveloped, practically speaking, and if we will we can avoid the mistakes that have been made by older countries. One of the mistakes that have been made by older nations is to develop their countries in such a way that at times hundreds, yes, thousands, of men and women are unemployed. One advantage we have over other countries is to be able to avoid that mistake. If we follow the advice of the labor organizations of Canada, I am satisfied that in years to come we will not have the spectacle of thousands of men and women unemployed in this country.

Leaving aside altogether the factory laws, safety laws, and many other things of that kind that have been accomplished by organized labor in Canada, we can take three or four pieces of legislation which the Trades and Labor Congress and the labor men of Canada are entitled to credit for. You all know that less than fifteen years ago when a man in Canada was injured, possibly crippled for life, the only recourse he had to be compensated was to take his employer to the courts. We all know what that means.

I do not want to go into details in this matter, but in the event a man was killed the only recourse his widow had was to take the employer to the courts, and she had to prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the employer was directly and solely responsible for the accident which killed her husband. She had to produce fellow-workmen as witnesses to say that the employer had a knowledge that the machinery which caused the accident was defective and that it had been reported to him. You all know now that when a man stood in court and gave such evidence he was discriminated against in his position.

To-day the Workmen's Compensation Law is working to the advantage of the workmen in all the Provinces. In Ontario last year they paid out nearly \$7,000,000 to injured workmen and their dependents. We also put through the Mothers' Allowances Act, commonly called the widows' allowances, in the Province of Ontario. Practically all the Provinces are adopting the same principle. This Act in Ontario is taking care of 14,000 children and 7,000 mothers today. Practically the same thing prevails in the other Provinces.

The minimum wage for women and girls is provided for. The women and girls in Canada are not organizing as they are in other countries, and therefore they are not protected to the same extent. They tell me the reason they do not join labor organizations in Canada is because the men marry so much more frequently and they know they will not long be working for a living, except at housekeeping.



Two years ago we placed on the statute books of Canada what, to my mind, is one of the finest pieces of legislation on the statute books of any country in the world—a provision for old age pensions. For the information of you American brothers, let me say that the care of the aged and all this kind of legislation is a matter for provincial or, as you would call it, state legislation. But the Federal Parliament, realizing that it would be too great a burden for any one Province, and realizing the fact that if one Province put it into effect without the others doing likewise there would naturally be a rush of old people into the Provinces that were paying old age pensions, passed a law which provided that any Province that would accept this plan would receive from the Federal Government fifty per cent of the cost. It was prophesied at that time by many who were, in my opinion, opposed to old age pensions of any kind that there would not be one Province that would accept it. I am glad to report that, notwithstanding that prophecy and notwithstanding the fact that it has only been on the Dominion statute books for two years, a majority of the Provinces in Canada are paying old age pensions today. Five Provinces have accepted and signed agreements with the Dominion, three others have signified a willingness to discuss it, and I am satisfied that once they get to discussing it they will see that the old pioneers who did the work of this country will not be thrown on the scrap heap in their declining years.

We have in Canada a fair wage, or a prevailing wage, clause in public contracts. That is due to organized labor. As an administrator of that particular clause I am given an opportunity of viewing the conditions of labor throughout Canada. A clause goes into every public contract which calls for the prevailing rate of wages in that district. That gives one a bird's-eye view of the conditions of labor throughout the Dominion.

While we in the cities tell of the great prosperity and the great advancement made in the interest of laboring men and women all over the country, it is lamentable to find that in many parts of the country the conditions are really deplorable. These deplorable conditions maintain, however, only in localities in which the men are not organized. That, to my mind, is one of the greatest incentives for men to go out and to organize workers into organized labor bodies so that they can raise the wages and conditions of work to measure up to the general standard of living.

I know that you gentlemen desire to hear Secretary of Labor Davis. It does not take an Irishman very long to express himself. I think I have talked long enough, and I know it takes the Scotch and the Welsh an awful long time to tell what they mean.

In conclusion I just want to say to you that I am very happy and honored to have the privilege of saying a few words to you, to welcome the Americans to Canada, to meet my old Canadian friends and be here to welcome Secretary of Labor Davis to Canada.

President Green: On behalf of the convention I thank Mr. Heenan for coming here this morn-

ing and for his address. We are glad to receive from his lips the very valuable information he has given us. We are very glad to know that so many of the statutes to which he referred and which so vitally affect the welfare of the working people of Canada have been secured by them, and we are glad to know they are administered by such capable hands. The address will be incorporated in the minutes of today's session and I know the delegates will be glad to have this valuable record to take home to their members and to be in a position to advise them what Canada is doing to promote the health and happiness and well-being of men, women and children in this great Dominion.

We thank you, Mr. Heenan, for your visit this morning and for your message.

And now I am glad to present to you the Secretary of Labor of the United States of America. Secretary of Labor Davis has been visiting our conventions and bringing to us his message from time to time during the last few years. We would miss him very much if he found it absolutely impossible to be present. A very large number of his friends inquired of me personally early in the convention if it would be possible for him to be here. They were looking forward in pleasant anticipation of his visit. We are glad he is here this morning; we are glad he brings to us his message. We know of his work as Secretary of Labor. Those of us who are in close touch with his work and his problems know how sympathetic he is toward the hopes and aspirations of labor.

It affords me very great pleasure to present to you this morning Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis.

#### HONORABLE JAMES J. DAVIS

(Secretary of Labor of the United States)

Gentlemen: I bring a greeting to you from the President of the United States. He extends his best wishes for a successful convention and expresses the hope that out of this gathering will come much good that will help to raise the standard of living still higher, not alone for the people of our own country, but for all people everywhere.

I was very much interested in the remarks of Minister of Labor Heenan. He is a true Celt, with the typical generous heart. I had a talk with him just before entering the hall, and inasmuch as I have an engagement in Ogdensburg, New York, tomorrow afternoon, he offered to take me to Ottawa in his private car and then drive me over to Ogdensburg. The Secretary of Labor does not travel in such luxurious style. I believed myself for-

tunate in getting a lower berth on the Pullman to make the trip up here. It is very generous of Mr. Heenan to invite me to be his guest. One would know that he was a minister of some kind no matter where they saw him. (Laughter.)

I am delighted to come to this magnificent city of Toronto to address the American Federation of Labor. While I, as an official of the United States Government, am outside my jurisdiction, so to speak, standing on the soil of another Government, the American Federation of Labor is within its own jurisdiction, for your membership pursues its activities on both sides of the boundary line as if that line were not there. That friendship between members of this organization on both sides of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence does a great deal to maintain the happy relations that exist between our two countries.

The United States and Canada have the same political problems, the same social problems, the same industrial issues. Yet for more than a century these two countries have grown side by side on the same continent without a whisper of serious discontent between them. Nothing but a line on the map divides us, yet for well over a hundred years not a human being has crossed that line except on errands of business or pleasure. On whichever side of the line we happen to be, we feel at home. It could hardly be otherwise. The two nations were founded by much the same kind of people. We are blood relations—brothers.

This meeting of your organization here brings about a still better understanding between the peoples of these two countries. It gives them new reason for pride, for I am sure you will agree with me that the standard of human living is higher on this continent than in any country in any other part of the world. We realize now more than ever that what affects one of us affects both. You people of Canada have your problems, and these problems strike deep into the very issues that are vital to the interests of both peoples. You, too, are interested in maintaining a high wage and bringing about better working conditions, and keeping employment at reasonable hours.

We are two countries with twin ambitions and aspirations. We think in the same terms of peace in industry and good-will to the world. When I speak of peace in industry I mean a righteous peace, where men have a voice to express themselves, so that they may guarantee themselves a proper share in the fruits of their production. I am sure that if this can be brought about in industry anywhere, it ought to happen in these two countries here. This is coming about. On this continent we are closer to the goal than is the situation anywhere else. I believe the condition of labor everywhere is due to improve because of the very example we set the world here.

On this continent we have approximately 130,000,000 people, drawn from nearly all the countries of the Old World. Back where these people came from there still is jealousy, there are conflicts of interest and political differences. Here, well over 100,000,000 of these people live and work together in peace. We have newspapers and magazines, open

forums, and every kind of wide-open avenue of expression. And with all these you do not hear a ripple of discontent in our lives.

The other day an American newspaper which was about to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary asked me to prophesy the position of Labor on this continent fifty years in the future. I said that in this day of marvels it is safe to prophesy anything, but that it is safest to judge what would happen fifty years from now by what has happened in the fifty years just passed.

One of the blessings that have come to us in those fifty years is more time from work. Fifty years ago the ten and twelve hour day was the rule. Except for shut-downs there were few days off. Here and there a few instances of the long day may yet be found, but in the main the twelve-hour day is as dead as the dodo. It is the indefensible exception that we think ought not to exist, so accustomed we have become to the shortened day. Any longer period of work seems obsolete and wrong.

As I was preparing my speech on the train on the way to your convention, I thought of China, Russia, and India, and the tremendous population of these three countries. If the standard of living of this great number of people could be raised to correspond to the American standard of living, overproduction in industry would speedily be a thing of the past. There would not be sufficient factories, there would not be enough automatic machinery, in America to manufacture the products those people would require to improve their living conditions, particularly in their homes.

There are men in this hall today who were neighbors of mine when we were boys. In the homes we lived in during those early days, the value of the furnishings in the entire house could not have exceeded a hundred and fifty dollars. Today, in the same neighborhood in the homes of men doing the same kind of work our parents did, the standard of living has increased to the point where the value of the furnishings in those homes is ten times what it was in our day.

In the next fifty years I believe we are going to see the worker complete his full day's production with still more leisure time in which to enjoy the fruits of his labor—his motor trips, his visits to the theatre, the library, and the concert hall. It is coming about inevitably through modern scientific business system and the genius for invention that is going into new automatic machinery.

System and machinery are making production so rapid and easy that less of the day and the week will be needed to turn out the commodities we can sell and consume. During the next fifty years this system and machinery is certain to be further improved. It is hardly fantastic to say that the time will come when the wealth of the world will be produced with hardly more effort than the pulling of a lever or the press of a button. Already many of our hardest mechanical jobs are performed in that way. Ultimately much more of our time and energies can be devoted to the improvement of our minds and the enrichment of our lives. And do not doubt that the intelligence

of our people will be equal to guaranteeing all this to labor.

I believe that even now our churches, schools and colleges should begin to train our people for the proper use of the greater leisure time they are destined to enjoy. We have been educating ourselves for work. Now we need to be educated in how to live. And I believe the greatest demand for this new education will come from our millions of workers on both sides of this boundary line.

Even today the largest increase in college enrollment comes from the ranks of the workers. Those who most desire to go to college are the sons and daughters of our carpenters, masons, puddlers and other skilled men. Even today we pride ourselves on giving our children a grammar school education. Tomorrow we shall not be content until all our children have the higher education.

And not only will the interests of the mind be better ministered to, but so will those of the body and the heart. With increasing use of the automobile, the aeroplane, and the Zeppelin, I believe we shall see our great cities become simply factories, stores, banks and theatres, while the home is taken into the country. The man or woman employed in factory, store or office will so easily and swiftly move to his or her place of employment that I believe no one will then have to complain as President Hoover did when he said:

"The enormous losses to human happiness and in money which have resulted from the lack of city plans which take into account the conditions of modern life need little proof. The lack of adequate open spaces, of playgrounds and parks, the congestion of the streets, the misery of tenement life and its repercussions upon each new generation are an untold charge against American life. Our cities do not produce their full contribution to the sinews of American life and national character. The moral and social issues can only be solved by a new conception of city building."

I look for the day when those who work in the city will live next to the wonders of Nature, away from factory fumes and smoke and the herding of narrow streets. They will know what it is to enjoy the quiet and the beauty of Nature instead of noise and dust. All this is within our reach if we wisely handle the jobs we have immediately at hand. Some of our toughest problems I believe we are solving now.

Recently we were alarmed at the number of workers displaced by new labor-saving machines. Undoubtedly this is something to be anxiously watched. I believe no one knows what immediate practical remedy we can apply, other than to take care of those who are temporarily released from their old occupations until they can be provided with new ones. But we know that industry itself, which introduces new machines to displace human workers, has also the tendency to create these necessary new jobs. Hardly does some new mechanical marvel in the automobile industry displace workers, when developments in the radio and the aeroplane open new jobs to thousands of workers—whose new prosperity, in turn, enables them to buy more automobiles.

Employers, too, have been quick to see the danger in needlessly adding to unemployment and reducing the purchasing power of our people. The time is near—I believe it is here now—when the wise employer, before installing new labor-saving machinery, will first plan new employment for the workers his machines are displacing. He realizes now that every worker dropped from the payrolls is a customer deprived of purchasing power. We who invent machines so rapidly will not be long in inventing remedies for our problems.

We are all glad to see our various corporations prosperous, strong, and regularly paying dividends. But I wish some of our employers would discover one good way that exists to make their dividends larger still.

If some of these extra dividends were devoted to wage increases, think of the number of new automobiles, new radios, new pianos, commodities of every sort, that would be purchased. In turn the maker of autos would have more steel to buy. Employees in the steel industry would in turn buy more autos. Purchasing would be enlarged in an ever-widening circle, with the result that every business would earn more dividends, employment would be more steady, the whole country would be enriched.

As I have said, I have no fear of the labor-saving machine so long as employers maintain even the present scale of wages and keep our people equipped with purchasing power. There is no limit to their wants, and, with wages right, those wants will keep the wheels of industry on the move. Prosperity is sealed up in the pay-envelope of the worker.

We do have in some measure an unemployment problem, even in the best of times. But there is one thing about our two peoples. We have a habit of going to the root of things. Right now in the United States we are launched on a movement by which the Federal Government and the several States are planning the stabilization of industry. There should be no politics in the employment problem. On election day we may be Republicans, Democrats, or Socialists, but in matters broadly affecting all the people we must strive to serve all the people. This unemployment problem is one of those that cut squarely across all political considerations, and I am sure we are going to solve it right.

Very soon every man and woman in the country, particularly you men in labor organizations through your magazines and your contacts with men and women at work, can help in solving this problem. Before we can grasp this thorn of unemployment, we must have information as to how much of it there is, and what brings it about. Now the Census Enumerator will soon call and ask you a number of questions—whether you are unemployed, how long you have been idle, what caused the loss of your job, what job you prefer, what are your abilities, and similar things. Thus this new census we are about to take will, for the first time in our history, provide us with just the information without which we have been so long helpless in the face of unemployment. And I earnestly urge every man and woman to co-operate in this great and important undertaking, and respond with

accurate and complete answers to every question asked. Only then can unemployment be grappled with and done away.

Hearing on this matter, I believe every heart on this continent beat a little more warmly when our American President said: "My conception of America is a land where men and women may walk in ordered freedom in the independent conduct of their occupations; where they may enjoy the advantages of wealth, not concentrated in the hands of a few, but spread through the lives of all; where they may build and safeguard their homes, and give their children the fullest advantages and opportunities of American life; where a contented and happy people, secure in their liberties, free from poverty and fear, shall have their leisure and the impulse to seek a higher life."

The next few years, I believe, will see us much nearer that goal—again, if we wisely meet the problems immediately before us. Just now the proposed new tariff is under some attack. And I beg to point out that these attacks are only a repetition of those we have heard before. They will die away, as they have before, when our people understand what has been done for their good.

In 1922 there was opposition to the tariff on the ground that it would increase the costs of production. The costs have decreased. It was said that the duties then proposed would raise prices. And prices have steadily fallen. It was said that the tariffs would cut down necessary imports of goods that we do not make ourselves. Our imports have vastly increased. All this is being said again, and the results will disprove it, as they did before.

One other problem on our hands has to do with immigration. Even yet, in some quarters, America's motive in her immigration policy is not fully understood. It has been a long contest. We now have total exclusion of some races, and we have limited the number coming from Europe to 150,000 annually under the quota system. Sixty-five thousand of that 150,000 under the present law come from Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Prior to the adoption of the quota system, in some years more than a million immigrants would come to the United States from Europe alone, and we have now limited our immigration, not alone to save our workers from unemployment and competition for jobs, but to save these immigrants themselves from the same unemployment and distress. It may be stated that since the enactment of the first quota law, limiting the number who might come from abroad, we have admitted from Canada and Newfoundland 787,000; from Mexico, 415,826, and from other countries of the Western Hemisphere, 101,000.

In the enforcement of the Immigration Law, there is no power of discretion vested in the Secretary of Labor. Some unfortunate cases come to our attention, and cases at other times that would tax the wisdom of Solomon himself in arriving at the right and just decision. A case of this nature came in recently, having to do with a nineteen-year-old girl visiting the United States. Her sweetheart would soon be an American citizen. The girl applied for extensions of time, which were granted, but she failed to tell the Immigration authorities that she had married the young fellow in the

meantime, and secured the extensions under her maiden name. Her husband has since become a citizen of the United States, and as such is entitled to a preference in bringing his wife into the country.

The difficulty lies in the fact that the young lady was ordered deported for violating the immigration laws, and Congress has passed a law stating that any person who has been deported from the United States in the past, or who may be deported in the future, is forever barred from again re-entering the United States. The girl disappeared and forfeited the five-hundred-dollar bond she had posted to insure her departure from the country at the end of her visit.

The question now arises as to what shall be done with this woman. She is the wife of an American citizen. According to the provisions of the immigration law, she will be deported from the country when she is apprehended. However, it does seem severe to take a woman from her husband and forever banish her from the country. Perhaps some way will present itself to adjust this case, and I cite it as only one of thousands of examples that come in every year for final disposition.

There are millions of people crossing our borders every year, many of them over the Canadian border. In addition to those admitted on the regular quota, we have thousands of visitors, and seamen who are also admitted for clearance. With the millions who are constantly entering the country, it is only natural to expect that there should be some smuggling of aliens, and the schemes that are devised to get them across our borders unobserved are very ingenious. It imposes an additional burden on the immigration service to try to apprehend them.

If the employers of labor in the country would first make certain that a man was legally in the country before giving him a job it would help us materially in our work of enforcing the provisions of the immigration law. The labor unions could also help greatly in this work by refusing to take a man as a member until they had made certain that he was legally admitted to the country.

The principal thing we have been trying to avoid in the United States is the bringing in of cheap labor. The United States is often pictured as a land of milk and honey, and it is in many instances, but we have quite a number whose standard we would like to raise. Cheap labor means a cheap country, and a cheap country means the long day and the long week.

It has cost us too much effort to establish the shorter day for us to permit dangers to it now. One industry, for example, was forced to run twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week. How, they asked, could the eight-hour day be introduced in the face of its difficulties? But in 1922 President Harding called a conference at the White House, when the eight-hour day was introduced in that industry, and I doubt now if the industry would go back to the old long day and long week even if it could.

In every line of industry the hard-boiled man is a goner, whether it be in labor, manufacture, or business.

In some sections of our country, appeal is made to manufacturers and business men to move their plants there because of existing low wages and long hours of production. Where such conditions prevail, the people do not earn enough to buy and create trade. Business is flat. The system is self-defeating. A low-wage community is always a poor-business community. As a prominent manufacturer once said to me, "We employers ought to band together and ostracize the employer who stands for long hours, the long week, and low wages. He spoils business for us all. He's a barnacle on America's ship of prosperity."

It is true. The long day, the long week, and low wages are the Three Fates of American industry. Where the worker is so employed, he has no time to buy, no money to buy, and no ambition to buy.

Another hard-boiled habit I rejoice to see passing is that of arbitrarily dropping men as unfit for further service at a certain age. Some employers have fixed the limit at fifty years; some as low as forty. Some thought they were pepping up industry in line with the youthful spirit of the day. Some were afraid of overloading their pension systems. Whatever the motive, the practice was gaining ground.

So far the system has not been applied on the management end. If they did, industry would be shot to pieces. Three of our distinguished men on the Supreme Court are past seventy, and they are but an example. They are entitled to retire on \$20,000 a year. They prefer to serve, and they do it well. In this day of automatic machinery, with its lesser demands on human strength, the same rule should apply in industry. Recently, I met a man more than seventy years old who was operating one of these big engines on a fast train. He said, "I am good for fifty years more," and he looked it. The older man has gained in skill. He has gained in steadiness. His judgment is ripe. He sticks to his job. I am glad to note that these plain facts are sinking in with the great majority of our employers, and I think this needless and cruel contribution to the ranks of unemployment is passing.

If every manager, if every superintendent, if every responsible head of every business enterprise were discharged because of being over the age limit set by some employers, industry would soon be completely ruined. If the management is not discharged because of age, why discharge the workers?

Recently the press carried the statement that President Green of your organization, in his address to the Building Trades Department, expressed in very strong language the hope that a tribunal would be set up within the trade union family for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes in the building industry. It has been predicted that if these problems are adjusted satisfactorily, the time would come when every building in the United States would be erected by union labor.

Speaking from my nine years' experience as Secretary of Labor, it would seem to me that, if these jurisdictional disputes were eliminated, I could go further than President Green and

predict that employers in many other trades would greatly prefer and eagerly seek the man who carried a union card. That card would be his diploma, the stamp of his skill and character.

I can say to you that this matter of jurisdictional disputes has always been one of the strong arguments used against signing an agreement with a trade union.

I quite agree that settlement of these differences is sometimes difficult, and that the disputes themselves arise from natural causes. In this day of consolidation and the handling of labor in large groups, the classifications are many, and employers are afraid of this constant quarrelling of one trade with another as to which shall do a particular job or handle a particular material in the erection of a building. As long as we are a live and going people, the genius of man will invent new materials with which to house our people. So long as we are hard and ambitious workers, these controversies will arise.

Yet I am in hope, as President McSorley of the Building Trades, has said, that a board of some kind will be organized to put an end forever to these jurisdictional disputes. Ways may even be found for preventing them entirely. For one thing, the architect of a building could do much to avoid these differences if he were more accurate in his specifications. Surely, with all working together, the jurisdictional difference can and must be done away with. It is wholly out of place in a world otherwise devoting itself to peace and humanitarian movements as never before.

I point to one shining example of this in the Child Welfare Conference launched by President Hoover. I am a member of this committee and so is your distinguished president. I can say that now every agency in the country for the care and improvement of our children will receive a new impetus in its work. President Hoover meant what he said in the words I have just quoted from him, in regard to his vision of the American people and the happiness, health, and wealth they are entitled to. And no more promising, no more touching beginning could be made in this direction than in a united, nation-wide stirring to save the health and raise the standards of our children.

Otherwise our own country is contented. Worker and employer are interlocked in a goodwill which neither cares to break. It has brought them too much contentment and prosperity for that. I believe we are due to go on and develop still further this mutual respect. Between Canada and ourselves not even a popgun is pointed by either country to defend itself against the other. The whole world is turning its face toward peace, under such great and wise direction as it never has had before.

I have just come from seeing the two chief representatives of our great peoples discussing means for putting into practice the goodwill which the peoples of the world now at last bear toward each other. Here on this continent they have the best example of what peace means, in the relations of Canada and the United States. The same methods will be found for extending such relations everywhere.

I stand here with a picture fresh in my mind—a picture of these two great leaders sitting on a log beside the headwaters of the Rapidan in Virginia. At their feet a silvery stream sparkles and trills as it wends its way to the great ocean. The rocks in that stream only dash it into lovelier cascades; they do not stay its steady onrush to the sea. Rather, the stream grows larger and of more resistless flow. So, in the same way, I believe, will grow and flow into ever more resistless influence the plans for a world-wide peace which those two men talked over on a placid autumn day.

For that brief talk, one of those representatives journeyed 3,000 miles across the sea, the first Prime Minister of his country ever to make such a journey, and on such a momentous mission. He received such a welcome as America has never before extended to any man. He and our people both desire peace, and they instantly understood each other. How that greeting touched the Prime Minister of England he himself confessed in his simple, sincere way when he said to the American Senate, "Why have we been so long in coming over!"

It was a great line, from a great man, at a great moment. These are times when the entire world is swept up into a new spiritual exaltation. Brotherhood has come to mean something. We all feel it. And let us in the circles of labor strive ever to contribute to the great stream of life about us our best efforts to make that brotherhood a real, a practical, and an abiding joy.

What a wonderful world we live in today. Here we have two men to whom the entire world is looking and in whom there is the greatest confidence. These two men are men of the people. Both were born of humble parents, one the son of a blacksmith on an Iowa farm, and the other the son of a peasant fisherman on the coast of Scotland. It is the first time in all history when two men who are from the people have met under circumstances which will have such far-reaching effect. We can be assured that great good will result from their meeting, because these men know and understand what is in the minds and hearts of the people everywhere. We who labor should be proud of their accomplishments, and resolve to do everything within our power to hasten the day when wars will be a thing of the barbarous past; the day when life on this earth will be happier and better for all people everywhere.

President Green: Officers and delegates to the convention, I want to express in your behalf to Secretary of Labor Davis our thanks for his visit here. We have been charmed by his address. We appreciate it because of its educational value, because of the sympathetic sentiments expressed, and because of the high note of optimism which he sounded.

We place a very great value upon the visit of Secretary Davis and upon the visit of the Minister of Labor of Canada. We want them to know they are among friends, real, true

friends, men who understand the difficulties confronted by men who are dealing with difficult problems. We want them to know that the great organized labor movement, both of the Dominion of Canada and of the United States, will cooperate with their departments in all the efforts they are putting forth to promote the common interest.

Personally, may I assure them that, so far as I am able to assist them as a representative of our great movement dealing with any problem affecting the common interests of the masses of the people, I will be glad to respond and offer any service that lies within my power. We are grateful to them for their visit. We thank Secretary Davis and we thank the Minister of Labor for their magnificent addresses, and we wish them to regard themselves as the guests of the American Federation of Labor during their stay here.

#### AMERICAN LEGION

President Green: I wish to take the liberty to make an announcement of interest just at this time. For many years we have maintained an unbroken custom of exchanging representatives with the American Legion at our respective annual meetings. We have delegated a representative of the American Federation of Labor, in response to invitations received from the Commander of the American Legion to attend the annual conventions of this organization, to extend our greetings and to deliver Labor's message. A number of our representatives have acted in that capacity. Major Berry of the Printing Pressmen has represented our organization. It was my good fortune to attend the convention of the American Legion last year at San Antonio, Texas. My distinguished predecessor, Samuel Gompers, delivered Labor's message at a convention of the American Legion, and this year Peter Brady, a member of the Photo Engravers' Union and President of the Federation Bank and Trust Company, carried our message to the Legion's convention at Louisville. You will remember that last year National Commander McNutt addressed our convention at New Orleans. Prior to that time other Commanders attended and brought to us inspiring messages.

Yesterday, in response to a very cordial invitation extended, I received a telegram from the newly-elected Commander, Commander Bodenheimer, just elected at Louisville last week, saying that he would be here on Monday



to bring the message of the American Legion to the American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Morrison announced that E. J. Shave, Secretary-Treasurer of the Virginia State Federation of Labor and delegate from the Newport News Central Labor Union, was injured in a wreck at New Castle, Delaware, last Sunday; that it later developed that he was quite seriously injured and that his physician insisted on his going to the hospital. He stated that Delegate Shave desired to return home and requested that he be excused from further attendance at the convention for the reason stated.

On motion of Secretary Morrison, the request of the delegate was granted.

#### MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

President Green: It has always been our custom to stand in silence as a tribute to our departed members who passed away during the year. It appears to me that this is a very appropriate time to pay that tribute of respect. During the past year quite a number of outstanding trade unionists, many of them who had attended conventions for a long period of years, passed away. We have a record of the names of a large number, but I am sure we do not have the names of all. Secretary Morrison will read a list of the names we have on record, and then the officers and delegates to the convention may add to the list the names of those they wish to have included. After the list is read we will call upon the officers, delegates and visitors to rise and stand a moment in silent tribute to those who have passed away.

Secretary Morrison read the following list, to which were added by other delegates the names of prominent members of their organizations who had passed away:

George F. Hedrick, President, Brotherhood Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. Died December 20, 1928.

Victor Klieber, Secretary, International Molders' Union of North America. Died January 3, 1929.

M. H. Parker, Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers. Died January 8, 1929.

Richard Patterson, Delegate from Sheet Metal Workers' International Association to the American Federation of Labor 1928 Convention. Died January 13, 1929.

James J. McAndrews, Member of Executive Board of International Union of Elevator Constructors. Died November 29, 1928.

M. R. Welch, Secretary-Treasurer, Switch-

men's Union, North America. Died February 22, 1929.

E. J. McGivern, President, Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada. Died April 6, 1929.

C. F. Buckland, Fifth Vice-President, International Union of Operating Engineers. Died April 4, 1929.

John J. Casey, President, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, Member of Congress, Twelfth District of Pennsylvania. Died May 5, 1929.

Wm. Devine, Special Representative Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union. Died December, 1928.

Louis Hertig, General Organizer, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. Died July 21, 1929.

Homer D. Call, former Secretary, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Died May 18, 1929.

Richard Powers, former President of the Lake Seamen's Union: Vice-President in 1883 and 1884 of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Union of the United States of America and Canada, which was changed in 1886 to the American Federation of Labor. Died May 11, 1929.

John Rader, Secretary, International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America. Died May 17, 1929.

C. L. Shamp, Secretary, Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers. Died August 12, 1929.

Peter Shaughnessy, President Emeritus, Local No. 21, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America. Died May 25, 1929.

J. B. Dale, Special Organizer, American Federation of Labor in Southwest. Died Sept. 19, 1929.

Frank T. Hawley, past International President of the Switchmen's Union. Died February, 1929.

Frank Hoffman, First Vice-President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America. Died January 12, 1929.

M. J. Glenn, Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers. Died February 20, 1929.

Thomas Conway, Vice-President, Seamen's International Union. Died May, 1929.

Edward Anderson, Treasurer of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and former delegate. Died June, 1929.

John D. Murphy, Fourth Vice-President, International Federation of Post Office Clerks. Died March, 1929.

Leslie D. Hart, International Association of Machinists. Died March 10, 1929.

John Hanley, member of the Executive Board, Upholsterers' International Union. Died September 8, 1929.

William E. Kelly, former National President, National Association of Letter Carriers. Died September, 1929.

Patrick J. McNabb, former National Vice-President, National Association of Letter Carriers. Died June, 1929.

James Arkinson, former National Vice-President, Chairman, Legislative Committee, and

member Mutual Benefit Association, National Association of Letter Carriers. Died June, 1929.

Mrs. Sarah Green, officer and member of the Waitresses' Union of Kansas City, and member of the Executive Board of the National Women's Trade Union League. Died June 26, 1929.

Charles F. Reichers, First International President, United Garment Workers of America. Died August 15, 1929, aged eighty years.

John P. Pinna, General Organizer, United Garment Workers of America. Died November 18, 1928.

Otto Nichols, General Organizer, United Garment Workers of America. Died April 6, 1929.

Andrea Marrotta, General Organizer, United Garment Workers of America. Died August 20, 1929.

David Robb, President, District 11, United Mine Workers of America. Died August 15, 1929.

John W. Scully, former Delegate to Conventions, United Hatters of North America.

Michael Murphy, Vice-President, International Union of Operating Engineers.

Joseph J. Sullivan, Fifth Vice-President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters. Died January, 1929.

Thomas P. O'Rourke, Vice-President, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters. Died August 26, 1929.

A. C. Holster, Vice-President, International

Union of Elevator Constructors. Died August, 1929.

John Devering, General Organizer, International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Died December 31, 1928.

Ollie S. Wilson, former Secretary of Oklahoma State Federation of Labor. Died August, 1929.

Martin P. Higgins, former President, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. Died August, 1929.

Joseph Binder, Representative, Pattern Makers' League of North America. Died March 30, 1929.

W. A. Cole, former member of General Executive Board Brotherhood of United Carpenters and Joiners. Died September 30, 1929.

John D. Corcoran, Executive Board member, Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers' International Union. Died July 26, 1929.

President Green: I will now ask all the delegates, officers, visitors and friends to stand in silence for a moment as a tribute of respect to the memory of those who have passed away and whose names have been recorded in our proceedings.

The audience arose and remained standing in silence until the drop of the gavel.

At 12:30 p.m. the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p.m.

## Fourth Day---Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Silberstein, Dubinsky, Bryan, Hogan, Rode, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Wood, McCluskey, Phillips, Lewis (J. C.), Norrington, Kelly, Johnson, Rossell, Laude, Hoffmann, Becker, Watt (R. J.), Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Darrington, Doyle (F. E.), Kromelbein, Power (S.), Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Sidney, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway.

Secretary Joyce, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

In accordance with request received from Delegate James Starr, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Textile Workers of America, we recommend the seating of Francis J. Gorman in place of John P. O'Connell.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the substitution of the name of Jeremiah Deneen for that of William Taber as a member of the Committee on Laws. Brother Taber is absent, and Brother Deneen from the

same organization has been assigned as his substitute.

President Green: I desire at this time to bring to the attention of the officers and delegates a matter of importance. I bring it to your attention as a matter of information and for the sake of the record. When I learned during the month of August, and later it seemed that the information was confirmed during the month of September, that the Right Honorable J. Ramsay MacDonald, Premier of Great Britain, was planning a visit to the United States, I extended to him a cordial invitation to attend our convention and to be our guest while here.

I discovered at the time when I sent the cablegram extending this invitation that, unfortunately, the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor would be away from our Washington headquarters when Mr. MacDonald would arrive and it would be impossible for us to extend to him an invitation to be our guest there. I discovered, however, that his plans called for a visit to Toronto during the time our convention was in session,

and in view of that fact I asked him then to visit the convention and to be our guest. I will read to you the cablegram I sent in the name of the American Federation of Labor. It is dated September 25, 1929, and addressed to Right Honorable J. Ramsay MacDonald:

"I extend you a cordial invitation to address convention American Federation of Labor on some convenient date during your prospective visit to the United States. Convention will be in session in Toronto, Canada, from October seventh to October seventeenth. We invite you to be our guest while attending convention."

On September 26, 1929, I received the following cablegram, addressed to me as President of the American Federation of Labor:

"Prime Minister sends greetings. He greatly regrets that program already arranged by High Commissioner entirely fills all his available time."

This is signed by "Vansittart."

Today I received a telegram which reads as follows:

"Ottawa, Ontario, October 11, 1929.

"President Congress of American Federation of Labor, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ont.

"Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has informed me of your invitation to visit session of Congress on sixteenth October. He asks me to convey his cordial thanks and to say that it will give him great pleasure to do so on the morning of the sixteenth from ten-thirty to eleven o'clock.

"Clark, British High Commissioner."

I presume that Mr. Clark is the High Commissioner in Canada and that he has been charged with the responsibility of arranging the itinerary of Mr. MacDonald during his visit here. I am happy indeed to know that we will be privileged to have the Premier of Great Britain as our guest and that we will be permitted to receive his message to the convention. I knew this information would be most pleasing and interesting to you.

The Chair desires to submit a supplementary report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor containing a report of Brother John B. Haggerty, our fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, which will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention.

The report is as follows:

Report of John B. Haggerty, Fraternal Delegate to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, St. John, N.B., August 26-30, 1929.

With 230 delegates and over 300 visitors, many of whom had journeyed across the continent, in attendance, the 45th annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada was opened Monday, August 26, 1929, in St. John, New Brunswick. Seldom,

if ever, has a labor gathering been addressed by a more impressive and representative group of public men than on this occasion. Among the speakers were the Mayor of the City, Lieutenant-Governor, Premier, President of the Executive Council of the Government of New Brunswick and Minister of Health, Postmaster-General in the Federal Government and Federal Minister of Labor. Their addresses were both interesting and instructive.

The Premier of New Brunswick, Hon. J. B. Baxter, in the course of his remarks made the pleasing announcement that his government would shortly appoint a committee to report upon the feasibility of inaugurating old age pensions in his Province and that a representative of organized labor would be placed on the committee.

Hon. James H. Thomas, Lord Privy Seal and Minister of Unemployment in the British Labor Government, was the last speaker to be introduced on the opening day. The delegates were particularly anxious to hear from this distinguished statesman as to the proposed policies of the Mother Country in regard to immigration in Canada, this being a question of deep interest to all trades unionists, in the United States as well as in that country. It has been the habit of British statesmen, when called upon to grapple with the baffling problem of Britain's unemployed, numbering upward of one and one-half million, to turn first and instinctively to Canada. The granary of the Empire being underdeveloped and needing men, and Britain being industrially overdeveloped and having too many men, to send unemployed Britons to Canada has seemed in London to be a simple solution. During the five years 1923-28 some 263,000 have been sent to this country, and abuses have developed which have given the wage earners just cause for alarm.

The principal address made by Mr. Thomas on his tour was that made before the Trades and Labor Congress. In it he covered the question of immigration, stressing the fact that it was not the intention of the British Labor Government to attempt to solve the question of unemployment by dumping workers into Canada, but rather by seeking reciprocal trade from the Dominion which would give work to Great Britain's unemployed. He also outlined some of the other major aims of the new Labor Government. The enthusiastic manner in which he was received showed that he and the Labor Government of Great Britain would receive the fullest possible support from the organized workers in Canada. He concluded his address with the statement: "I believe absolutely in your immigration policy."

Hon Peter Heenan, Minister of Labor, clarified the purpose of a new regulation designed to prevent the importation of foreign contract labor into Canada, a policy which large numbers of employers have adopted in their efforts to destroy the trade union movement. The regulation is as follows:

"From and after the 7th day of August, 1929, and until otherwise ordered, the landing in Canada of any immigrant of the following specified class, viz., contract labor, is prohibited.

"Provided that the Minister of Immigration and Colonization may admit any contract laborer if satisfied that his labor or service is required in Canada.

"And provided further that the provisions of this order-in-council shall not apply to the exclusion of farmers, farm laborers and house-workers."

An illustration of the need for this particular regulation is found in the incident of the employing printers in Toronto importing photo-engravers under contract in order to prevent the inauguration of the five-day week (the principle of which has been generally accepted in that trade) and the unionization of photo-engravers in that city. Such flagrant cases of importation of skilled mechanics could have no other result than to lower the standards of the skilled organized workers in Canada.

The convention, when it had got down to business, proceeded with unusual smoothness, the delegates exercising such self-restraint that on no occasion during the entire convention was it necessary to call any speaker to order for violating the five-minute restriction in debate.

One hundred and eighteen resolutions were introduced, which had been translated and printed in French, as well as in English, for the benefit of delegates from the French provinces.

One of the advance steps taken by the convention was the adoption of a resolution calling upon the government to establish a commission similar to the Employment Service Council of Canada, to make an annual survey of labor requirements throughout Canada. An annual survey is now made to determine these requirements in the western grain fields and it is the desire of the Congress that this survey should be extended to cover labor requirements in industry and agriculture generally.

Many constructive resolutions were adopted under such headings as Hours of Labor and Conditions of Employment; Safety and Hygiene; Development of Federal Employment Services; Fair Wage Regulations; Endorsement of Apprenticeship Training; Establishment of One Day's Rest in Seven; Regulation of Immigration in Harmony With the Labor Needs of the Dominion; Old Age Pensions and Superannuation; Unemployment, Sickness and Invalidity Insurance; Minimum Wage Laws; Mothers' Allowances; Workmen's Compensation; Tariff and Industrial Disputes.

It is interesting to know that the dual organization to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, known as the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, is not making progress, while the Trades and Labor Congress reported a membership of 126,638, an increase of 7,385 over the preceding year and a gain of 23,591 during the past three years.

The labor movement in Canada has apparently succeeded in establishing considerable prestige with the governmental authorities. Among many ways this was indicated by the exceptionally fine banquet tendered on the opening day to the delegates by the civic authorities in Saint John, and, later a twelve-mile trip up the beautiful Saint John River on a specially chartered boat to Crystal Beach,

where an old-time clam-bake and shore-dinner was served.

On Wednesday Mr. Peter Lee, Secretary of the Durham Federation of Miners, extended fraternal greetings from the British Trades Union Congress, while the undersigned extended the greetings of the American Federation of Labor.

President Moore and Secretary-Treasurer Draper, with the entire Executive Council, were re-elected.

Mr. James A. Whitebone, President of the Saint John Trades and Labor Council, was elected Fraternal Delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention, while Chas. Dickie of Montreal was elected Fraternal Delegate to the 1930 British Trade Union Congress. Regina, Sask., was selected as the next convention city.

Just before the convention adjourned, both of the fraternal delegates were presented with inscribed watches and chains, as mementoes of their part in the convention.

The convention as a whole was very constructive. The weather and hospitality were all that could be desired. Words are inadequate to express my deep appreciation of the cordial reception extended and the genuine spirit of friendship manifested toward me as the fraternal delegate representing the American Federation of Labor. It was a genuine pleasure and an inspiration to mingle with these men and women, whose caliber was noticeably above the average; who represented a wide range of trades and callings, and who, like the workers in our own country, are unselfishly striving for the betterment of their fellow-man.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN B. HAGGERTY.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate McNally, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

##### ORGANIZING PLANS

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 63) the Committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report and recommends that this statement be sent in a circular letter to all City Central and State Bodies and that it be carried in all Labor publications.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### OTHER LOCAL ACTIVITIES

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 67) the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report and urges a wider affiliation of Labor Groups with civic and public movements.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**KEEPING RECORDS**

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 65) the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**STATE FEDERATIONS**

Organizing Campaign—Porto Rico—Progress During the Year—Other Activities Reported.

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pages 65-68) and the various sub-heads the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report and congratulates the officers of the state federations of labor on their work during the past year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**CONCLUSION**

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 109) the committee reported as follows:

Your committee concurs in the conclusion of the Executive Council's report and urges National and International Unions to help wherever possible in local organizing campaigns to the end of doubling the membership during the coming year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Aircraft Department of the A. F. of L.**

Resolution No. 15—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The automobile and aircraft industry has grown and is now a fixture in our everyday life; and

WHEREAS, The several trades employed have not organized, due to their inability to keep in touch with the organizations having jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Organizations that have jurisdiction have failed to keep pace with the growth of the industry because of their fixed division of members into the Building Trades Department, Railway Department and Metal Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, There is great need of an Auto, Aircraft Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood go on record favoring the establishment of such a

department in the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, but recommends that the effort inaugurated at the Detroit Convention in 1926 to organize this industry be continued.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Requesting Assignment of A. F. of L. Organizer to Assist Metal Trades Council of Chicago, Illinois.**

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate James O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, A special situation affecting a large group of employees has arisen in the Chicago District; and

WHEREAS, The work which will be connected with organizing cannot be carried on most effectively without the assistance and guidance of an organizer whose duty it would be to devote his whole attention to this situation referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to place an organizer in Chicago who will work in co-operation with the Metal Trades Council of that city.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council to be put in effect if the funds permit.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Requesting Issuance of Circular Letter to Promote Organization of Laundry Workers.**

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Harry L. Morrison of the Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The 1928 Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution requesting that a circular letter be sent to all State Federations of Labor, to all City Central Labor Unions, and to all Organizers of the American Federation of Labor calling to their attention the unorganized condition of the Laundry Workers; and

WHEREAS, As a result of the said letter being sent to the State Federations of Labor, the City Central Labor Unions, and the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, the Laundry Workers' International Union has received many letters from State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and from Organizers of the American Federation of Labor requesting information and organizing literature, and several campaigns are now being carried on to organize Laundry Workers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor be respectfully requested to forward a similar letter during the coming year to all State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and to all Organizers of the American Federation of Labor requesting them to make all possible efforts to establish Local Unions of Laundry Workers in their respective localities.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Pledging Support to Organization Campaign of Ladies' Garment Workers in Women's Wear Industry.**

Resolution No. 46—By Delegates B. Schlesinger, I. Nagler, D. Dubinsky, Abraham Katovsky and B. Desti of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

**WHEREAS**, The Cloak Makers' Unions of the City of New York have recently concluded a highly successful strike, which has resulted in collective agreements with all associations of employers in the industry, under the terms of which the thirty thousand members of these unions have secured substantial improvements in their standards of work and life; and

**WHEREAS**, The signal victory of the Cloak Makers' Unions has inspired the organized workers in other branches of the women's wear industry to renewed enthusiasm and activity and has served to restore the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to its former position of power and prestige; and

**WHEREAS**, The successful outcome of the Cloak Makers' strike in New York was in a large measure due to the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the Executive Council, acting under the instructions of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and particularly to the personal efforts of President William Green, Vice-President Matthew Woll and Brother Edward McGrady;

**RESOLVED**, That the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Toronto, Canada, expresses its appreciation to the Executive Council, President Green, Vice-President Woll and Brother McGrady for the loyal and efficient services in behalf of the New York Cloak Makers and hereby instructs the Executive Council to support with all means at its command the campaign of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to organize the workers in the women's wear industry throughout the United States and Canada and to secure for such workers human and decent living conditions.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

Delegate Nagler, International Ladies' Garment Workers: This resolution, Mr. Chairman

and delegates, has a large bearing on the report of the Executive Council dealing with the New York needle trades and the rehabilitation of the unions in those trades. The delegates assembled in this convention, and those who were delegates to the last conventions held in the city of Los Angeles and in the city of New Orleans, have heard me upon both occasions explain the causes which brought about the condition in our international union and the industry which it controls.

In the report of the Executive Council it was stated that disruptive elements for a time attempted to get control of a number of labor organizations, especially in the needle trades. In 1926 for a time these disruptive elements who had control of part of our international locals, especially in New York City, called a general strike in the cloak industry. This strike lasted for about twenty-five weeks. It was led by the Communists, it almost destroyed our International, and brought misery and poverty to the workers who were members of our organization.

The needle trades as a whole have had to contend with these elements. Ours is a rather peculiar industry. It is not like the building trades and other industries. For example, if a building has to be erected at a certain spot in Toronto and a strike is declared the building cannot be moved from this city to Ottawa or anywhere else; it has to be completed on this spot. It does not take much capital to go into our industry, and when a strike is declared we must be careful that the clothing being manufactured by our members is not moved to some other place. It can be started in New York City and finished in Baltimore or any other city in the United States or Canada.

The people who led the strike in 1926 were irresponsible, and they used it for Communist propaganda in the United States and Canada. Later, when we elected as our President Benjamin Schlesinger, who had held that office for a number of years but had stepped out for a few years, we began to lay plans to strengthen our International Union. The agreements were about to terminate in the New York center. As a result of that we went to the last convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans and presented a resolution in which we asked that the convention instruct the Executive Council to cooperate with and assist us in our endeavor to regain the conditions our members had formerly enjoyed and to regain the strength the international union had for a number of years.

I would not be doing my duty if I did not report to the delegates who acted on that resolution in the New Orleans convention what the Executive Council did for our organization, as instructed by that resolution.

When the manufacturers, after conferences were held, refused to renew the agreements and grant us the modifications we asked for, a gigantic mass meeting was held in the Seventy-first Regiment Armory. There were 12,000 members of the industry in that mass meeting, and a referendum vote was taken to call a strike. We had the pleasure of having the President of the American Federation of Labor and Vice-Presi-



dent Woll at that mass meeting. When the general strike was called our workers responded 30,000 strong. This resulted in the Governor of the State of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Mayor of the City of New York, James J. Walker, calling us into a conference to see if an understanding could be reached between the employers and the union.

The conference was held in the Governor's chambers in Albany. On July 10th both parties got together in a conference, with Lieutenant-Governor Lehman as chairman. Again we had the pleasure of having the President of the American Federation of Labor in that conference.

The response of the 30,000 workers startled the officials of the city and state and they were anxious to see a settlement reached between the two parties. We were anxious to strengthen the organization and establish order in the industry. On July 16th, after the conference on July 10th, agreements were renewed with modifications, signed in the City Hall of the City of New York, with the signatures of the Lieutenant-Governor of the State and the Mayor of the City of New York as witnesses to our contracts.

We have established peace in our industry, we have regained the confidence of the workers who were misled by these disruptive elements, and as a result a commission has been set up by the Governor of the State of New York, composed of three prominent citizens of the State, Dr. Alger, Dr. Goldwater and Mrs. Casper Whitney. This commission was appointed to eliminate the sweatshop, and I feel that it will fulfill a public duty and see that sweatshops are eliminated from the cloak and suit and dress industry of the city of New York. We have a joint machinery set up, with an impartial chairman, a very public-spirited citizen, Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll.

This general strike created a bulwark against these disruptive elements, not only in our organization but in the rest of the needle industries of New York City. It gave inspiration to our workers throughout the United States and Canada. They are praying for our International Union to begin a campaign throughout the United States and Canada. I believe the cloak industry in New York City is organized to such an extent that we will be able to go on with a strong organizing campaign.

May I inform the delegates to this convention that in the city of New Orleans, in the report of the Executive Council, we reported a membership of 30,000. In the past few months we have paid on 42,500, a gain of 12,500 in New York City alone.

I would like to speak longer on this proposition after we have gone through so many years of struggle with these disruptive elements. But knowing there is pressing business before the convention I will take the opportunity of extending our appreciation to the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the instructions given the Executive Council, and extend our sincerest thanks to the Executive

Council for the aid and assistance they gave us in our time of need. I hope the campaign in the United States and Canada that has been laid out by our International will have the further assistance and co-operation of the Executive Council and help us to regain our strength and prestige and enable us to organize all the people employed in these industries.

President Green: The Chair decides to state on behalf of the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor that we very deeply appreciate the splendid success which attended the efforts of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to increase its membership, to destroy the opposition found within its own ranks and to build up the standards of life and living among the members of that organization.

First of all, it will be interesting, I am sure, to the delegates here if I state to you and make it known to you that the membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers in New York City is composed very largely of our Jewish membership and other foreign-speaking groups. Thousands of them are working in the shops and factories of that great metropolis, and, unfortunately, opposing elements sought to force this organization to accept a philosophy directly opposed to the trade union philosophy practiced by the American Federation of Labor, so that our friends in this organization were compelled not only to strike and struggle and fight against the greed of employers, but they were compelled to fight and struggle against those who, parading under the banner of friendship, were seeking to destroy their splendid organization through the injection of this poisonous philosophy.

I am happy to say that the membership of this organization, or a great majority of them, remained loyal to the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor. It appeared that it required this test in order to demonstrate the numerical strength of those who were loyal to our great movement.

The struggle was not a short one; it was an intense struggle, and sometimes it appeared to the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor that perhaps this destructive element, the Communists in New York City, had gained control of some of the local unions of this organization. But we struggled on and fought and opposed them with all the vigor and strength at our command, and I am happy to report to the

officers and delegates of this convention that after an almost continuous fight of about two or three years the loyal trade unionists in the Ladies' Garment Workers' and the Fur Workers' organizations have completely wiped out every vestige of Communism among them.

Through the influence of this destructive element the International Ladies' Garment Workers a few years ago were plunged into a disastrous strike. It cost them a great deal; they suffered, they sacrificed, they lost in conditions, in wages, in membership, in prestige and influence as a result of this destructive movement. It was then, when they found that these representatives of the Communist movement had influenced them and controlled them, that the trade unionists asserted themselves, and recently the spirit of trade unionism developed, it seemed to me, to the highest point it has ever reached in the history of this great organization.

They made a plan to regain what they had lost; they engaged in a strike to obtain decent wages and decent conditions of employment; they fought against the sweatshop that had been established as a result of this destructive movement. They were victorious, they won back all they had lost, and they have increased their membership in a short time by almost 15,000 new members; they have set up a splendid sort of control in the organization, the sweatshop has been wiped out and the standard of life has been raised among these workers.

It is gratifying, among all the difficulties you have encountered, to report such a change as has taken place in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' organization in New York City. The Executive Council is glad to know that the members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union appreciate what was done for them, and I assure them they can count upon our help at any time to the extent of our ability.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Trade Union Educational and Organization Campaign Among Negro Workers**  
Resolution No. 54—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, of the Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, New York, N.Y.:

**An Organization of Negro Workers**

WHEREAS, There is widespread misunderstanding among Negro workers, who are some

of the most severely exploited wage earners in America, chiefly because of the lack of organization, as to the aims and policies of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The Negro workers, in numerous industrial struggles, have been used by certain business interests as strike-breakers for the purpose of breaking down trade union standards of wages, hours and working conditions and the principle of collective bargaining;

THEREFORE, Be it resolved that the 49th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. does herewith go on record as favoring the extension of an educational and organization program as outlined by President William Green in his recent speeches to the Sleeping Car Porters in New York and Chicago, with a view to organizing them into the trades and callings as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**To Assist Organization Work Among Jewelry Workers.**

Resolution No. 65—By Samuel E. Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, and David Levine of the Seattle, Washington, Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, due to a secession movement, are at the present poorly organized; and

WHEREAS, Due to this secession movement the finances of the International Jewelry Workers' Union will not permit placing organizers in the large number of cities to organize the unorganized Jewelry Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor communicate with all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Councils, and Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize Jewelry Workers in their respective localities.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary McNally: This concludes the partial report of the Committee on Organization. We have a resolution referring to conditions in the South upon which a number of delegates have asked to be heard and another concerning the creation of a Food Department. The committee will hold a meeting on Monday, this time of which will be announced later.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS**

Delegate Chauncey A. Weaver, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee recommends that the word "instruct" in the first line of the third resolve of Resolution No. 5 be stricken out and the word "request" inserted in lieu thereof. The amended resolution reads:

**Urging Demand for Union Retail Clerks**

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates John B. Schulte and C. C. Coulter of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association:

WHEREAS, There yet remains a large number of employees in retail stores throughout the country who are not organized, in spite of the efforts of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association to bring all of these wage earners into affiliation with the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, There are many committees in which the other crafts are strongly organized but where there are but few if any Union Retail Clerks; and

WHEREAS, Such a situation is wholly inconsistent with the principles of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all members of organized labor be urged to insist upon the services of Union Clerks when making purchases in retail stores, and to continually bear in mind that the demand for union label merchandise should be coupled with the demand for Union Clerks; and, be it

RESOLVED, That this the Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all delegates here assembled to use their influence to extend organization among retail store employees, to create new local unions where the Retail Clerks are unorganized, and to strengthen existing local unions by patronizing stores displaying the Union Store Card and Union Clerks wearing the Monthly Working Button; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention request that a message be sent from the office of the American Federation of Labor to every affiliated organization and to all organizers, stressing the importance of strongly supporting the efforts of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association to organize all Retail Clerks, recognizing that such support from the organized crafts is essential in order that the Retail Clerks and their employers may be convinced that union men and women will not be satisfied to spend a large proportion of the money earned by them under union conditions, in retail stores where no Union Clerks are employed; and further recognizing that the remedy for non-union stores where same exists lies in the proper exercise of the buying power of union men and women.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Weaver: Just a word preliminary to the final submission of the report. The fact that out of a convention of four hundred delegates only one resolution relating to the union label should make its appearance is a circumstance which might be susceptible to different interpretations. It might mean that the long-awaited rainbow has suddenly appeared, for which we have been waiting for years and years, and that the use of the label is the rule and the lack of it the exception. Again it might mean that the admonitions to which you have listened from this platform under the auspices of the Label Committee year after year have borne such a golden fruitage that the hour has struck when the union label missionary would be justified in folding his tent and hieing away to some other field of union labor activity. But Chairman Manning of the committee refuses to be beguiled by such illusory consideration and he has drafted his convictions into this final report, which is endorsed by his colleagues on the committee and which I now present for your final consideration.

Because of the absence of resolutions on the union label your committee desires to make a few observations on this important question.

The displacement of men in the industrial field by improved machinery has created serious problems for the officers and membership of our movement. These workers who are thus displaced are not only unemployed but many of them are unemployed completely in the industrial field because the skill which it has taken them so many years to acquire is now unusable. Through this radical change in industry the thousands of those displaced are not only non-producers, but, which is of equally vital interest to progress, they are also non-consumers, thus directly affecting many of our unions which have union labels, shop cards and working buttons to exploit.

Machines can and are being made to produce practically every human need, yet that is about all they do except to displace the workers. They do not consume the products of the farm, the mill, mine or factory. Neither do they pay rent nor buy houses; they spend nothing for recreation or amusement; food and clothing are unknown quantities to the machine, yet, with all this sterility as a consumer, the machine is being exploited, and constructive remedies for the relief of dis-

placed workers are conspicuous by their absence.

Your committee is convinced that if a remedy for this serious condition is found it can only come through the organized labor movement in co-operation with other forces in our country who believe that the machine should and must be humanized rather than commercialized.

We should never lose an opportunity to drive home to the membership of our unions the need for using our purchase power to remedy as far as possible the condition above referred to and to improve working and living conditions for every member of organized labor. Repetition of this fundamental, while it may be tiresome to many, is absolutely essential at union meetings, central bodies, conventions of workers and in the columns of trade union journals, as it is, after all, purely a matter of education.

The story we have to tell is an intensely human one. The onward march of the toilers in their desire for more humane conditions of toil, improved housing and living conditions, more and better schools for the children in which to prepare for the great battle of life make a startling dramatic recital which, when properly told, must challenge the admiration of all fair-minded people.

None can tell the service we have rendered as well as ourselves. Only those who have gone through this struggle are in position to inform others of the change for the better that has taken place in our social, economic and industrial life as a result of the activities of the organized workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Before we can reasonably expect support from those outside of our movement we must continually drive home to our own members the knowledge that it is only with their undivided co-operation and support through their power of purchase that greater success can be attained.

What wonderful possibilities are visualized by those who have given thought and study to the advancement of the trade union movement if complete and active cooperation were rendered by our members in spending union-earned money only for union-label goods and union service!

And why shouldn't this cooperation be cheerfully and gladly given? In time of stress or during an industrial dispute which has resulted in a strike or lockout there is no

hesitancy upon the part of those involved to correspond with all trade unionists for their cooperation and support morally and financially.

If these same trade unionists had been as zealous in cooperation with union members of other trades in time of peace by spending their money only to help other trade unionists as they are in appealing for help when in trouble, strikes and lockouts would be minimized and we would therefore have a much larger and more powerful trade union movement.

We constantly hear complaints against the injustices of employers, and in practically every instance they are justifiable; yet those who complain loudest are invariably the most unfair and most selfish employers we have to contend with.

Every time money is spent by a trade unionist or his family either for goods or service he and they become to that extent an employer of labor. In spite of the fact, however, that his money is earned under union conditions, altogether too often he uses his power of purchase in patronizing non-union products. When this is done thoughtlessly or wantonly and recklessly it is a violation of union ethics. Dissipation of our power of purchase in this manner not only weakens our cause but it also gives aid and comfort to our enemies.

When a trade unionist becomes an employer he is morally bound to give those he employs as good conditions as he demands. When he does otherwise he not only fails to do his duty toward his fellows but he aligns himself with the exploiters he complains about so bitterly when his interests are at stake.

Education and still more education is necessary to change this condition. At all times we must impress our membership with the idea that "union-earned money should only be spent to purchase union-made goods and service." To do otherwise is to stigmatize themselves as among those who are desirous of tearing down conditions of employment secured only after great struggles for a principle which entailed self-denial, suffering and hardship to those who fought those battles.

The attention of the delegates to this convention is also called to the work being done by the Women's International Label League and Trade Union Auxiliary, whose President we were privileged to hear in an address to this convention on Tuesday.

In that address President Fitzgerald made a strong and stirring appeal to all trade unionists to render them moral cooperation by inducing the women members of their families to join union label leagues and do their full share in building up our organization through their power of purchase. As it is conceded that the major portion of money spent by the families of trade unionists passes through the hands of the women, we trust that the appeal of President Fitzgerald will meet with the hearty response which it deserves.

JOHN J. MANNING, Chairman.  
C. A. WEAVER, Secretary.  
GUST SODERBERG,  
WM. J. ROBINSON,  
MAX ZUCKERMAN,  
JOHN R. STEVENSON,  
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,  
WM. COLLINS,  
HENRY L. KOCH,  
JOHN J. RILEY,  
FELIX BELAIR,  
NORA O'CONNOR,  
P. J. RYAN,  
EDWARD C. WILSON,  
SAMUEL E. BEARDSLEY,  
E. LEWIS EVANS,  
DAVID DUBINSKY,

Committee on Labels.

Delegate Weaver moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Robinson, Typographical Union: I wish to state a few instances in connection with the Allied Printing Trades Union Label. While it is the most widely advertised label in the world, nevertheless it could stand more support. I am also secretary of the Allied Printing Trades Council of New York City, representing 31,000 organized printing trades workers in that city. During my career as business representative of that organization I had occasion to take up a matter with a hatter running a chain of stores and selling nothing but union-made hats. I took the matter up with the president of that organization, due to the fact that the Allied Printing Trades Label was not on their literature, and he informed me he was in the market as a union hatter and not as a union printer. After I investigated that statement I found we were getting the work anyway, consequently I did not go any further in that matter.

Then again there was a chain of clothing stores in the city selling nothing but union-made clothes. The manager of that concern consulted me in the matter. He said: "Mr. Robinson, members of organized labor come

into our store and they take it for granted that we have the union label. They never ask to see it or anything like that, and I would suggest that you instruct your members to ask for the union label, because it does help in the business office." I took the matter up with the Allied Printing Trades Committee, and from then on, while there may not have been any more goods sold, there was a bigger demand for union clothes from that establishment. I also took up the matter of printing, and while they did not have the label at that time they now have the label. It demonstrates what can be done by cooperation on the part of all.

I have seen a statement in the press that Sears, Roebuck & Company of Chicago have signed an agreement with the cloak and suit makers and that hereafter they will sell nothing but union-made goods made by these people, in an endeavor to eliminate the sweatshop. In relation to Sears, Roebuck & Company, everybody knows their products go into the homes of the masses and not of the classes, and consequently their printed matter should bear the label of the Allied Printing Trades. Sears, Roebuck & Company have signed a contract with the notorious concern of R. R. Donnelly & Company of Chicago, the work being done under non-union conditions without the label for many years. I just want to call these things to the attention of the delegates and ask them to cooperate.

Then again it has been necessary in the previous issue of the Typographical Journal to draw the attention of the members of organized labor to the fact that the Saturday Evening Post is not under a one-year agreement with the organized printers of the United States. This has been made necessary on account of rumors going around. Then again we have the Crowell publications, the principal one of which is Collier's Weekly. Three weeks ago a member of the Executive Board telephoned me and said he was amazed that Crowell's publication was unfair to our union. I am of the opinion the reason he felt that way was because of an editorial in Collier's Weekly advocating higher wages and shorter hours to help the prosperity of the country. I did not have the opportunity before leaving New York to get in touch with the Board of Governors, but at the next meeting of the Board of Governors I am going to ask that the president and the officers of the American Federa-

tion of Labor use their good offices in the matter of Collier's Weekly to see if they can't come to an understanding with the printing industry in that plant.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: On the pending motion I wish to say that the Department of the Letter Carriers' Association which is in my charge, the Life Insurance Department, has for many years not only requested the union label, but made it a standing requirement with our printer that every scrap of printing, be it advertising or a finely finished certificate, must be printed on union watermarked stock. In recent months, our printer tells us, he has not only had great trouble in securing this stock but many of the heavier qualities of union marked bond paper are not available. I am wondering if I can get any information on that.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I have listened with a great deal of interest to the addenda, if you please, in the report of the Label Committee. It is quite interesting. In my humble way I have been attempting to preach to the members of our international organization, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers, if you please, a little later when the Board endorses that, I have been endeavoring to preach cooperation. Up to a short time ago we had two house marks, one for eating establishments and one where they dispense liquor. We will confine ourselves from now on to one house card which will be known as the union house card.

I regret to say here, as the International Secretary-Treasurer of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, that I have not seen one house card so far in this city. Of course I believe in the old proverb that the Lord helps those who help themselves, and I take it that some of our craft here have not been trying to help themselves. If you don't help yourselves you are not entitled to the assistance of the other fellow, and if you co-operate with others you can make it more profitable.

I might say that the Building Trades Council and the Metal Trades Council are giving banquets in this city, and I would request that you ask that our members, waiters and waitresses, be employed. We have two organizations here, one of waiters and one of waitresses. I might say in passing that we have in our organization some of the finest women who stand on two feet.

President Green: I would like to inquire if

there is a representative of the Paper Makers' organization here who can give Delegate Swartz the information he requested.

Delegate Burns, Paper Makers: The paper to which Delegate Swartz referred is not available at the present time because the United States government entered suit against the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, charging a monopoly in our attempt to set up distributing agencies. Upon motion of government the American Writing Paper Company, which was manufacturing these high-grade bonds for a number of years, has discontinued manufacturing them, due to fear of the suit.

Delegate Swartz: The brother has answered in part that the United States government is keeping them from producing union watermarked stock, but my printer seems to get an unlimited amount of the lower grade of watermarked stock, so it seems peculiar to me that they can produce an unlimited quantity of the lower grade while the better grade stock is unobtainable.

Delegate Quinn, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to urge that the Label Committee insert in their report a request that the various international unions boost the women workers of the culinary industry. Women are beginning to come into this great industry in great numbers, and I noticed in my travels to this convention that in most of the large cities in the East very few women are organized. We know that with the help of the men you can organize these girls. I represent the waitresses and cafeteria workers, and I would appreciate it if you would urge, through your international magazines, that something be done for the waitresses and cafeteria workers.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I am rising to ask a question. I did not quite understand the statement made by the Paper Makers' delegate. Does he make the statement that the United States government is saying that the organization which he represents is creating a monopoly in the distribution of union watermarked paper?

Delegate Burns: Correct.

Delegate Furuseth: May I further ask if that comes under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law?

Delegate Burns: Absolutely, the charge comes under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

Delegate Furuseth: I would ask one more



question—if you have consulted your lawyers so as to be able to give this convention information that would help in preventing us from coming to the conclusion that there is a distinction between the union label and the watermark in the paper—a distinction between the two sufficient to save the union label from being attacked in the same way.

Delegate Burns, Paper Makers: While the Paper Makers have their label registered in the Patent Office of the United States and also with the government of Canada, when it enters into commerce it is a different thing, and the United States government takes the position that in setting up an agency for the distribution of that watermarked paper we are in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The United States government complains that the paper makers cannot control their own label, that paper making is available to all consumers. Anyone who buys in carload would not come in contact with that charge, but when you go out to buy a few sheets and you can't get them without going to some designated salesroom, then you are in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I would like to ask the representative of the Paper Makers if there is any other place outside of the Alden Paper Company where we can purchase union watermarked paper?

Delegate Burns: No, except through agencies designated by the Alden Paper Company. The United States government says it is a monopoly.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: Mr. Chairman and delegates, it is not with any thought or desire to prolong this discussion, but just to call vividly to the minds of the delegates how they can be helpful to several other organizations which have been injured by combinations in their particular lines I hold no particular brief for either of these organizations nor do I want to be understood as conveying to the delegates that they are in any way begging assistance from me.

I presume I am safely within the bounds of truth when I say that ninety to ninety-five per cent. of the men in attendance at this convention smoke cigars. I don't know of any other organization in our Federation that has suffered more by combination of capital than that international union. You and I who have been attending these conventions for years can look back to the time when the Cigar

Makers' International Union was held up as a model for practically all organizations in affiliation to this department, not only in the matter of conducting their affairs, not only in their membership, but in their loyalty to our organization—an organization of sixty to sixty-five thousand members that has been shot to pieces, the industry usurped by the machine and the women—not that I have anything against the women, but the men who spent their lives in that industry with the skill it required have now been reduced to about one-third of what their membership was ten or twelve years ago. The same thing can be applied to the tobacco workers, and that will reach women members of our organizations sometimes, because they smoke cigarettes, but, equally true, the men smoke pipes and tobacco.

There are resolutions in this convention on organizing the South, the textile industry. We know there has been a committee formed which has been appearing before the different committees of Congress, composed of men whose organizations are affected directly by the tariff. Now one of the mottoes of our department is this—and we place a sticker on every letter we send out from our office: "Spend American-made money for American-made goods." And except the union label is on those goods you don't know whether they are made in America or made abroad. The shoe workers, the hatters, the potters, the glass workers, the leather workers, the printing trades, the clothing trades and numerous others represented in this convention are affected by that tariff directly. If we can't get the assistance from the Congress that these men desire, then let us, in God's name, in the name of common sense, use our purchasing power through the union label to protect them that way.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers: I did not hear the first part of this discussion, but I am given to understand that the Paper Makers are not able to use the watermark because a suit has been brought against them. I might state for the information of the delegates here that the mill that has been making our paper for over twenty years notified us that it could no longer use the label because this suit was pending in court. We did find a mill that agreed to supply us with paper with the label, but we were advised to change our paper and our policy. What I am interested in knowing is this: Is this mill legitimately using the Paper Makers' Label of

the Paper Makers' organization? Certainly we would not want to go to all the trouble we did go to to make this change and then find it was useless. We use a considerable quantity of paper because we supply all our unions with their stationery free and we supply all our members with the monthly journal free, so I merely want an answer to that question to clarify the situation.

Delegate Burns, Paper Makers: I want to ask you a question. What company is making union watermarked paper for you?

Delegate Baine: The Unity Paper Company.

Delegate Burns, Paper Makers: If they are, then they are using the label legitimately. We have only two companies in the whole North American Continent turning out newsprint paper for us at this time—Unity Mills and the Hopper Paper Company.

The report of the Committee on Labels was unanimously adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### Scripps-Howard Editorial

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters:

I have a subject that I want to call to the attention of the convention. It is not in the regular order of business, but I think it is something that this convention ought to take particular notice of. We have two very large newspaper syndicates in the United States. My memory takes me back to the very foundation of both of those newspaper chains. Both of them have been built up as a result of the patronage of the masses of the working people of America, and like many other institutions in America, political, social and religious, when they become powerful they forget their old friends.

Within the last few days an editorial has appeared in one of these chains of newspapers which is undoubtedly read by not less than 15,000,000 people of the United States, and so that you may know just what it was I will read it to you. The heading of it is, "Where Is the A. F. of L.?" I am reading from the Washington News, but I have the same clipping from several other papers controlled by this syndicate, among them the Indianapolis Times, the New York Telegram, and so on. The editorial reads as follows:

#### Where Is the A. F. of L.?

To anyone interested in the rights and welfare of the workers, the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Toronto this week, is a somewhat pathetic organization.

It has to report a failure to make appreciable gains in membership, being now below three millions, compared with its five million and more in 1920.

It has to report a labor awakening in the South in which it has little share, and industrial warfare in the South which it has done little to mitigate.

It has to report increasing technological unemployment caused by machines doing the work of men, and its own inability to obtain governmental unemployment and old age pension systems to protect scrapped labor.

It has to report basic industries, such as steel, automobiles, rubber, oil, in which labor has neither organization nor collective bargaining.

It has to report other basic industries, such as coal and textiles, in which chaotic conditions drift from bad to worse, with the federation having no constructive program to prevent increasing suffering in those trades.

It has to report growth of the anti-labor injunction evil handcuffing the unions, and its helplessness to protect the constitutional civil rights of the workers,

And all this is happening in the most powerful, most prosperous, and allegedly most enlightened democracy in the world.

It would seem that there is something seriously wrong either with the country or with the American Federation of Labor. Perhaps much is wrong both with the country and with the A. F. of L.

Certainly government and industry are jointly responsible when the Secretary of Labor must admit that "there are among us from 10 to 20 million people who do not share as they should in the prosperity enjoyed by the rest of us." Certainly government and industry are jointly responsible for the legal and physical terrorism which victimize workers and their unions.

But, after all, what is the American Federation of Labor for? Unions are organized in trades and federated in a national body for the specific purpose of protecting the interests of labor. If the A. F. of L. cannot get justice for labor in Congress, in the courts, and in industry, who can?

The truth is that the A. F. of L. is failing miserably in its stewardship. Every year its weakness is more apparent.

The Southern textile situation is a vivid example of that failure, but it is only one of many examples. For thirty years the A. F. of L. ignored the field, except for easy resolutions and a handful of organizers. The job has been left to the Communists.

While the hungry Southern mill hands are facing alone the organized employers and hostile authorities, beaten by mobs and shot down by sheriffs, the sleek A. F. of L. officials sit twiddling their thumbs at mahogany desks in Washington or make patriotizing speeches to the National Security League or at West Point.

The A. F. of L. is accurately described as the aristocracy of labor. All aristocracies are subject to dry rot.—Indianapolis Times, Oct. 8, 1929.

The greatest enemy of the trade union movement in our country is perhaps the well-paid Foster, of the Communist Party, and every word of this editorial is in line with the speech delivered by Foster recently in this vicinity. He could not write an article any more vicious or containing more untruth than this editorial that has been published by a chain of newspapers that has been built up by the American working men and women of the United States.

It is not a charge against the American

Federation of Labor officials, it is a charge against every labor official of every labor organization in America affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and it is about time that the workers of America would realize that they must resent by action, as well as speech, unjust, criminal, malicious, lying statements of this kind.

Of course the Federation had a larger membership away back in 1920, when millions of workers in this and every other country rushed into the several organizations of labor because the government of this and every other country recognized the organized labor movement as the spokesman, the mouthpiece of the toilers of the several nations. But when the war ended, not only in our country did the workers lose their employment, but in all the other countries the workers lost employment because certain wartime industries were abolished and there was no further use for them. Those masses of workers that came in during the war, as each of you in your respective unions knows, left the organizations again, and, of course, that substantially reduced the membership of the American Federation of Labor and of all other unions in the world.

Twiddling their thumbs at their desks! There are no officials in any employment in America—and I say this after twenty-five years of serving the labor movement—that render the unselfish service, the faithful service, the clean service to the people that employ him that the representatives of labor do in the several unions throughout the country, and especially the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Some years ago in one of our conventions, just about the time we were in session, the other chain of newspapers that catered in its beginning to the prejudices of the mob, that played on the religious and political prejudices of the multitude when it was seeking a foothold in American trade unionism, made a similar attack on the American Federation of Labor and on the man, who has since passed away, who was then the President of the Federation. I remember well the convention and its expression, and there was no mistaking the language.

I have watched carefully that same chain of newspapers, and as a result of the expression of that convention in those days never has there been a repetition of an attack similar to that—that scurrilous attack, that unjust attack that was then made; never has there been a repetition of it in any of these same newspapers. And I want this convention—not tonight, but tomorrow or some other day before we leave—to give its opinion and its expression and send it out to the toilers of the nation, resenting this unjust, undignified, unqualified statement that has been made against the labor movement of America.

It is strange how they pick out the little spots in our great movement, when they cannot say anything helpful for it. It is strange that they do not refer in any of their statements to some of the things that we have been doing. It says that for thirty years the American Federation of Labor has ignored the South. That is a lie. For thirty years the American Federation of Labor has been

fomenting the situation and the condition that now prevails in the South, trying to wake up working men and women to a realization of their possibilities if they came into the organized labor movement of our country.

In all my time—and I can remember back definitely thirty years—I have never known of the time that the American labor movement has not been trying to organize the South. Finally it succeeded in arousing that fire within the minds of the workers of the South until there was brought about a condition that has attracted with disgust the opinions of every honest thinking, free thinking, liberty loving American in every other part of our country.

They do not mention the fact in this editorial, if we are doing nothing but twiddling our thumbs, that nearly a million workers within the last two years have obtained the five-day week and that hundreds of thousands of others have obtained the eight-hour day and the seven-hour day. They do not mention the fact that there are men fighting to establish a better day, a better wage, and that in ninety cases out of a hundred we are successful in bettering the already splendid conditions of the toilers of America.

This falling away in membership—is the American Federation of Labor responsible because, as a result of mass production in the coal mining industry, thousands of miners have lost their employment and that those men were unable in turn to continue their activities as dues-paying members in that splendid, fighting organization? Why not be just in those statements? Is the American Federation of Labor to be condemned because it endorsed, by expression and financial assistance, the struggle of the miners to resist an unjust decrease in wages, when their living conditions made it almost impossible for them to live on their present wage?

What about the other countries of the world? There are only two real fighting organizations of labor in all the other countries of the world that come anywhere near comparing themselves with the American trade union movement. Those are the British trade union movement and the German trade union movement, and each of these organizations has been set back as a result of the disorganization of industry following the close of the war; they have been set back much more substantially than the American Federation of Labor, while in most of the other countries the labor movement has been practically destroyed. I am talking about Europe.

They say there must be something wrong with the American Federation of Labor or with the government. Well, they took a substantial position in helping to elect our present government—this same chain of newspapers.

President Green—and I will trespass upon his confidence because I know he is going to make some statement on this question—has had telegraphic communication with the management of this paper and perhaps he may deem it necessary to make known the correspondence, but the telegraphic answer, in my interpretation of it, is evasive, it is apologetic in only the slightest sense of the word, and it falls back by pleading for the indulgence to

have the right to criticize because of the past historic policy of these papers when under the management of one of the founders who has retired a year or two ago. But even if a total denial was given and the management claimed it was the work of some unauthorized editorial writer, it wouldn't satisfy me, because once a statement goes into the hands of the millions, printed in a newspaper, the damage is done and that damage can hardly be repaired.

But at least it is our duty as labor men to stifle down the throats of the management that has permitted such an injustice to go out that we resent such filth and that by our intelligent efforts we will be able to repay the perpetrators of this injustice. No, it was premeditated and considered seriously before it was written. I know you men know the life of a newspaper depends on its circulation, because from its circulation result the financial conditions that go to make profits for the stockholders. The advertising is advanced in accordance with the circulation.

This chain, like other newspapers, finds that it is better, perhaps, that it will have a greater tendency toward increasing their advertising, if they will take a malicious, dirty crack at the multitude representing the toilers here in convention, and that is the purpose of the editorial. Next week they will come out with an editorial again appealing to the government and to the powers that be to give a square deal to labor, and unfortunately labor will go on accepting their humble apologies.

Of course we had a different system twenty or twenty-five years ago in our organization work. There is a change in the labor movement. What great organization, whether it be church, fraternal or governmental, that has not had to change its policies and its methods of procedure? What assistance have we been given from the newspapers of America in fighting the injunction until such time as, within a few months, a judge in Cleveland granted a notorious injunction against one of the newspapers of the other chain, and it aroused the press of the nation against the unjust power now centered in the hands of the judges.

Labor has to meet the changes in life, in industry, in civilization, in governments, if you please, the same as any other institution. In going through these periods of reorganization in industry, in going through these periods of reconstruction in all the countries of the world, labor, too, has perhaps been slightly set back numerically, but fundamentally labor was never more aggressive, more fighting, or more militant than it is today in most of the countries of the world, and in no country has labor got more vitality within it than it has in the United States, under the banner, guidance, control and direction of the several international unions that constitute the American Federation of Labor.

I know all of you can speak for your unions. You have perhaps had many more successes than we have had, but within the last year we have signed wage scales bettering the conditions of our membership amounting numerically to over 50,000 of our members, and in no instance has that increase been less than \$4.00

per week, and a shortening of the hours besides. Twenty years ago in New York City, if they gave me a dollar a week for my people I would settle and be pleased to do so, with an institution that within a week, after a three-day strike of seven thousand men, granted an increase of \$5.00 a week.

We are working harder because it needs harder work and greater attention. I know the men of labor. I know what they have suffered and gone through. I know what they have done in the ages past and I would not take one scintilla of credit or honor from them. But I say to you now that in my honest judgment—I say it because I have no axe to grind any more than any one of you, and my service to the labor movement has been questioned in that editorial as much as any of the officers of the Federation—I say to you now that in my judgment there never was a time when every officer of labor, locally and nationally, rendered better or bigger service than he is rendering now to the labor movement of our country.

Of course people will say, What's the use of noticing statements of that kind? That has not been my policy. I don't notice statements coming from insignificant individuals or institutions that have no great influence and whose ideas are not supposed to be of a substantial nature, but I think that, as labor men sitting here in this convention—many of you young men who are coming into the service and you old men who have been in the service for years, whose hair has grown gray in rendering service night and day in negotiating in conferences and conflicts that you could not put into writing, in the sweating hours in which your brains were matched against the great minds that could be hired by the opposing enemy—you men are lax in your duty unless you, as part of this American Federation of Labor, you who create the American Federation of Labor and you who continue this Federation of Labor, send out a statement and a determined voicing of your sentiments, a cry that will be heard not only by this chain of newspapers, but by others, resenting this unjust, unfair, scandalous, lying statement.

#### Delegate Furuseth, Seamen

It is late, and what I have to say will take some little time, but if you are willing I will give you the benefit of some thoughts that I have gathered here in several years and that I have gathered while in Europe.

I agree in some instances with Mr. Tobin. I agree with many things that he has said. I agree in the defense that he is making, but I am not prepared to agree in a part of the charges that he is making. The labor movement of the world has entered in the last ten years a phase which we must understand. It is our business to understand it. It is our business to furnish that understanding to those who are writing, especially if they are of the kind that usually are disposed to be fair.

I don't believe for one moment that that chain of newspapers has sized up the real fight in the world today. If they did they would

know some of the reasons for the reduction in membership from 1920 to now; they would know the reason for the lethargy which every one of us is compelled to acknowledge, especially among the rank and file of the unorganized, if we are willing to use our eyes and our reason at all.

The labor movement is dealing with questions so big, so fraught with fate to humanity that it is almost impossible to follow them. We heard from this platform during this convention a speech that was an encouragement and a consolation to us all, but especially to those who have grasped, as I hope I have, the real meaning of the struggle that the labor movement is now going through and which is only the beginning of the frightful things that are to come.

The world has been struggling to rid itself of slavery. It was on the religious field, it was on the political field, and it is to some extent, though somewhat mitigated, still there on the industrial field. The world struggled for sixteen hundred years to get rid of bondage, mental and physical, on the religious field; it struggled for about three hundred years to get rid of at least the principle of it in the political field. It has since the war shifted consciously on the other side of the struggle, over on the industrial field, and what you are now dealing with is the very systematic effort to liquidate, as the engineer used the expression the other day, all of the benefits and all of the rights and all of the privileges that the common man has obtained in the last one hundred and fifty years.

The Third Estate, which manufactured the French Revolution, of which it lost control, is now in the saddle. Since the war it is absolutely in the saddle. You have it in absolute power and strength in Spain, you have it in disguise more or less in France, you have it boastfully and openly in Italy, you have it in Greece, in Roumania, in Bulgaria, in Hungary and Austria, and it came within a hair's breadth of seizing upon Germany a couple of years ago. You have the beginning of it in Great Britain in the organization of the Crusaders.

When the war was over, so said the engineer, the employers and Big Business—that is, the Third Estate—undertook to liquidate everything that had been obtained during the war. It undertook to liquidate international rights and the approaches to equality and freedom that had been attained in the Western world. Labor today is not facing small organizations, small trusts; it is facing combinations and understandings that are world wide and that are using every conceivable method to give to the laboring people, the common people, a capitalist mind. Of course, the Socialists take one view of these things, and the Communists take another—and they are only an extension of the Socialists after all.

The Third Estate and Big Business are synonymous. They say we have failed in basic industries. Well, basic industries are absolutely under their control, and one of the first things that we have had to understand is that

we are now dealing with these people who have that control. As far as I am concerned, outside of a few expressions which I have little use for and which I admit are astounding, I am standing here grateful for the shock that has been administered and begging of you to take advantage of the opportunity to make due explanation of the things that need explaining—and some of them need explaining.

Of course we have lost membership. Why shouldn't we? There is a possibility of combination on one side that is being used in every direction and used so rapidly that if you try to follow it your head begins to turn. A big institution is absorbed by a bigger one. The big institution that is absorbed was friendly in the ordinary sense that we use the word. It becomes overnight unfriendly because it has other purposes and other management. There is nothing to stop these combinations. They are treated with kindness and consideration.

One of the reasons why the miners have gone so far down as they have is because they have been using power which we fail to understand and have put the miners, fifteen or twenty thousand of them in the middle of this country, in a state of involuntary servitude. We must find some way of releasing the forces that exist in us, and if that be done courage and hope will be restored as it was in the Ladies' Garment Workers, but it cannot be done without first understanding that nothing will stop the Third Estate or Big Business from winning but the organization of the workers.

I hope and trust that you will take some action, such as the appointing of a committee, and have that committee answer that paper in the way that I think it might be answered, calling their attention to the new forces and the helplessness of the men at the bottom to change them until at least they can get some assistance from others who might be friendly. Then I would ask those papers to give as wide publication to that statement as they did to their own.

Who is responsible? Who is responsible? Why, there are among us in the labor movement here and there men who might be held to be somewhat responsible. A big movement like ours is bound to have leeches attached to it, and that kind of thing discourages the courage of others.

Anyone who thinks that either the vanquished or the victor won the late war does not know anything about conditions as they really are. Those who won that war are Big Business, the Third Estate, and they are using their victory to destroy labor organizations in Europe and in America. It is from that point of view and with that idea in mind that we should study this question, and I hope it will be done in the next couple of days.

#### DELEGATE HESKETH

(Hotel and Restaurant Employees)

Mr. Chairman, I am very much concerned, as most of the delegates are, over this proposition. I have a resolution in my pocket, but

I thought our worthy President would take care of the question himself and I did not want to intrude. I presume the question is going to come up again and I would like to be heard at that time. I have a story that will be interesting.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived and passed. It will be my duty to take this matter up at some other session

of the convention. It would be cruel indeed for us to continue in session now at this late hour for the purpose of discussing it fully, and the Chair will simply hold the matter in abeyance until some subsequent session of the convention.

At 5:45 p.m. the convention adjourned under the rules to 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 14.



## Fifth Day---Monday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario,  
October 14, 1929.

The convention was called to order by  
President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Fagan, Murray, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H.W.), Wood, McCluskey, Phillips, Norrington, Johnson, Laude, Berker, Buckley, Southall, Watt (R.J.), Shave, Brandt, Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S.), Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A.C.), Gallagher, Sidney, McElligott, Caldwell, Lawson (O.L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

In accordance with request contained in letter received from President C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions, your committee recommends that the name of James Gilboy be substituted for that of C. L. Rosemund.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 10, 1929.  
President William Green,  
American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ont.

Greetings. As native of Virginia I am thoroughly familiar with economic conditions respectfully beseech Executive Council seriously consider Resolution 11. Guarantee to go there and properly organize labor groups or serve as commissioner of conciliation because of personal knowledge of conditions due to unintelligent agitation and capitalistic reprisals.

ASHLEY L. TOTTEN,  
Sleeping Car Porters, 18077.

Worcester, Mass., Oct. 7, 1929.  
Wm. Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor, Convention  
Headquarters, Toronto, Ont.

New England Labor Congress Committee extends cordial invitation to all delegates at

Toronto convention to attend congress in Worcester, October 25, 26 and 27.

WM. H. THORNTON,  
Chairman Committee;  
FREEMAN M. SALTUS,  
President,  
Central Labor Union.

Lynchburg, Va., Oct. 13, 1929.

Wm. Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor, Royal York  
Hotel, Toronto, Ont.

The Virginia Piedmont Association of Labor Unions in session today passed resolution asking the American Federation of Labor to consider favorably all resolutions on organization of Southern workers. We feel the time is opportune for general organizing campaign for all internationals in the South.

W. L. GIBSON,  
Chairman,  
MARARET WALL,  
Secretary.

Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, announced that the committee would go into session immediately and requested that the following appear before the committee: representatives of the Textile Workers or those interested in conditions in the South, representatives of the Automobile Workers from Brooklyn, and representatives of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

Secretary Morrison announced a meeting of the representatives of state federations of labor on Monday night, October 14, to which all delegates from state federations of labor were invited.

He also announced that Delegate Phillips, representing the Florida State Federation of Labor, was ill at the Ford Hotel.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: I desire to make a motion that there be a special order of business at 10 o'clock Tuesday morning for the consideration of Resolution No. 36. pertaining to organization work in the South. I desire to say, after hearing the announcement of the chairman of the Committee on Organization, that in our opinion, after many years of work in the South, all international unions should have some representative at the committee meeting today if it is possible.

The motion was seconded by Delegate McNally, Federal Employees, and unanimously adopted.

### APPOINTMENTS

President Green: The Chair desires to appoint Brother James Noonan, Brother James

Wilson and Brother Peter A. Brady to act as a reception committee to wait upon the Commander of the American Legion and escort him to the convention hall at about 10:30 o'clock this morning.

I wish to announce the appointment of Brother John P. Frey as a member of the Committee on International Labor Relations. Brother Frey is eligible to serve on this committee inasmuch as he was seated as a delegate a few days ago, and I desire to add his name to the other names on that committee.

Reports of committees were called for—and the secretary of the Committee on Legislation announced that that committee was prepared to report.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Thomas Flaherty, Postal Clerks, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

##### National Legislation

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pages 77-88) the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the varied legislative activities of the Executive Council and, particularly, the successful culmination of the twenty-three-year fight for convict labor legislation. This was a notable victory—another distinct step forward in labor's onward march.

We commend the Council for its militant vigilance in furtherance of organized labor's program and principles, as enumerated in its report to this convention, and recommend a continuance of this successful policy in handling labor legislation throughout the Seventy-first Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Coal Legislation

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 83) the committee reported as follows:

The attention of the delegates is called to the efforts of the United Mine Workers to stabilize and improve conditions in the coal industry through the medium of relief legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States. Unfortunately, thus far these attempts have not been successful.

The depression in the coal industry adversely affects many related interests. Entire com-

munities have been impoverished. Thousands of wage earners and small business men, in addition to the coal miners, are vitally concerned in this problem, which we believe is a pressing and legitimate subject for governmental inquiry and aid.

It is recommended that the Executive Council continue to give all possible assistance to the United Mine Workers to secure from the Seventy-first Congress the remedial legislation so necessary for the preservation and prosperity of this great basic industry.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Sales Tax

On the portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pages 85-86) the committee reported as follows:

Successive conventions of the American Federation of Labor have expressed disapproval of a sales tax as a method of taxation, because of the firm conviction that such a tax plan would impose unjust discriminatory burdens upon wage earners. There is no recent development to justify a change in this position.

Your committee therefore agrees with the views expressed in the Executive Council's report in opposition to the sales tax and we recommend convention concurrence in said report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Registration Certificates For Aliens

Your committee is in accord with the judgment of the Executive Council (pages 81-82) that mandatory registration of aliens upon arrival will greatly strengthen the immigration laws and such a policy should be rigidly enforced by immigration administrators. Further, we believe every effort should be made to have aliens voluntarily apply for registration certificates in order to minimize opportunities for illegal entry and residence.

Accordingly, we recommend concurrence in the recommendations of the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Do I understand that the committee in their report recommend compulsory registration? Do the committee say in the language of their report that they recommend compulsory registration of aliens?

President Green: I think the committee

recommends that all aliens entering the United States of America should be required to secure a certificate showing that they had legally entered the United States, and that those who have not such certificates and have entered the United States either legally or illegally, I presume, may voluntarily apply for a certificate of legal admission.

Delegate Martel: I understand that such is the language of the report of the Executive Council, but I thought I understood the secretary of the committee to say that it was the belief of the committee.

Secretary Flaherty re-read the committee's report on the subject.

Secretary Flaherty: Let me state that that is part of the original Immigration Law of 1906, but heretofore it has never been properly enforced.

Delegate Martel: There has been some controversy as to the advisability of compelling aliens in the country to register. The present law contemplates that it is compulsory for all aliens to register upon entry. It seems that it is impossible to secure a proper enforcement of the immigration law unless there is a complete registration of all aliens in the country. I understand that it has been the policy of the American Federation of Labor to refrain from giving support to any measure introduced in Congress that had for its purpose the compulsory registration of aliens in this country. I think that we are mistaken in that policy.

The Department of Labor is sponsor for the statement that there are a million and a half illegal immigrants in the country today. These men are competitors with the members of organized labor and others for jobs in this country, and if there is no other way of ferreting them out and protecting the legally domiciled people in this country from their competition, then I think we will have to come to compulsory registration of aliens in the United States.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Compulsory registration—or voluntary registration—this thing does not say compulsory registration, except to those who come now, and that ought to have been done long ago. Register those who are coming. Yes. Register those who are here? Why? Did it ever occur to the advocates of this thing that the man born in Dublin and claiming to be born in Boston is a very difficult man to deal with unless you put upon him the duty of proving his Boston birth? Don't you know that when a man is

born in any of the Scandinavian countries that it is the easiest thing in the world for him to say that he was born in Minnesota, and do you know that he passes to citizenship on the strength of it? Don't you know that if a German wants to speak good English but breaks on the German and is accused of being a German, he says, "No, I was born in Pennsylvania"? He puts upon the immigration officials, in the past at least, the burden of proof to show that he was not born in Pennsylvania or Minnesota or Wisconsin or Boston.

Then comes the man who was born in the Dominion of Canada or in Newfoundland. He says, "I was born in Maine and I defy you to prove that I was not." The man born in British Columbia says, "I was born in Washington, across the line, and I defy you to prove that I was not."

Now if you are to register those who are voluntarily willing to register, what does that mean? You are asking those who have acquired legal residence to register. You are simply getting the truth from the honest man, you are not getting the thief, you are not getting the criminal, you are not getting the man who comes in here to violate the law. You are making it easy for him to escape.

The committee's recommendation that those who come in now must register is useless because that is the law—they must be registered and it is not upon their own initiative that they register. Your recommendation is helping every crook, whether he be laborer, employer, official, or shipowner, seeking to destroy your immigration law. I move that this report be sent back to the committee with instructions to make further inquiries into it.

President Green: May the Chair make this brief explanation? The immigration law of 1906 provided that all immigrants entering our country were required to register in order that it might be shown by the record that they had entered our country in a legal way, but we find that the law has not been enforced. We know that there are hundreds of thousands of immigrants in the United States of America, and I suppose many in Canada, who have entered illegally, surreptitiously, and it is very difficult indeed to institute proceedings of deportation to prove that all this vast number have entered the country illegally. We know that there is bootlegging going on in many of our ports and on our borders. We know that smuggling of aliens is going on.

We want to deal with the subject in a

common-sense, practical way, and for that reason it is the opinion of the Executive Council that all immigrants coming into our country should be required to register and secure a certificate of legal entry. We will then be in position to ascertain in a short time all who are here legally and all who are here illegally. Action can then be taken against those who were smuggled in or who came in surreptitiously and illegally. It seems there is no other way by which we can determine this fact of legal entry into the United States. It is a simple matter.

We record births and deaths in a rather imperfect way, and we have the records in our county units and in our communities. I will admit that in our own country this phase of governmental work has been overlooked, apparently, and it is woefully lacking, but we maintain a record. Is there any good reason why a man coming to our shores should not be required to secure a certificate of legal entry? Then if called upon to show whether or not he entered our country legally he can produce it, and if it is impossible for him to produce such certificate, then it seems to me the burden of proof is upon such person to prove that he entered our country legally.

Now the American Federation of Labor of course maintained a consistent policy of opposition to extreme measures. It was suggested years ago that legislation be enacted which would provide for fingerprinting, and for photographing, for periodical report. The American Federation felt that that would establish a system of espionage that was offensive and repulsive to our concept of freedom and liberty, and we consistently opposed that, but we believe that experience has shown that this reasonable measure of registration and certification would help us wonderfully in the enforcement of our immigration statute.

It was upon that basis and after a careful study of the whole situation, appreciating fully the numbers who are entering our country illegally, that the Executive Council submitted this report to the convention. I know that the Council firmly hopes that the delegates here will concur in the recommendation of the Council.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: May I ask the speaker whether it is not now the law that anybody who comes into the United States now must be given a legal certificate of entry before he lands?

President Green: I don't think that the law

requires that he should be given a certificate of entry, but, as I understand it, the law requires that he must register.

Delegate Furuseth: The law provides that he shall be given a certificate of entry.

President Green: The Chair will not debate that question with you.

Delegate Furuseth: That is to begin with—so that it is rather late in the day, in my opinion, to ask for that which is already in the law. You might endorse it, no harm can come from that, but you are going further here. You are asking Congress to pass a law authorizing those who came here so long ago that they cannot be deported, to be permitted to voluntarily, or to be authorized and commanded to register. What good can come of that, except to compel registration of everybody?

The one part of the report is all right, except that it does not seem to understand fully that that is what the law is now. The other part of the report is the reversal of what we did in the past and takes no notice of the scoundrel or the crook. You can't get away from the idea that those who register will be the honest men. Those who will not register will be those who have something to hide.

It will simply put a lot of obligations upon the honest man who lives here and who came here at the time he had the right to come here and was invited to come here, and the crook will claim that he came at that time and he will not register. I wish you would consider this thing well before you finally pass upon it. I have been dealing with this question now for several years, looking into every phase of the law, trying to stop the bootlegging of these immigrants as seamen. I know what the law is and the difficulties of the matter and the forces that you have to fight.

President Green: The Chair is of the opinion that Delegate Furuseth asked a very lengthy question. May I bring this to the attention of Brother Furuseth and the convention: that it is assumed at least that those people to whom Brother Furuseth refers can be deported under the existing immigration law. There are a large number being deported periodically now from the United States. The Department of Immigration is engaged in checking up on thousands of men who have no evidence. Deportation proceedings are instituted and from time to time groups are being sent out. We have now on the statute books laws that provide that those who enter illegally shall be deported. The difficulty is to submit evidence. There must be a beginning to try to establish, if we can, the legal or illegal entry of aliens into the United States, and when that begins to operate we will begin then to discover those who are in legally and those who have entered illegally. I think that a registration law should be so drafted that the defects of the

present law could be overcome and we would establish a systematic plan of registration and certification.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I am for the committee's report, but in view of some of the statements which have been made it seems to me that this convention should differentiate between the crooks who may come in and others. A short time ago I was discussing the immigration problem with a responsible official of the Labor Department in Washington. He told me that the evidence in the Department's possession indicated that at the present time there are some 50,000 Chinamen illegally in this country working in the coal and metalliferous mines; that in addition to that there were at least 25,000 Japanese. The number of Mexicans is unknown.

We find in the Metal Trades Department that the private shipyards, particularly during the past four or five years, have been recruiting their forces very largely from European workmen who have been smuggled into this country. The official of the Department, who is a responsible man, told me further that in many of the metal manufacturing industries and the others these men in our country illegally are working for one-half or one-third of the wages paid citizens of our country, unwilling, fearful of saying one word, because the employer or the foreman holds the continuous threat over them that if they make any effort to secure comparable wages with those paid to our citizens they will be exposed and sent back. Yes, there are crooks in our country who have evaded the immigration law; there are hundreds of thousands of them working in our industry illegally in our country, not only competing with those who are on our shores when there is unemployment, but doing what is fully as dangerous all the time—working for ridiculously low wages because the threat of deportation is held over them.

I want to agree with the President that we were not in harmony with the program of fingerprinting everyone who entered our shores, but I think we want to do something to rid ourselves of the continuously growing burden that we are forced to deal with by the presence of these men not entitled to be with us; who, because they are not entitled, are working for wages that make it impossible for the Americans to maintain anything like a decent standard of living when they come in competition with us.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I think it is pretty well agreed that the American Federation of Labor is for an honest enforcement of the immigration law, and for the life of me I cannot understand how we hope to secure such an enforcement until you do have registration. What is there about the registration of aliens who are in this country that we are afraid of? Who are the people that are to be protected by withholding compulsory registration? I have to register even though I am a native born, in order to enjoy the rights of citizenship of the United States, and I know of no reason why the illegal immigrant in the United States should be entitled to privileges or exemptions that I myself am not entitled to. Every child in our public schools is registered from the day he enters

our school system, and that registration follows him all through the school system.

There is some reason, I want to say, Mr. Chairman, some hidden reason, why this organization seems afraid to ask for registration of all aliens in the country, and I am at a loss to understand the reason for that. You say that if we have a registration of those who come in now under the law, that will assist the government officials in ferreting out the crooks, those that have come into the country surreptitiously. That is not true. Any man apprehended by an immigration official, if he is in the country at the time of his apprehension, cannot be deported without sufficient proof that he is in the country illegally, and the burden of proof is on the government, but not upon the individual.

In our district the laundries and restaurants and a number of other places pick up these Chinese and employ them and when the government asks where they were born they say, "Frisco." Every Chinaman who comes in is taught to say that he was born in Frisco—in other words, the records were destroyed during the fire. They are getting away with it, and the same thing is true of every immigrant. Just as long as you leave this thing open you will leave it open not only to protect those men that are in the country illegally, but you are leaving a loophole that makes it possible for those who are profiting off of bootleg immigrants and the exploitation of people that are in the country illegally to continue this infiltration.

Mr. Davis said here the other day that sometimes our trade union officials asked for favors or exemptions for some of our members who have come into the country illegally and joined the trade unions. That may be true in some localities, but I want you to know that we have told the immigration officials in the city of Detroit that we ask no special favors for any man under the immigration law, whether he is a member of a trade union or not. We have taken the position in our locality that membership in a trade union is not a right to violate the immigration law, and I want to resent the statement made by our Secretary of Labor that our trade union officials are asking for such exemptions. At least it is not true so far as our district is concerned.

Leave this thing as it is now in the hands of the committee with their recommendation and you have a continuation of the present policy. The United States Congress is now in session. The Department of Labor officials tell you frankly—Mr. Davis said so the other day—that compulsory registration of aliens is necessary to a proper enforcement of the immigration law, and unless we ourselves endorse that policy Mr. Davis will pass the buck back to us as the reason why the immigration law is not being enforced in this country. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, if I am not out of order at this time I would like to move an amendment to the committee's report: that this convention go on record in favor of compulsory registration of aliens.

Delegate Furuseth: I rise to propose an amendment to the amendment.

President Green: Just a minute—the Chair will have to rule upon this motion first. The Chair is of the opinion that the amendment offered by Delegate Martel is clearly out of order. The committee has recommended, as I understand it, compulsory registration of aliens entering our country, that all shall be required to register and secure a certificate. That is the report of the Executive Council, that is the report of the committee.

The question of those who are here who have not registered has been dealt with by the committee in this way: That they recommend that all those be given an opportunity to register so that they may take advantage of the opportunity to show that they are here legally. There is no backing away from this question on the part of the American Federation of Labor, and it ill becomes anyone, by innuendo or insinuation, to attempt to leave the impression that the American Federation of Labor has some hidden, secret reservation. What movement in America has fought more vigorously for restricted immigration than the American Federation of Labor?

However, we want to deal with the subject in a practical way, not in a theoretical way. We know now that when deportation proceedings are instituted the individuals against whom these deportation proceedings are instituted have resorted to the courts. I should like to see everyone required to secure a certificate of registration, and then the burden of proof would be upon him to show that he is here legally.

That is what we are attempting to do in this committee's report. That is the very purpose sought to be achieved in the committee's report, and I am sure that if Brother Martel will analyze this carefully he will see that the very thing he has been talking about is recommended by the committee.

Delegate Martel: One more question, Mr. Chairman. Do you believe that the immigrants that are in this country illegally should be forced to register?

President Green: No, and they are not being forced in this country. We shall continue to support the government in every effort it puts forth to deport everyone that is here illegally. That shall be our policy.

Delegate Furuseth: May I ask a question?

President Green: If you wish.

Delegate Furuseth: Is there any law now—if not, I would like to find the evidence of any decision that has declared the existing

law unconstitutional—is it in the law now that an immigrant coming to the United States must register, that is to say, that he must be given a registration certificate before he leaves the ship and comes ashore? Is that the law? Will you answer that?

President Green: If I can. The Executive Council stated that the law, whatever it may be, is not operating because of a lack of enforcement of the statute, and what we are trying to do is to go to the Congress of the United States and put some force into the law.

Delegate Furuseth: In other words, you admit that the law now, passed at the last Congress in the month of March, makes it necessary to register everybody that comes—you admit that? Will you admit further that the present law puts the burden of proof, when a man is arrested for being in the country illegally, upon the man to prove that he has no right to be here?

President Green: No, I will not.

Delegate Furuseth: Now, then, I am willing to stake my reputation for veracity and truth, after a study of several years on this question, when I say that that is the law now and that the Immigration Department is enforcing that, and if it were not for that they would not be able to deport one-third or one-tenth of those who are deported. You are asking for something that is the law. I have no objection to that. If you want to make yourselves ridiculous, all right, but you have this other thing. Now, then, if you divide the question so that the convention can vote in favor of the certification to be given to those who come in and that the burden of proof be put upon the accused when he is accused of being here illegally, there won't be any further question about it. Then there remains only the question of whether you want to give these men prior to 1921 an opportunity to register. There is nothing in the law now that prevents them from doing that. But when it comes to the statement of Brother Martel, concerning registration of all aliens, compulsory registration, how is he going to distinguish between the man who was born in the United States and the man who was born in British possessions of North America? How is he going to distinguish between the Scandinavian who breaks on the English and claims he was born in Minnesota?

Delegate Huddell, Operating Engineer: I rise to a point of order. The speaker got up to ask a question. I didn't think he was reporting for the obstacle committee.

Delegate Furuseth: I have been for several years trying to stop bootlegging of immigrants into the United States, and your resolution here now will put weapons into the hands of those who are preventing it from passing.



The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried with one dissenting vote.

**ADDRESS BY NATIONAL COMMANDER  
C. L. BODENHEIMER, OF THE AMERICAN  
LEGION AND INTRODUCTION  
BY PRESIDENT GREEN**

President Green: The Chair will now interrupt the regular proceedings of the convention to present to you a distinguished representative of a great organization that is exercising a very great influence in the social and political life of our nation. I reported to you the other day that the new Commander of the American Legion had wired me advising that our invitation extended to him to address the convention had been accepted, and that he would be here this morning. In conformity with that information, he is here, and I know that you are happy indeed in that you will be privileged to hear his address.

We have been exchanging fraternal delegates with the American Legion for many years. The custom was established through an understanding reached by my distinguished predecessor, the late Samuel Gompers, and the representatives of the American Legion who conferred with him. We have maintained that fraternal relation with unbroken and uninterrupted regularity. The messages delivered by labor at American Legion conventions, I am sure, have been appreciated and have been helpful, and I know that you have always appreciated the messages brought to us by the representatives of the American Legion. There are so many things in which we are in common accord and, even though there may be some questions upon which we maintain divided opinions, we are considering these problems as friends deeply interested in the common welfare of the membership of these two great organizations.

Mr. C. L. Bodenheimer comes from Arkansas and was elected as the Commander of the American Legion at Louisville, Kentucky, just a few days ago. It was very fine of him, in view of all the work he was required to do, to lay it aside and pay us this visit. We appreciate it very much. I am glad now to present to you C. L. Bodenheimer, Commander of the American Legion.

**MR. C. L. BODENHEIMER  
(National Commander, American Legion)**

Mr. President, Delegates to the Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen: If I had the eloquence of some of the delegates to this convention or

the executive ability of your President, I would feel very much more at home in this convention. I am deeply grateful to President Green for the fine sentiment expressed and for the compliment paid in his remarks of introduction. This is my first official appearance as National Commander of the American Legion. It is an evidence, therefore, of the bonds of friendship which join two of the great organizations in American life, that my first message should be one of greeting and good-will to the American Federation of Labor, and I want you to know that my pleasure and gratitude for this privilege are as real and sincere as was the recent welcome accorded by the Legion convention to your representative and to our friend Peter Brady.

My friends, I am not unfamiliar with those affairs which concern your organization and mine alike. It was my good fortune to sit at the feet of that grand old man of union labor, that friend of all humanity, Samuel Gompers, when at the Legion convention in New Orleans he helped with his zeal and sincerity to lay the foundation for a lasting friendship between our organizations from which both have already been greatly benefited. Last year I sat in the convention hall at San Antonio when his successor, William Green, in a most interesting and thoroughly American address, pledged his support and the support of your organization to the furtherance of those great principles and noble ideals which we both hold in common. Just the other day at the Louisville convention I marked well the address of Mr. Brady, in which he expressed the hope that the Legion in its convention would approve certain things which your organization has been and is now advocating. These, in part, included an increase in pay for officers and enlisted men of the army, navy, marine corps and certain other governmental agencies, the eradication of illiteracy from our land, the promotion of a child welfare program, the proper care of our disabled veterans, and an admission that the investigation of lobbyists in Washington be such as to include the activities of the pacifist as well as the patriotic groups.

For your information, his counsel in these matters was heeded. On the subject of lobbyists we went a little further and named ten organizations which, in our opinion, should be investigated, and I join with Mr. Brady in the conviction that if such a wholesale investigation is made, then there will be two organizations—the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion—whose efforts in behalf of the American people will stand out over and above all the rest in the sincerity of their purpose and in the unselfishness of their service.

My friends, your thoughts and our thoughts in these matters run in the same channels, and our endorsement of the suggestions made by your representative ought to bring and bind us more closely together in our services in behalf of America and of her citizenship. It is a fine thing, Mr. President, that you and I can begin our year's work together keeping fresh in our minds the pledges of service to God and to country.

The Legion Convention has just closed and our objectives for the year have been determined. Our principles have been pronounced

once more and our devotion to unselfish service has been renewed. Within a few days you will have done the same thing, and when one reviews the aims and purposes of both the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion he will find parallels running through the fundamental purposes and ideals of both organizations.

I am very happy, therefore, to be the guest of this convention. I am happy also to be privileged to visit this beautiful city of Toronto, here just across the line from the homeland for the most of us, on the soil of our neighbor, friend and ally. My happiness is intensified by the fact that the representatives of our two great countries have just closed negotiations looking forward to a more permanent and lasting peace. For the first time in history the two leaders of our English-speaking peoples, the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, have met in a mutual effort to settle for all time a vexatious problem—the problem of naval protection without naval competition, to the end that war might be outlawed in fact as well as in name.

The warm friendship and fine statesmanship of Ramsay MacDonald have struck a responsive chord in the hearts of Americans, and this splendid progress of his conferences with the President is indicative of the admiration and esteem in which he is held by the American people. The papers carry the report that negotiations have reached the point where Great Britain and the United States, through these two leaders, have agreed to adopt the principle of parity within each and all of the different categories of naval ships, and that they have agreed to attempt a reduction of armament. Invitations, I am informed, have been forwarded for a five-power conference to be held in London during the month of January, seeking such a reduction. The ultimate purpose sought by that conference, that of equal naval strength, with a reduction of armament and with a guarantee of permanent peace, is in keeping with the real desires of the American Legion. This was expressed in our recent convention when the Legion had this to say on the subject of naval affairs:

"Be it resolved, That the American Legion, believing that history has demonstrated that the maintenance of a strong navy, properly manned and equipped, constitutes our country's best insurance for peace and prosperity, desires to record itself as not only favoring but strongly urging the consideration of such adequate number of cruisers and destroyers as will put the United States Navy on a parity with any nation in the world, as the best method of placing the government in the strongest position to demand proportional, universal and gradual reduction of all armaments in an effort to bring about universal and lasting peace."

Now, my friends, the Legion urges a naval construction program to a point equal in strength to that of any other nation on earth, because we believe that by such construction parity can be brought about, and that only in parity is there safety, and a guarantee of continued peace. The American Legion, therefore, will continue to advocate such a program of construction until the five naval powers

shall have left the conference table with their signatures affixed to the joint agreement of the Prime Minister and the President, which must make parity a fact rather than a theory. And parity can be made a fact by construction on this side or by reduction on the other side. Reduction to parity can be accomplished in twenty-four hours. It is purely a matter of scrapping ships, just as we scrapped 800,000 tons of new ships at a cost of more than \$400,000,000, in the year 1922, thus reducing our naval strength to a point far below parity and far below par.

But, my friends, this question of parity must run the gauntlet of the five-power conference and the ratification of such agreement. The American Legion, therefore, stands alert to the danger, as do you, of a weakened national defense program, just as we stood and fought under a weakened national defense program in 1917. Until the time shall come when there is a positive parity as between nations, America should not permit this weakened condition to remain in effect. Enthusiasm for an ideal, glorious as it may be, should not be permitted to warp our judgment in matters affecting the safety and permanency of our country.

No groups, my friends, are more desirous of peace than are those which compose the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion. No right-thinking man or woman, therefore, should criticize us for our stand in favor of an adequate preparedness program. We know, or course, that preparedness as such will not prevent war, but it will reduce the loss and the cost which would be sustained in face of another war because of our unpreparedness. One cannot stop a nation from fighting just because she is unprepared. America has already proved the fallacy of such a policy. We in America have always loved peace and have always been unprepared, and yet in spite of that love of peace and in spite of our unpreparedness American blood has sanctified the battlefields of six wars already. Your veterans of the World War love peace and want peace, but they also want preparedness, in case of another war, against the recurrence of the confusion and extravagance and reckless expenditure of moneys and of life which accompanied our entry into the recent World War, because of our unpreparedness.

We believe that it is a national crime to send men to war untrained and unprepared. Being properly trained does not necessarily indicate a warlike spirit. It is just good, common horse-sense in the life and welfare of a nation. Some one with a tongue far more gifted than mine has said there is more real peace in a national backbone than there is in a national wishbone.

But, my friends, over and above the question of naval strength, over and above the question of standing armed forces in land and air, there is a greater and more fundamental principle upon which must rest any real preparedness and any adequate defense program. Call it what you will, universal draft, universal service, or what not, that fundamental principle is wrapped up in the spirit of union and unity, the spirit of one for all, and all for

one. The services of capital and material and man-power are essential to the successful conclusion of modern warfare. Not only are these three vital forces essential to a quick and successful conclusion of war, but they would prove effective in preventing war, provided a plan could be determined upon for their proper use and coordination during the time of peace. When such a fundamental principle, in proper words—I know not what they should be—can be written into the law of the land, then we will have established the first real step to permanent and lasting peace.

For example, President Coolidge recently made this statement: "No doubt the most important provision in the preparation for national defense is a proper and sane selective service act." Now, my friends, I am not presenting to you today for your consideration any definite bill relative to such a selective service act. I am, however, asking your patient and careful consideration of the principle involved, which underlies what some of us refer to as the universal draft. You and I must admit that the burden of war is the nation's burden. It should, therefore, fall equally upon all men and upon all property. There should be no profit in war. War is a national sacrifice, and every citizen and the property of every citizen should join in that sacrifice.

But such has not been the case in the past, and the Legion is saying to the American public that we ought to have a system of national defense which will make it impossible for any one element of our population to make a profit from the waging of war. Today you and I must agree that such a statement of the Legion's position is rather frank, but your organization, composed as it is of red-blooded Americans, would expect me to shoot straight from the shoulder in this matter which concerns so vitally the welfare of our nation. This is a plain, open and frank statement of the Legion's position in this matter, and today I want to express the hope that your organization can see its way clear to endorse the principle involved, even though we have not yet been able to determine upon a plan by which that principle can be put into effect.

You are very much interested in this and I make this proposal; this matter being of vital importance to you because of the fact that it involves man-power as well as the other forces necessary for national protection. Just as the principle of universal draft was imperfectly put into effect during the recent world war, so will it be adopted again, Mr. President, perfectly or imperfectly, in case of another war. Why isn't it wise, therefore, for us, in time of peace, to sit down around the conference table and determine upon a plan which shall be fair and more nearly perfect than any possible plan which might be agreed upon during stress of war? This is just what the Legion is asking for today.

Assuming that the principle of universal service is correct, we believe that the various elements of our national life should get together and speak frankly and dispassionately relative to this important matter, and then and there a plan should be determined upon which should govern our nation in the use of our

capital, material and man-power in the event of another national emergency.

Believing that a definite understanding between capital, industry, transportation, labor and man-power can be more quickly and satisfactorily reached by conference rather than by long-distance arguments, the Legion has prepared and introduced in the Senate of the United States a resolution known as the Reed resolution, and in the House of Representatives the same resolution, known as the Wainwright resolution. This Reed-Wainwright resolution calls for the creation of a special commission to study this problem and to report back to Congress a bill agreed upon by the different elements of American life represented on that commission. This special commission would be composed of members of the Senate and House of Representatives, of labor, capital and the other elements concerned. This commission would study the universal draft principle and would report back to Congress a specific piece of legislation.

What plan of procedure, my friends, could be more equitable than this? Certainly the Legion would not favor and does not favor any plan which would put an unfair burden upon any one element of our national life. When a bill was presented in Congress a few months ago to draft man-power and man-power alone, the Legion was prompt to speak its opposition. The bill was withdrawn. The Legion will be just as prompt in objecting to any proposal which would subject any one element of American life to an unfair burden of war. Whatever legislation is agreed upon must be fair and right and just. It must be inspired by the spirit of give and take. It should and must distribute the burdens of war equally between all citizens and all property. It must take the profit out of war as nearly as profit can be taken from international conflict. When such a principle is written into the law of the land and when such a plan is made available, then, in my humble opinion, we will have a fundamentally well prepared nation, and at the same time a sincere and peace-loving people.

Let me express the hope, therefore, that the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor—and that is my proposition to you to-day—that we shall stand shoulder to shoulder in the support of this Reed-Wainwright resolution, just as we stood hand in hand for legislation providing for restricted immigration. Let us iron out, Mr. President, any misunderstanding and misgivings regarding universal service by a frank and free discussion around the conference table. I submit that to you, gentlemen, as being a fair proposition to be studied in the name of America and for the future prosperity and permanency of our native or adopted land.

We have in the past and are now standing in full accord on many questions involving and affecting American life. We thought in full accord on the question of immigration. The Legion stands today, just as it stood at the time of its inception, in favor of a real Americanism. We recognize the fact, as do you, that we have in this country approximately eight millions of aliens who have not as yet assumed the duties and responsibilities

of American citizenship. Because of this heavy mass of foreigners and because of the fact that the demand for labor is far below the supply, the Legion has taken a stand for the strict enforcement of our restricted immigration laws. We favor this, first, in order to give us time to assimilate the aliens we now have, and, second, in order to give us time to equalize the demand and supply of labor. We believe that the members of your organization and of ours who went to war during the recent world conflict and proved their good citizenship by deed rather than by word should have a right and fair chance of a decent wage without unfair competition from unskilled foreign labor. We shall continue to hold that stand because it is the American policy to which the Legion is dedicated. Neither do you nor do we stand against aliens as such so long as they can be assimilated and so long as their numbers will not disturb economic conditions in America, and so long as they within those limitations will accept American ideals, American institutions, and American customs. Within those limitations we welcome to America those aliens who come and will contribute something to American civilization, and who can and will accept the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship.

To those who, because of their mental, moral or physical defects, will lower the standards of American life or disturb the economic conditions of America, we hold up the hand of warning. We have already seen too many so-called conscientious objectors, too many cowards, slackers and deserters. We have seen too many Reds, I.W.W.'s and Communists, and I am for the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor when they brand these types as undesirable. We have seen in the past three elements infecting American blood. They were thorns in the American flesh during the time of war. Shall they be allowed to affect American blood in the time of peace? That is a question for us to answer, my friends, and I pledge to you now that the American Legion will be found fighting side by side with the American Federation of Labor in keeping America clean and pure. We have demanded in the past and we shall continue to demand in the future that the present bootlegging of aliens into this land of ours in violation of the law and at so much per head shall be stopped. We concur with you in this sentiment: that this land of ours cannot be subjected to law violations, especially when they affect the purity of American institutions. And at this time, my friends, I want to tell you that the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor will stand side by side, if we continue our two present policies, in our efforts to keep America clean and pure and to keep alive the spirit of patriotism, and to keep clean American ideals, American customs, and American institutions.

And May I, Mr. President, in closing, bid and wish for you and your convention the best of success, and for your policies a constructive program during the coming year. I thank you.

President Green: We have listened with very great attention to this eloquent address of

Commander Bodenheimer. It is clearly evident in view of the very rapt attention which you gave to this address that you were tremendously interested in the sentiments expressed, in the propositions offered and in the suggestions made. I am sure that each of you and all of you will weigh most judiciously and sympathetically all that the Commander said and all the propositions advanced. The men and women of labor are seeking the truth, and we have ever been willing and ready to weigh carefully every word and every suggestion offered from any and all sources. Especially is that true when all of this emanates from those who are sympathetic friends.

As I stated in my introduction of this distinguished speaker, the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion find themselves in common accord upon many questions which vitally affect the well-being and happiness of the people of the American continent. It is gratifying to know that we look eyes single upon this question of immigration, of child welfare, of adequate compensation for public officers, including the war and navy officials; that we believe that illiteracy should be wiped from the face of the land and that every child should be given an opportunity to secure an education that would adequately fit that child to take its proper position in life. We are in accord on these questions; we can cooperate with each other in developing a healthy public opinion in support of all these proposals.

I would not be frank with the Commander or with you, however, if I did not say that we have differed very sharply upon the question of universal conscription. We have not been able to see our way clear to support legislation of that kind. We seem to think—and I know I catch the sentiment of labor—that it is rather contradictory for us to make preparations for war when all are seeking the ways of peace. And then we know that in every war men and money profiteer until they almost reach a criminal line. And we have not yet been convinced that it is possible through legislation to compel the money of our country and the material things of our nation to be conscripted in war time along with men who serve on the battlefield.

These are the differences that exist, and if I understand the heart and mind of labor it is my judgment that it will be very difficult to reconcile its point of view in favor of uni-

versal draft legislation. But I am sure we will consider the suggestion offered by the Commander that the subject shall be studied, and studied most carefully, and I know that when we reach a final decision upon that phase of the question the American Federation of Labor will do it as that friend of the American Legion seeking to continue to do teamwork with that splendid organization.

I feel it my duty to make these few remarks in response to the request of the Commander. He understands it perfectly; I am sure the representatives of this splendid organization understand our point of view and the differences that exist. I know, too, that he is sure we will study the question as interested American citizens, just as those he represents will do likewise.

I wish to thank you, in behalf of the delegates to this convention for the most interesting, inspiring and educational address you have delivered, and I trust that your stay here as a guest of the American Federation of Labor may be most pleasant indeed.

#### SCRIPPS-HOWARD EDITORIAL

President Green: On last Friday evening the convention adjourned after the President of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs had called the attention of the convention to an editorial which appeared in the Scripps-Howard chain of newspaper publications. Delegate Tobin advised the convention in his address that the President of the American Federation of Labor had communicated with the executive officers of this newspaper enterprise, and that in all probability the President would report the answer received to these telegraphic requests to the convention. I know you have been expecting this, and I feel that it is my duty to make this report.

First of all, may I say that the American Federation of Labor has always stood unflinchingly and uncompromisingly for the protection of the principle of free speech and free press. We have always demanded that the press of our country may be given the widest opportunity of expression to its editors and to publish without restriction the sentiments expressed by people in all walks of life. So in making reply to this editorial we want it distinctly understood that we in no way challenge the right of the press to express itself freely.

We believe in free press and free speech. Furthermore, we do not feel that we are

immune from criticism. Sometimes the criticism is directed from employers of labor who oppose our great movement and who actually spend millions of dollars in trying to destroy organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Sometimes it comes from hostile publications controlled by manufacturers' associations and by hostile employers' groups; sometimes it comes from Communist publications and from other periodicals classified as progressive in character and in policy.

We have never complained because we were criticized, but we do resent condemnation and abuse, particularly when that condemnation and abuse is based upon falsehood and untruth. That is the position of the American Federation of Labor regarding criticism by the press and by responsible people in all walks of life. When this editorial was brought to my attention — the one to which Delegate Tobin and others referred to last Friday — I sent the following telegram to Mr. Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard Publications, Dey Street, New York:

"Many officers and delegates in attendance at convention here were both shocked and amazed at the editorial of condemnation of American Federation of Labor carried in all your papers on October eighth. This editorial is so baseless and the logic of it is so unsound and the conclusions reached are so incorrect as to cause much resentment and feeling. Knowing you and the past record of your publications, I cannot believe the expressions contained in this editorial are in accordance with your views and your policy toward the American Federation of Labor. I shall refuse to believe you will endorse or have endorsed it until I receive such assurances direct from you. Before making reply please advise me if the expressions contained in the editorial referred to are approved by you and if it represents a changed policy toward the American Federation of Labor on the part of your publications. May I request you reply to me direct, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Canada.

"WILLIAM GREEN."

That was dated on October 10. I waited until the next day, and because I did not receive a reply I sent the following telegram:

"Toronto, Canada,  
October 11, 1929.

"Mr. Roy Howard,  
Scripps-Howard Publications,  
73 Dey Street, New York, N.Y.

The officers and delegates in attendance at our convention are eagerly awaiting your reply to my telegram of yesterday. May I have your answer immediately?

"WILLIAM GREEN, President,  
American Federation of Labor."

I then received this telegram, directed to me from New York:

"William Green,  
Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ont.

"Roy W. Howard now in Orient. Accordingly your message referred to me. In reply desire to say that our basic policy toward American Federation of Labor is by no means changed as a result of editorial to which you object. Because of what it has done in years past the Federation more than any other force in American life has contributed to the betterment that has occurred in wages, hours and working conditions of American labor. For that reason our attitude toward the Federation has been one of active and militant friendship. But the past is one thing, the present is another, and the future still another. We naturally hope that the future policies of the Federation may be such as to inspire a continuation of our friendly attitude. We believe, however, that we as newspapers have both a right and a duty to criticize not merely our enemies but also our friends when we think that criticism is coming to them, and that the most sincerely friendly act we can perform is to criticize a friend when we believe that friend is in the wrong. The editorial to which you refer represents such criticism offered in exactly that spirit. You say you regard it as baseless, unsound in its logic and incorrect in its conclusions. That, obviously, is a matter for argument. Accordingly, please be assured that the columns of our newspapers are open to you as they always have been and that any statement you may care to make on why you consider the editorial baseless, unsound in logic and incorrect in conclusions will receive precisely the same prominence as that which characterized the editorial itself. May I suggest that you direct such statement to the undersigned.

"G. B. PARKER, Editor-in-Chief,  
"Scripps-Howard Newspapers, New York  
Central Building, New York City."

I replied to that telegram as follows:

"G. B. Parker, Editor-in-Chief,  
Scripps-Howard Newspapers,  
New York Central Building,  
New York, N.Y.

"Your reply to my telegram does not answer my question as to whether or not your editorial of October eighth is approved by the executive officers of the Scripps-Howard publications. Because I refuse to believe Mr. Howard would endorse or sanction it I shall continue my efforts to secure his answer to my inquiry. Through a nation-wide publication of such a baseless editorial you have done the American Federation of Labor a great injustice. You have not indulged in friendly criticism of our great organization and its leaders, but instead you have resorted to condemnation and abuse. No friend of the American Federation of Labor would publish such falsehoods as are contained in the editorial which I assume you wrote. For instance, you stated that which is untrue when you said, 'For thirty years the A. F. of L. has ignored the field except for easy resolutions and a handful of organizers,' and again you recorded a falsehood when you wrote, 'While the hungry

Southern mill hands are facing alone the organized employers and hostile authorities, beaten by mobs and shot down by sheriffs, the sleek A. F. of L. officials sit twiddling their thumbs at mahogany desks in Washington." Such statements as these are of the kind which almost daily appear in the editorial columns of the Communist publication called the Daily Worker. I resent your unjustifiable attack upon the American Federation of Labor and its officers and I resent your attempt to make it appear that you have engaged in friendly criticism. I will offer you for publication a reply to your attack as soon as possible.

"WILLIAM GREEN, President  
"American Federation of Labor."

In this editorial this friend of ours who engaged in such friendly criticism said: "The truth is that the American Federation of Labor is failing miserably in its stewardship." Is that friendly criticism? That is an extreme statement. Failing miserably! The best answer I could make to such an indictment is this splendid convention representing three million and more working men and women on the American continent.

The other one is this: "The Southern textile situation is a vivid example of that failure, but it is only one of many examples." Apparently there is a long catalog of failures. Then it said: "For thirty years the A. F. of L. ignored the field, except for easy resolutions and a handful of organizers. The job has been left to the Communists."

Is there any delegate here this morning within the sound of my voice, charitable as he may be, that honestly believes such a statement as that is friendly criticism? What is it based upon? Is there any truth in that charge? It is an indictment of our splendid organized labor movement. "For thirty years we have ignored the Southern field." Is that true? Go down into every state in the South and there you will find state federations of labor, established there by the American Federation of Labor, and in some of the Southern states these state federations of labor are functioning in a most influential and constructive way.

Who put these federations there? Who chartered them? And in Atlanta and Birmingham and Savannah and Charlotte and Nashville and Knoxville, and others that I can mention, we have live, active central bodies, and the building trades in these cities and towns are organized and functioning. The printing trades, the miscellaneous trades, the street car workers and many others I could name were established there through the sacrifice and through



the support of the organized labor movement.

And let us say something about the textile workers, to which I presume he refers. During the last twenty-five years the United Textile Workers' organization, striving with all its difficulties, sent to the South for organizing purposes more than \$1,080,000. Is that staying out of the South? Where did that money come from? From the organized labor movement.

During the last five years or more the Machinists have spent \$330,000 there; the Federal Employees more than \$600,000 in five years, and the United Garment Workers more than \$50,000 in five years. The Carpenters spent at least \$178,000 a year, the Electrical Workers more than \$25,000, the Maintenance of Way organization more than \$30,000, the Railroad Telegraphers more than \$200,000 in one strike, the Operative Engineers \$35,000, the Plumbers and Steamfitters \$50,000 a year, the Bookbinders \$10,000 in two years, and the United Mine Workers spent in the State of Alabama alone more than \$5,000,000 trying to organize that field.

The Cigar Makers spent \$1,500,000 in the Tampa strike and has paid out \$500,000 in benefits in twenty-five years. I repeat again that the Textile Workers collected and sent into the South since 1901 more than \$1,080,000. And that does not include the funds that have been sent south since January, 1929. The Street Railwaymen have spent \$15,000 a year for the last ten years.

The United Brick and Clay Workers expended about \$17,000 in one year in Tennessee carrying on a battle attempting to unionize clay plants just outside of Chattanooga a few years ago. The Bricklayers spent \$250,000 in a year for organizing bricklayers.

Does that look like ignoring the South for thirty years? Is that an answer to the indictment?

In the section of the United States to which the editorial in question refers the International Typographical Union has expended more than one and a half millions of dollars. Every effort has been made to advance the interests of workers who should be under the protection of this union. If we have not succeeded to the same extent our efforts have brought success in other sections of the country, responsibility rests upon those employers who have bitterly resisted organization of their workers because of their desire to maintain long hours and low wage standards. No one

familiar with the activities of this organization would charge that we have been remiss in our duty or neglectful in our efforts to organize the workers in all sections.

These loose-talking, loose-thinking, ignorant editors that sit down and pretend to write profoundly without knowing facts are, to say the least, a great injury to the American people. So much for that.

We will make an answer, you may rest assured, to what I consider this baseless attack upon the American Federation of Labor. This chain of newspapers is published very widely throughout the land. I have received letters from the different cities, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Washington, Birmingham, Knoxville, Columbus, Ohio, and other places where this chain of papers is published. Labor always supported these publications because the officers manifested a sympathetic attitude toward labor. It is the working people who read these papers. Just think of it! That those who have always supported these papers shall read this baseless editorial. What a great injury such baseless attacks can do to the organized labor movement, particularly when such an editorial is not based upon facts.

I might add for the benefit of the record that eleven organizations which gave me figures for the last five years, exclusive of those I have referred to, have spent in the South nearly \$3,000,000, and all of it was spent in organizing work, in supplying food and clothing to those on strike, and in organizing unorganized workers in those states. That is the contribution of the American Federation of Labor during the past thirty years.

What do you think of this? "While the hungry Southern mill hands are facing alone the organized employers and hostile authorities, beaten by mobs and shot down by sheriffs, the sleek A. F. of L. officials sit twiddling their thumbs at mahogany desks in Washington or make patrioteering speeches to the National Security League or at West Point."

If I had not been assured that that part of this editorial came from the Scripps-Howard publication I would have sworn by all that is good and bad that it was the product of the brain of Bill Dunne, editor of the Daily Worker.

Well, I suppose I am the centre of attack in that. I have been sitting twiddling my thumbs at the mahogany desk I have in Washington. Well, when I am indicted in that

way you are all indicted; because, after all, the American Federation of Labor is not an organization, it is an affiliation of organizations, and each national union is clothed with authority to carry on organizing work in its respective jurisdiction. The American Federation of Labor cannot order a strike, it cannot conduct a strike, it is not clothed with authority to infringe upon the jurisdictional rights of any national or international union. This statement is a silly statement, without foundation, without any base whatsoever. My charge that it is baseless can be proved by facts.

There are other things in this editorial to which I could call your attention. I have made these statements and read these telegrams this morning because I wanted you to have the information. As I see it, the Scripps-Howard publication has aligned itself definitely with the Communist Daily Worker, some other uplifting magazines in New York that continually attack us, and the Los Angeles Times. We know just where they stand; we know just now how to treat them and we know what position they hold toward the American Federation of Labor; but, as stated in the telegram, I cannot believe that the executive officers of that organization will approve of the editorial and the policy. It is my purpose to find out. I am going to find out whether the editor that penned this editorial actually expresses the opinion of the executive officers of these publications.

I know we haven't organized as rapidly as we would like, but that is no fault of ours. I suppose this wonderful editor, if he were given the job, would go down in the South and bring them all in in about twenty-four hours. That is his point of view. It is clear that he does not understand the problems or the difficulties we encounter. We hurl back into his teeth this falsehood he has uttered regarding the American Federation of Labor. I suppose that he would indict the Church because for two thousand years it has been trying to save the world, and yet we find there are still sinners going abroad throughout the land. Give us credit for what we do. We ask for nothing more. Criticize us where we deserve criticism and direct it in the right way, but we resent falsehood and indictment when they are not based upon fact, and as red-blooded men we will make answer to these falsehoods and these untruths.

Delegate Nagler, International Ladies' Gar-

ment Workers: After listening to the President's talk this morning, I move that this convention go on record resenting and condemning this editorial, and that this declaration be printed in all labor publications and forwarded to all central and state bodies.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: Since the second day of July we have been sending \$7,500 a week into New Orleans alone. That has gone on for thirteen or fourteen weeks.

Delegate Smith: I would like to add that our small department of the Textile Workers, the American Association of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, in the last four years has spent more than \$75,000 in an effort to organize the hosiery workers of the South.

#### DELEGATE FLJOZDAL, (Maintenance of Way Employees)

I find upon consulting our records that the organization I have the honor to represent has spent in the last four or five years over \$130,000 trying to organize the men in the maintenance of way organization in the South.

Delegate Holmgren, Railway Carmen: I move that a complete list of the Scripps-Howard newspapers be printed in this morning's proceedings so that every international, every central and state body, every local union, if possible, can take direct action with the different newspapers in the towns in which they happen to be located, and which newspapers happen to be controlled by the Scripps-Howard group. I think it might bring them to time. Is a motion in order for that?

President Green: It is not necessary for a motion; we can include in the record the names of the different Scripps-Howard publications so that all may know the names of these papers and where they are published.

Delegate McHugh: Do I understand the Chair to say that the editor in chief has opened the columns of the Scripps-Howard publications to give this Federation an opportunity to show where they were mistaken or where they had published an untruth?

President Green: Yes. And do you believe they published an untruth?

#### DELEGATE McHUGH

(Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union)

Yes, I do. I want this convention to accept the offer to correct any wrong impression these papers might have given through their editorial columns through the same channels through which the mistake was made. I think the editorial was basically wrong; I think the man that wrote it did not understand the con-

ditions. I am not attempting to hold a brief for him, but I will say that the Scripps-Howard Company in its dealings with the printing trades—and I can speak particularly for the Pressmen's Union—has been fair to us. Their papers are printed under strictly union conditions; we have always been able to reach satisfactory understanding, thanks to the susceptibility of this series of papers to organized labor.

I do not want, in a spirit of hysteria, to forget the hundreds of editorials that have been written in support of the trade union movement and in support of the doctrines and principles of the American Federation of Labor. I think, if a mistake has been made, we should follow the suggestion made by President Green: to give answer to them through the same columns and through the same agency that printed the original editorial. I think it will be much better to do that than to pass a lot of resolutions in condemnation, or saying to our membership that this paper has printed this editorial, it is an unforgivable sin, and for that reason they should not patronize this paper.

I am speaking in a spirit of fairness; I am not attempting to justify the editorial; I am saying, Mr. Chairman, that we ought to use the same agency to answer the attack. We can put in the hands of the people who read the paper the truth, and in that way we can get to everybody in the movement what the American Federation of Labor is doing for the South. I say that because I know of the contribution that has been made by our organization and by our president, George L. Berry. He went into Elizabethton and aided the strikers, and I know he broke friendship with the Governor of Tennessee with regard to that strike. I know his willingness to do something for the South, and his desire to help the textile workers to organize.

I know also the value of this chain of papers in supporting the ideals and principles of the American Federation of Labor and I am not going to be carried away hysterically because there appeared the writing of some one man in an editorial. And then to say that establishes the willingness of that chain of papers to get away from the path of the principles of organized labor, I am not willing to agree. I am not willing to think the Scripps-Howard people have changed their attitude toward the trade union movement. I am willing to believe they are right in the main in supporting the trade union movement, but until Mr. Howard makes the statement to you that that is the position of the Scripps-Howard papers I am not willing to believe that is the feeling of those publications. I think it is the silly writing of someone who does not understand our movement, and I think it is the right of the American Federation of Labor to insist upon giving full answer to it. I am satisfied you can do it and convince them they are wrong and keep the Scripps-Howard chain of papers in the right track.

#### DELEGATE FREY (Molders)

The statement this morning is partly a record of what the organizations have done in the

South. I want to say that the International Molders' Union was among the first to undertake definite organizing program in the South. Thirty years ago an organizer was placed in the South. He organized twenty-four local unions in the Southern states. In the thirty years this local union of molders, small in numbers, has expended over \$2,250,000 in the Southern states. At no time have we had less than one organizer in the Southern section, and at times in recent years we have had as high as six. Every possible attempt has been made to organize the Southern molders. If our organization there is not as strong as it should be it is because of the opposition of the authorities, state and local.

#### DELEGATE WHARTON (Machinists)

I desire to make the record clear as to the statement regarding the amount of money the International Association of Machinists spent in the South in the last few years. The figures given represent the amount expended for organization work alone during the past five years. Our organization has thirteen salaried officers whose sole duty is to attend to the organizing work we are carrying on in the Southern states.

Our organization was born in the South at Atlanta, Georgia, forty-two years ago, and we have spent millions of dollars in the South since that time.

#### DELEGATE RYAN

##### (International Longshoremen's Association)

Inasmuch as the Convention has decided to use the Scripps-Howard columns to dispute their own baseless editorial, I wish to submit the following information regarding the status of our organization in the South.

In 1909 our International sent organizers into the South, at which time the longshoremen were working a 10-hour day at 30 cents per hour. Today the organized longshoremen are working under signed agreements in all parts. They are receiving 80 cents an hour for a 44-hour week, with \$1.20 an hour for overtime, which rate went into effect during the war when the S.S. industry was at its peak, and, thanks to our system of organizing (we having retained at all times two colored and two white organizers), we have been able to keep the war-time rate in effect, even though the imports and exports have fallen off considerably. Of course, this was not accomplished without the expenditure of energy and money, but as far as our organization and the A. F. of L. as a whole are concerned we know that the records will bear out the fact that considerable progress has been made in the South in the past twenty years in spite of the many obstacles that we have had to overcome.

#### DELEGATE OLANDER (Seamen)

Mr. President, I find myself in an exceedingly difficult situation. The international union of which I am an officer has maintained organizers at Southern ports, so that if there were nothing more to the editorial in question than the claim that the organizations

connected with the American Federation of Labor had done nothing in the matter of organizing during the past thirty years what I have said thus far would be a sufficient answer. But we are not discussing that editorial now.

A motion, as I understand, is before the convention to determine an immediate action relative to the newspaper organizations by which the author of the editorial is employed. I am opposed to that motion. I resent the editorial as bitterly as anyone here. It is false, it is untruthful, it exhibits a careless ignorance that is appalling in a chief editorial writer for a chain of newspapers. The worst I can say against the motion, Mr. President, is that if I voted for it I would feel that I had descended to the level of the editor who is responsible for the article that we are criticizing, and I charge him mainly with crass ignorance of the facts of life around him.

We are engaged now, Mr. Chairman, in a public discussion, and the answer the motion would have us make, pending the complete reply which is under consideration, is that we knock down our accuser. I say we have an infinitely better answer than that. We can afford to let him stand up and talk back, and talk back to our own membership.

We are dealing here with a question that involves, not only the right of expression on our part, but the right of expression even on the part of our enemies. Surely the writer of that editorial cannot claim friendship towards us. I think the motion is unfortunate, and its passage would put this convention and its officers and the trade union movement in general in a false position before the public. And then I am inclined to be just a little tolerant of the editor. Having neglected his own field for years, he and others like him now find themselves in a very difficult position.

While you and I and others who have sat in conventions of the American Federation of Labor in past years have repeatedly warned the public and the newspapers of America that the developments in the misuse of the equity power were fast reaching a point where the liberties of all the people would be involved, and particularly that of newspaper editors, most of them have remained silent. Here in the past year or two one after another has felt the effect of injunctions directed against him, and I am inclined to think that this particular gentleman, who has evidently not kept himself informed as to what the American Federation of Labor has been doing, feels resentful now because he is himself in danger, and even now is unable to see what is really taking place.

If my memory serves me right one of the papers in that chain is now in difficulties in the equity court. It is true some of these papers, and occasionally all of them, have had something to say on the injunction question, but I do not know that they or any other daily newspapers in America have struck out squarely on that particular situation, and it is the interference, the unwarranted and I believe the unlawful interference, on the part of the judiciary of America, through the misuse of the equity power, that our efforts have been hampered time and time and time again in organizing both the North and the South.

The records will show that our people have gone behind the bars to uphold the right of not only their own membership but the right of the editors who now criticize us. I ask the editors to bring forward the roll of names of their representatives who have submitted themselves to suffering in the interest of free speech so necessary to the existence of these papers.

Mr. Chairman, because the editor employed by this newspaper syndicate, having control, at least for the moment, seizes upon the opportunity afforded by the absence from the country of his superior to take an attitude contrary to the general position of these newspapers, at a time when his principal is in a foreign country, doesn't seem to me to be sufficient reason why we should undertake to pass a motion which carries with it nothing but resentment and a threat that we are going to urge people to cease patronizing the papers. That is not the proper use of the boycott, to begin with.

There is something to be said for the delegate who arose and said that those newspapers are manufactured under union conditions, but even if that were not true I think it would be a very regrettable action if we were to seize this particular moment in the midst of a public discussion to resort, at the very beginning of our effort to make reply, to something which takes on the characteristic of mere physical action.

I think our intellects and mentalities are capable of much more effective action than that. I wish the motion had not been made; I hope it will be withdrawn and that the President and the officers of this Federation will not be burdened in the replies which they must undertake to these charges with the sort of action this motion would lay upon their backs, because just as surely as we pass it there will be a storm of criticism, not merely from this particular syndicate of newspapers, but from the newspapers in general, for the reason that that it is no way to deal with the subject.

I feel as keenly as any one of you on this. President Green spoke truly when he said that charge was not only levelled against the officers of the American Federation of Labor, but against the officers of every organization affiliated with this Federation. Indeed the charge rests more heavily against the officers of the various national and international unions than it does against the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and I, carrying the weight of that accusation, feel the sting of it as an officer of the International Seamen's Union of America, an organization that has suffered during the past ten or twelve years as much as any in the American Federation of Labor.

Defeated in the lockout of 1921, with all the world, seemingly, against us, the government itself taking a hand against us at the time, our membership reduced, the shipowners standing opposed to us, our membership cut in the American Federation of Labor by virtue of the fact that the number of members had grown very considerably smaller, we are now charged with having failed in the last thirty years.

Who is it to whom the credit belongs more than anyone else for taking from the flag of the United States the last blot of human slavery? It was the International Seamen's Union of America, sometimes beaten to the

very ground; it was the Seamen's International Union of America, supported in every move by the unanimous action of the American Federation of Labor. To this organization belongs the credit for that, for others scarcely helped through all the years of this bitter struggle. There were only rare occasions when there came a kindly word from the newspaper field.

Each one of our international unions has something of that sort to its credit. We need but to take a little time, to take stock among ourselves, to inquire as to what it is we have done, and the answer as to our past conduct will be comparatively easy to write. If there be things pending in the present day to which we should give more careful attention than we are doing, we need not hesitate because of our past to examine carefully into them. And surely no one can claim that we have ever placed a limitation upon our future actions.

Mr. Chairman, I say the American Federation of Labor is too great an organization, has a record of achievement too great, to pass the kind of a motion that is pending at this particular minute, which does nothing but express resentment.

President Green: Perhaps I can clear the matter up and avoid some discussion. The Chair is of the opinion that it would be a very great mistake for this convention to adopt such a motion as the one now pending, or in fact to adopt any motion that might be considered as expressing resentment on the part of the convention. The editor has offered us the columns of the papers to make reply, and I hope I may include in that reply the reply of the delegates in attendance at this convention.

We must not be swept off our feet, even though we may be abused and not criticized. We are representative of all the men and women of labor. We must stand steady and show that at least we have the judicial pose and that we are self-possessed, even under fire. I know Brother Nagler very well and I know that he will withdraw the motion.

Delegate Nagler: I will do so.

President Green: I think I catch the sentiment of this convention, and that is that we will accept the invitation of this publication to make reply, and that reply to be published just as conspicuously in the papers as the editorial. If there are no objections that course will be pursued.

#### DELEGATE HOWARD

(International Typographical Union)

Since the Chair has called attention to the mover of the motion and it has been withdrawn it is unnecessary to raise the question

of legality, for the reason that the motion did not receive a second.

I agree with much that has been said upon the floor of this convention as regards the falsity of the statements contained in the editorial which is the basis of this discussion. As an executive of an international union I feel the criticism of this editorial, and its statements are directed at me with the same force that they are directed toward the President and the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor, the executive officers of other national and international unions engaged in activities in that section of the country known as the South.

I am not deeply concerned with regard to the statements that are made against me as an official of an international union so long as those statements are unfair and untrue; I am not discussing this question from the standpoint of an official representing a trade union whose members are employed in the printing trades. I am, however, interested in the fundamental question involved in this discussion. I am interested in freedom of the press, and if I understand freedom of the press as a fundamental policy it means freedom of the press when the statements or the criticisms are directed against trade union officials, against my friend the President of the American Federation of Labor, if you please, against the President of the International Typographical Union, against the President of the United States or the head of the British Empire. And if I understand the fundamentals of freedom of the press, I believe in freedom of the press when its statements are false, or when we believe them to be false, the same as when the statements are true, or we believe them to be true. If the American Federation of Labor is to be permitted to say to the American press that it cannot print statements which we believe to be untrue, I call your attention to the fact that there are far more powerful agencies in this country who can, with a greater degree of success, say to the American press that it cannot print statements which they believe to be true.

I submit to you that to enter upon a policy of that kind would place the American Federation of Labor and all of its component parts in an untrue light before the American public. And if we are to forget this fundamental it will not be the officials who will be subject to attack; we will not be attacked by statements that are so plainly false that they can be disproved, but we will be attacked, and rightfully so, for forgetting one of the fundamentals for which we have stood from the beginning.

What would be the next step in a program of that kind? Doubtless some of you know that it has been the charge of the enemies of American organized labor that we have endeavored to control the press. As a representative of the International Typographical Union, representing the men and women in the composing room, I have frequently been confronted with the statement that if we were successful in our purpose of organizing upon a complete basis we would dictate the policy of the papers and we would say to them what they could and what they could not print.

I submit to you that an action by this con-

vention in attempting to withdraw patronage, in attempting to declare a boycott, if you please, by the publication of the names of the newspapers for the reason that they have published a false statement as regards the American labor movement would be a serious mistake, and I repeat my opposition to any action by this convention, even to the inclusion in its proceedings of the newspapers of this chain, based upon my adherence to the greatest latitude and the greatest freedom for the press, and not because I represent an

organization whose members are employed by this chain of newspapers.

I will sincerely regret to see the time when the American Federation of Labor would indicate that it did not believe it was fully able to meet statements of this kind with publicity, but would attempt to retaliate by restrictive methods which in turn could be applied with greater effect against our members.

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock of the same day.

## Fifth Day---Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully, Hannah, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Wood, McCluskey, Phillips, Norrington, Kelly, Johnson, Laude, Hoffmann, Starkweather, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Southall, Watt (R. J.), Shave, Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (Scott), Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Gallagher, Sidney, McElligott, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway.

### SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of W. D. Mahon as delegate of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees in place of Wm. B. Fitzgerald, who has left the city.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison announced that Delegate J. M. Alexander of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors had asked to be excused from further attendance at the convention that he might attend the regular quarterly meeting of his Adjustment Board in Chicago on October 15.

On motion of Secretary Morrison the request was granted.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

#### Slavery Convention Reservation.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 83, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee expresses complete agreement with the timely and logical action of President Green in having eliminated from the slavery convention the highly objectionable reservation relating to involuntary servitude.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Wage Revision Bill

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 87, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council cooperate with interested affiliates in securing the early passage of the Brookhart Bill to the end that the many existing wage inequalities may be speedily corrected.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Equal Rights

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 86 and 87, the committee reported as follows:

Repeatedly has the American Federation of Labor voiced its opposition to the misnamed "Equal Rights" amendment, which is being used largely for propaganda purposes by a minority political group of women. Gradually the fallacy and absurdity of this "Equal Rights" proposal is being exposed and there is now practically no sentiment favorable to it in Congress.

We recommend a reaffirmation of the American Federation of Labor's disapproval of this so-called "Equal Rights" amendment, with instructions to the Executive Council to continue its vigorous opposition to its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.



### Aid for the Farmers

On that section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 87, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval the cooperation of President Green in behalf of legislative relief for agricultural industries. Always has the American Federation of Labor recognized a close community of economic interests with the farmers, mindful of the fact that the prosperity of the urban wage earner is largely interwoven with the prosperity of the agriculturist, and vice versa. There is a mutuality of interest which cannot be ignored without injury to both groups.

In commending President Green and the Executive Council for this practical demonstration of labor's concern in farm relief, we recommend that the operations of this relief law be carefully followed to see if its principles cannot be satisfactorily applied to the coal industry or other industrial activities deserving of similar consideration at the hands of our government.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Convict Labor Legislation in the States

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 89-92, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee earnestly urges every delegate to closely read and study the Executive Council's informative report on the subject of Convict Labor. Particularly, it is essential that the delegates realize the Hawes-Cooper bill, which has been termed one of the most important labor measures in recent years, requires supplemental legislation by the states to become effective. Consequently, this eagerly sought legislative measure is valueless unless backed up by the appropriate state enactments mentioned in the report of the Executive Council. It has been definitely determined that the convict labor question is a state problem and delegates should study it in relation to the existing laws in their own states.

The Hawes-Cooper bill will not become effective until January 19, 1934. In the meantime the organized labor movement must take the initiative in the fight for satisfactory state legislation along the lines of the model amendments included in the Executive Council's report. The utmost vigilance is necessary to prevent hostile forces from nullifying the Hawes-Cooper bill by enacting inadequate and

unsatisfactory state supplemental measures.

Your committee recommends approval of the various suggestions in the Executive Council's report relative to state legislation to make effective the Hawes-Cooper bill and strongly urges the delegates to get in active cooperation with their respective State Federations of Labor in securing the required action by state legislatures.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Retirement Act and Forty-four-Hour Week

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 86-87, and upon Resolutions 73 and 75, the committee reported as follows:

The defeat of Federal civil service retirement legislation in the House in the Seventieth Congress was a shocking example of legislative sabotage, reflecting discredit upon those responsible for this frustration of the will of the people by sharp practices in defiance of orderly parliamentary procedure.

With respect to the Postal Forty-four Hour Week, it is heartening to note that progress was made toward legislative relief in the Seventieth Congress even though final enactment was not reached.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report your committee concurred in two resolutions dealing with the same subject matter and which propose a continuation of the fight for these reforms before the Seventy-first Congress.

The resolutions are as follows:

### Civil Service Retirement Legislation

Resolution No. 73.—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. B. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; and Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline,

James Somerville of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There is now pending before the 71st Congress the Dale-Lehlbach Bill, which has for its purpose the liberalization of the Federal Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, A similar measure, following the endorsement of the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor, was passed by the 70th Congress, but not signed by the President and therefore failed of enactment; and

WHEREAS, While the pending bill does not entirely meet the wishes of the affiliated organizations directly affected, especially with respect to lower optional retirement age requirements, its speedy enactment is desired as a corrective of other existing defects; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 49th Convention assembled reaffirms its position in favor of a satisfactory Federal Retirement System and instructs the Executive Council to cooperate for the early passage of corrective legislation that conforms to convention pronouncements and is acceptable to interested affiliates.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Shorter Saturday Work-Day

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, M. T. Finner, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. B. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Saturday work curtailment practice which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employers and employees; and

WHEREAS, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly period of rest and recreation

for workers is becoming more general in its application in state and municipal governments, and in a number of private industrial pursuits the five-day working week has been established; and

WHEREAS, Unfortunately, the United States Government in its capacity as an employer has not kept pace with this sound industrial and economic trend for shorter working schedules; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the need for having the government establish and maintain advanced employment standards, instructs the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of government employees for the purpose of having the shorter Saturday work-day principle extended in government establishments to benefit every worker, in a manner best suited to the needs of each group, and as a forerunner for the introduction of the five-day week in government employment.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Federal Bills on Pensions for Spanish War Veterans

Resolution No. 12—By The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has in its ranks many members who volunteered and fought for the United States in the Spanish-American War; and

WHEREAS, We feel that the United States Government should be liberal in its appreciation of the loyalty shown by these men in the War of 1898; and

WHEREAS, These men as patriotic citizens and Brotherhood members gave all the manhood they possessed in that war; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Congress of the United States of America two bills known as House Bill 2562 and Senate Bill 476, which bills will equalize the present pensions paid Spanish War Veterans; be it

RESOLVED, That the 14th General Assembly of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, assembled in Denver, Colo., this 2nd of September, 1929, go on record in favor of the passage by Congress of said bills; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the A. F. of L. to support those bills.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Protest in Re Naval Appropriations Bill of 1912

Resolution No. 13.—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Naval Appropriations Bill of 1912 provides, "That no work shall be done by enlisted men except that which can be done at sea or in a foreign port"; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a fair interpretation of the above act means that only emergency work, painting of bottoms or making minor repairs is the scope of the work on naval vessels to which enlisted men may be assigned; and

WHEREAS, This clause was inserted in the bill referred to, at the request of organized labor, to stop the practice of enlisted men performing work properly belonging to the civilian employees of the navy yards and naval stations; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy has continued to allow the enlisted personnel to perform a large part of work on naval vessels which we believe rightfully belongs to the civilian employees, after repeated appeals for its discontinuance and the assignment of such work to the civilian employees have been made to the Secretary of the Navy; and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy has held that he is within his rights in assigning such work as interior painting and much other work to the enlisted personnel; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America in convention assembled does hereby go on record as believing that the position of the Secretary of the Navy in permitting enlisted men to perform a large portion of the repair work, modernization and painting of naval vessels is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Naval Appropriations Act of 1912; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Virginia State Federation of Labor bring this matter to the attention of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor and request it to again bring the matter to the attention of the Navy Department and ask for a reversal of the Department's past attitude, and that in case the Department refuses to modify its practice that such other steps as may be necessary be taken to get a satisfactory settlement of this dispute.

Your committee reports concurrence in the resolution and recommends that the Executive Council use its best endeavors to secure a speedy adjustment of this grievance.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, spoke in opposition to the report of the committee. He based

his opposition on the ground that if the seamen were not permitted to learn while in port the work that they might be called upon to do at sea they would not be fitted for that work when the emergency arose.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, stated that the purpose of the resolution was to safeguard for the various crafts the work referred to in the resolution, a large part of which, he said, was being permitted to be done by the enlisted men.

Delegate Frey, Molders, in discussing the question, said in part: The question is one which I desire to discuss for a moment so that the international unions whose members are employed in the navy yards may understand exactly what is involved. I have been compelled since I have been in Washington to visit the Navy Department every few weeks over complaints received from the navy yard's attitude and the fact that the enlisted men are doing the work of the civilian employees in the yards, and these painters use it as a justifiable grievance. A number of the other international unions have a grievance of the same character.

There are two types of men who work on ships belonging to the United States government: one the enlisted men who are sailors, and the men on the ships classified as sailors, which today include machinists, electricians and a number of the other metal trades; and the other men are the civilian employees in the navy yards. There is one rate of pay for the enlisted men on the ships, and another rate of pay, and a much higher one, for the civilian employees in the yards. It is the custom of the Commandants in a number of yards when a ship is in the yards to use the enlisted men on that ship for the purpose of working on land and doing the work which otherwise would be done by the civilian employees. There has been a very serious condition of unemployment in most of the navy yards, and in several instances, while civilian employees who have been in the yards ten, fifteen or twenty years were being discharged because there was no work for them to do, enlisted men from the ships were taken off the ships, placed on land, placed in the ships to do the work that otherwise would have been done by the civilian employees.

I sincerely hope that the influence of the Executive Council will be used to overcome that situation. It does no injury to the seamen. There is nothing taking place when the

ship is in the dock which in any way prevents the men on the ship from acquiring all the skill required to do the repairing.

I would like to make this suggestion: that when the Executive Council takes this question up with the Navy Department it also look into the matter and discover whether Congress appropriates sufficient money to pay the current rate of wages to its civilian employees, and if it is found that the appropriations made by Congress to the Navy Department are insufficient, that we use some of our influence to have the government set aside enough money so that it will not be necessary to use men from the ships to do the work of civilians.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: I think the difficulty here is a misunderstanding rather than a disagreement. What Delegate Frey has just said certainly clarifies the intent of the resolution so far as I am concerned, but it does not alter the language of the resolution. Please note that the first whereas reads: "The Naval Appropriations Bill of 1912 provides that no work shall be done by enlisted men except that which can be done at sea or in a foreign port." Now that is not the law. The delegates who wrote that resolution failed to distinguish between a ship in port, as that term in general is used, and a ship in the navy yard for repairs, which, in the operation of the vessel, is an entirely different thing, and the law in so far as it goes refers to the conditions described by Delegate Frey and relates to vessels in navy yards for repairs. That is quite another thing.

All of you know that right at this moment there are naval vessels in practically all of our seaports with their crews aboard and doing work of some kind, and I am sure there is not a delegate here who would hold that all those crews ought to be sent ashore simply because the vessel is in port and shore crews taken aboard to do all the work in connection with the vessel.

I think if we were to discuss the situation as it is, rather than approach it from the exact language of the resolution, there would be little or no difference between us.

President Green: Brother Olander, you will observe that this resolution received the support of the Painters and Decorators' International Union, and it is my judgment that it is the intent of the resolution that not only shall civilian employees be employed at the prevailing rate to make repairs in the navy yards, but the painters desire that they be

permitted to do painting and decorating of a vessel when it lands in port if the government desires the vessel to be painted and decorated. The Chair is of the opinion that that is the meaning of the resolution. The resolution recognizes the right of the seamen to do all necessary repairs that are necessary at sea or in a foreign port. I think I ought to make that observation so there be no misunderstanding as to the meaning of the resolution. If I am wrong I am sure that some of the Painters' representatives will set me right and set the convention right.

Delegate Doyle, Painters: That is the language of the resolution, Mr. Chairman. There can be no other interpretation than that which you have set forth, because that is incorporated in the resolution emanating from the Virginia State Federation of Labor, where these men are being discriminated against, and our international convention instructed our delegates to present it here, asking that civilian employees be given the preference on this work in the navy yards. It gives the right to the seamen to do the work at sea or in a foreign port.

Delegate Olander: In my statement I had no intention to insist that, as a representative of merchant seamen, I was standing here contending for the right of naval seamen to do any sort of work. I merely sought to state the fact as it is. I repeat, I think there is practically no difference of opinion as to what the situation is and what it ought to be. As a matter of fact, if the law does state that the enlisted men are permitted to do such work as can be done at sea, the trouble with the situation may be the law, because that language would permit their use right in the navy yard.

I do not raise this question for the purpose of taking an attitude against the painters or anyone else. I contend that they should get all the naval work possible within their reach. But I felt I ought to explain some slightly technical matters in connection with the operation of ships, so that the American Federation of Labor would not be put in the position of insisting upon something that is, to take the broad general view of it, of no real importance. However, if that is what is wanted to be done by anybody we haven't any particular objection. I simply wanted, as a practical seaman, to shed all responsibility from my own shoulders by explaining the situation as far as I have.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

#### Veterans' Preference Law

Resolution No. 14—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, There has been repeated and continued violation of the very intent of the Veterans' Preference allowance in Federal Service; and

WHEREAS, All appeals have been without avail in finally regulating the injustices incurred; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has formally recognized this discrimination against veterans in their rightful allowances, and have conferred with government officials and protested against this unjust discrimination; and

WHEREAS, Members of both Houses of Congress have offered to sponsor legislation to rectify unjust treatment of veterans, as presented to them by veterans and trade unionists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the unanimous vote of this convention be given the Preference Law herewith submitted to you for action, that each Camp Adjutant be urged to write its Congressional Representative, that the delegates from Pennsylvania to the Denver encampment bring this law before said convention asking their unanimous action and that all Camps work to advise other veteran bodies that their fullest cooperation may be had and Veteran Preference in Federal Service be made a reality, and that the newly elected State Commander be and is hereby charged with the responsibility of forwarding the intent of this resolution.

#### A BILL

GRANTING PREFERENCE IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE to Veterans of the several wars we have been engaged in, both as to entry into service and retention therein.

BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled—That veteran preference be made mandatory by law to all veterans passing Civil Service Examination, with passing mark as at present allowed, ten points preference if disabled, and five points preference if not disabled. Veterans, if disabled, to be placed at the top of the list.

RETENTION IN SERVICE—After appointment, by serving the six months' probationary period required by Civil Service, to prove an efficiency, his permanency is then assured, except that charges only can remove him, with right of hearing and appeal, with counsel, on said charges. That passing of examination and serving of probationary period, with passing average, is to constitute "Good" on entry,

and is to be considered to constitute "Good" during his entire service.

SERVICE CREDITS—That "service credits" shall be granted for every full year's service, whether civil or military. Preference employees to have all posted lists.

FURLOUGHS—In case furlough becomes necessary in his group, that he shall only receive his pro-rata share of furlough necessary to his group.

PROMOTIONS—In examining for promotion, that veteran be given same preference as in original examination, ten and five points preference, and that examinations be held under civil service regulations as are examinations for "Master."

RULES—That no rules shall be made contradictory of intent of enacted law.

HEARING ON CHARGES—That hearing on charges be heard before a Board of three members, one member to be chosen by party filing charges, one member to be chosen by party charged, the two members then chosen to choose the third member of the Board, he to be Chairman of Board.

RECORD OF CHARGES—Complete record of charges, hearing and evidence on charges to be kept, same to be forwarded to Department Head at Washington, D.C. Findings of Board to be final, except that appeal may be taken.

APPEAL—Appeal from decision of Board must be taken within thirty days after decision of Board is rendered, to Head of Department at Washington, whose decision in writing, with reasons therefor, are final.

This law to apply to all war veterans, their wives and widows, now granted preference and those who may, under existing law, become eligible to preference.

PENALTY FOR VIOLATION—Penalty for violation of the Veteran Preference Law, upon conviction, to be one year in the Federal Prison or \$1,000.00 or both.

That all acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby annulled and amended only in so far as and to the extent provided and stated.

Your committee recognizes the necessity for a strict and impartial administration of the various laws and regulations relating to veterans' preference in government employment and to that extent we are in accord with the purpose of the resolution.

But the proposed bill, embodied in the resolution, is far-reaching in its effects and may adversely react against many trade unionists in government employment. It is therefore the recommendation of the committee that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to confer with interested

parties to apply a corrective that will be satisfactory to all concerned.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Saturday Half-Holiday for Canal Zone Government Employees**

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Employees of the United States Government employed in the District of Columbia are now granted a Saturday half-holiday four months during the year; and

WHEREAS, Legislation will be introduced in the 71st Congress providing for Saturday half-holidays throughout the year; and

WHEREAS, Employees of the United States Government in the Canal Zone do not receive the Saturday half-holiday privileges now prevailing for Government employees in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal administration is making strenuous efforts to have employees of the Government on the Canal Zone excluded from the benefits of any Saturday half-holiday legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have employees of the Government on the Canal Zone included within the scope of the proposed bill.

Your committee is in accord with the object of the resolution, but, inasmuch as work requirements within the Federal Government service differ so widely, and it therefore has been necessary to introduce at least four Saturday work bills covering various groups, it might be better strategy—and bring quicker results—if the Canal Zone employees were covered in a separate measure.

For this reason we recommend reference of the resolution to the Executive Council to take up with interested parties and determine the best procedure to most quickly achieve the desired end.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Endorsement of Retirement Measure for Canal Zone Employees**

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Retirement Laws relative to the civilian employees of the United States Government are entirely inadequate; and

WHEREAS, Special legislation is urgently needed to provide adequate retirement for civilian employees of the United States Government in the tropics; and

WHEREAS, A bill which properly provides for the retirement needs of the Panama Canal and its employees will be introduced in the first session of the 71st Congress; and

WHEREAS, The proposed legislation has been approved by the Governor of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled indorse the proposed bill; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, who have in the past supported this legislation, be instructed to continue their efforts to secure the passage of the proposed bill.

This resolution conforms to previous pronouncements of A. F. of L. conventions and is in line with the retirement legislative policy of the A. F. of L.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Legislation to Secure Re-Classification of Postal Laborers' Work**

Resolution No. 24—Introduced by Delegate E. G. Hall of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Postal Laborers' Local Union of St. Paul, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has appealed to the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and to the American Federation of Labor for assistance in securing a re-classification of their work in the Post Office Department so that there may be a distinction between those employees now classified as laborers who handle and distribute mail and messengers, watchmen and janitors who have no such responsibility; and

WHEREAS, This group has also appealed for assistance in securing a better wage scale; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Minnesota State Federation of Labor requests on their behalf the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, to urge the enactment by Congress of a re-classification of this branch of the postal service, and an increase in compensation for such groups.

Your committee approves that portion of the resolution relating to the need for a higher wage scale for Post Office Laborers. Attempts have been made by detractors of the American



Federation of Labor to mislead the Post Office Laborers into the belief that the officers of the American Federation of Labor have not shown sufficient concern in the welfare of this group. The records show otherwise. Everything possible has been done to advance the economic interests of these faithful workers by the officers of the A. F. of L.

Embodied in the resolution is a request for a re-classification of the work of Post Office Laborers. This involves a jurisdictional question affecting an affiliated organization, and must be carefully considered, with due regard for the rights of all directly concerned.

For this latter reason your committee recommends reference of the resolution to the Executive Council, with instructions to use its best endeavors to secure wage increases for Post Office Laborers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Civil Service Court of Appeals

Resolution No. 25—By Central Trades and Labor Council of Bremerton, Washington;

WHEREAS, Frequently in civil service employment there are dismissals and demotions made upon the arbitrary judgment of officials and from whose judgment the employees affected have no adequate appeal; and

WHEREAS, This absence of any review vests undue power and authority in the hands of officials who may seek reprisals upon subordinates for reasons unrelated to their work; and

WHEREAS, The fundamental of civil service employment is permanency of tenure if the employee is competent to perform the work available, and this fundamental is violated so long as said tenure is dependent upon the whim of officials who exercise, as at present, practically unlimited powers to demote or dismiss employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to assist the representatives of organizations of government employees to curb this arbitrary power exercised by administrative officials through establishment of a civil service court of appeals, independent of any existing government agency, to which employees may appeal in demotion and dismissal cases and which would have authority to review all evidence in such cases and determine appropriate action.

Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have endorsed resolutions favoring the establishment of a civil service court of appeals at the request of various groups of government employees. It is the

belief of many employees that a court of this kind is necessary and would benefit both the worker and the government.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Occupational Dermatitis

Resolution No. 26—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The membership at large have experienced an alarming increase of Occupational Dermatitis contracted in the Painting industry; and

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 487 of Sacramento, Calif., concluded from analysis that materials used are directly responsible for the disease; and

WHEREAS, After compensation insurance has been paid for Dermatitis the insurance companies consider the risk a greater liability and opportunity for re-employment of the individual is jeopardized; and

WHEREAS, After a member becomes so sensitized from an attack of Dermatitis, he becomes so susceptible to a recurrence that eventually he is eliminated from the trade and in many instances becomes a burden on society; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, in the 14th Quadrennial General Assembly, assembled in Denver, Colorado, initiate measures to present to the Congress of the United States that will safeguard the workmen and determine the cause of this disease and eliminate the products from the painting industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the 49th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. endorse the principle involved and the Executive Council be requested to lend assistance in securing such legislation as will eliminate this abuse.

Your committee is in entire sympathy with the object sought by the proponents of the resolution, but we doubt the practicability of approaching the problem through the medium of legislation by the Congress, which may result in prolonged delay. Perhaps a request to the United States Public Health Service or the Department of Labor for an investigation or survey may be the better way to proceed.

For this reason your committee has amended the last Resolve of the resolution by eliminating the words "such legislation" and substituting the words "appropriate relief" so that the resolve will then read:

"RESOLVED, That the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle involved, and the Executive Council be requested to lend assistance in securing appropriate relief to eliminate this abuse."

As thus amended your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Legislation for District of Columbia to Protect Union Labels**

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate John J. Manning of the Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, There is no law in the District of Columbia which protects the membership of unions in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor against the misuse of their emblems, that is, union labels, shop cards or working buttons; and

WHEREAS, These union emblems have been misused by parties not authorized to use them in the District of Columbia and no redress can be had for the abuse of these emblems under present conditions except by procuring injunctions or a suit at law; and

WHEREAS, Such remedies are costly and cumbersome and do not yield the immediate and effective result that the registration laws of the several states do with regard to the protection of the union label, shop card and working button; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to introduce such bill or bills in Congress of the United States, and try to secure their adoption, that will protect the union label, working button and shop card from misuse or imitation in the District of Columbia.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution and urges the Executive Council to endeavor at the earliest opportunity to make effective its purpose and intent.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Enforcement of Provisions of Merchant Marine Act Governing Vessels Sailing Under Mail Contracts**

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The Merchant Marine Act providing for a mail pay so much increased as to amount to a subsidy, provided that 50 per cent of the crew, exclusive of licensed officers, carried in vessels sailing under mail contracts must be citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, No regulations have been issued to see that this part of the law is being obeyed; and

WHEREAS, Failure to issue proper regulations has resulted and is resulting in evasions of the law, and thus preventing the United States from obtaining the contemplated benefits intended by the passage of the law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we respectfully request Congress to so amend this law as to require the issuance of specific regulations of such character as to compel obedience to the law on all vessels sailing under mail contracts.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Abolishment of Sea Service Bureau of United States Shipping Board**

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The United States Shipping Board is continuing to operate the so-called Sea Service Bureau, which was established during the World War; and

WHEREAS, The said Bureau is destroying the skill needed in our Merchant Marine for safety at sea; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that the appropriations by Congress for said Bureau ought to be abolished and the operations of the Bureau stopped, for the following reasons:

First: That the said Bureau was established by the Shipping Board and that there is no other way in which the Bureau may be abolished.

Second: That the Bureau is performing part of the duty assigned by law to the United States Shipping Commissioners' office; that the expense is a waste of public money; that the duty may be performed better and according to law by said Shipping Commissioners' offices.

Third: That the Bureau is setting aside statute law and substituting therefor its own ideas of punishment, which consists in keeping a deferred list—black-list—upon which men are placed upon the recommendation of the master.

Fourth: That the policy results in a turnover which makes it impossible to develop skill in men employed and is thus preventing the development of an efficient personnel.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I rise to call attention to one particular instance known to you all that conclusively shows what the system leads to. I will simply mention the single word "Vestris," where 112 men, women and children were drowned because of the utter inefficiency of the crew.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Wage Increases for United States Civil Service Employees

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. B. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville of the International Association of Machinists, and H. A. McConaughy, Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Wages paid United States Civil Service Employees cannot be adjusted by direct conference with their employers, the American public, but must be a matter of legislative action by the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Such legislation has always lagged and has been beset by many obstacles, notably the desire to reduce government costs to a minimum regardless of inadequacy of remuneration to faithful workers; and,

WHEREAS, Apparent increases granted by the Congress from time to time in the past decade, taking into consideration the increase of productive efficiency, have fallen short of restoring the loss caused by the shrinkage in purchasing value of the dollar, so that the real wages of government employes, in many instances, are lower now than before the World War; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 49th Convention assembled directs its Executive Council to cooperate with the affiliated organizations of government employes

to the end that their pre-war wage status may not only be restored but in addition these faithful public employes may secure a genuine advance in pay.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Improved Government Employment Standards

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. B. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees; James Windsor of the International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America; C. L. Rosemund of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; A. O. Wharton, Chas. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel P. Haggerty, C. B. Cline, James Somerville of the International Association of Machinists; H. A. McConaughy of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the elimination of harmful, objectionable speed-up practices; the liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; a reduction of night work; the establishment of higher wage standards and shorter working schedules, and kindred improvements; and

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of Government employes have been introduced—or will be introduced—for action by the 71st Congress; and

WHEREAS, These measures and prospective measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor that the Government establish and maintain employment standards in advance—or at least abreast of—the highest standards prevailing in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 49th Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher Government employment standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employes in furtherance of the remedial legislative objec-

tives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing That Post Office Department Establish a New System of Accounting, Discounting Charging Public Welfare Work of the Department Against Postal Revenues**

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Leo E. George, Thos. L. Kelley, James Kennaugh and Harry Norton of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Charles D. Duffy, John T. Mugavin and Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry W. Strickland, J. B. Bennett of the Railway Mail Association; Luther C. Steward, Gertrude M. McNally, Lee R. Whitney, John Fitzgerald of the National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The United States Postal Service, as a well-managed and economically conducted public utility, operated on the principle of the elimination of competitive waste and in response to one primary objective—service to the people—has gradually reduced postal costs to the American people; and

WHEREAS, The Post Office Department in its annual reports to Congress has heretofore neglected to segregate the cost of varied services of a public welfare nature which are not properly chargeable to postal service operating costs; and

WHEREAS, In the aggregate the cost of these public welfare services now approximates \$150,000,000 annually, causing a fictitious book-keeping postal deficit and creating the widespread erroneous impression that the postal service is being operated at a financial loss; and

WHEREAS, Under an equitable system of accounting, whereby the Post Office Department would be given fiscal credit for the vast amount of public welfare service it now renders for nothing, or practically nothing, the postal system would show an imposing surplus and would be thus reflected in the public mind in its true light, as a most efficient and highly profitable public business institution; and

WHEREAS, The existence of this alleged postal deficit, due entirely to the inaccurate and incomplete methods of fiscal accounting, reacts against the public in retarding the introduction of service improvements, and against

the employees in delaying wage revisions and other employment betterments; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, reaffirming its repeated pronouncements that the postal system should be operated for service and not for profit, hereby records itself in favor of the adoption of an adequate accounting system, either through legislative or administrative action, under which the public welfare activities of the postal service shall not be charged against postal revenues.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Flaherty: Your committee is advised by the sponsor of Resolution No. 1 that a shorter and more comprehensive resolution covering the subject matter would be more satisfactory. Resolution No. 1 as originally submitted and the substitute are as follows:

**Compensation for Canal Zone Pilots**

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John J. Scully of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America:

WHEREAS, Section 4 of the Act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection and operation of the Panama Canal and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone, approved August 12, 1912, provides that salaries and compensation of employees necessary to the maintenance, protection and operation of the Canal fixed by the President or by his authority shall in no instance exceed by more than twenty-five per centum the salary or compensation paid for the same or similar services to persons in the employment of the government of the United States; and

WHEREAS, President Wilson, under date of February 2, 1914, issued an Executive order providing conditions of employment for the permanent force for the Panama Canal, pursuant to the Act and containing the same restriction; and

WHEREAS, The Canal was opened to traffic August 15, 1914, with twelve pilots employed, and the traffic has increased to such an extent that seventy pilots are necessary to pilot vessels through the Canal; and

WHEREAS, There are no pilots employed by the government of the United States other than Navy Yard pilots, who pilot only naval vessels and whose compensation is fixed to correspond with that of experienced tugboat captains in general commercial service in the ports where the Navy Yards are located; and

WHEREAS, The pilotage of passenger and freight vessels into and out of the ports of the continental United States is done by pilots appointed by Pilot Commissions of the various states and whose compensation is by fee system according to tonnage and draft of vessels,

netting each pilot of any port where the traffic most nearly approaches in volume the traffic through the Canal a sum considerably in excess of that paid to Navy Yard Pilots; and

WHEREAS, The majority of vessels passing through the Canal are passenger and freight vessels and the Canal pilots must possess the same qualifications in skill and alertness as the pilots of the various ports of the continental United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention at Toronto, Canada, endorses and supports a change in the law regulating employment in the Canal Zone, in so far as it relates to Canal pilots, which will permit comparison for purposes of fixing the base compensation of the pilots with the average net compensation of pilots performing similar service in the ports of continental United States and regulated by state laws.

#### Substitute for Resolution No. 1

WHEREAS, Available data disclose the fact that the Panama Canal Pilots are by far the lowest paid pilots in the world, taking into consideration the draft, tonnage and number of ships that each pilot must pilot and handle during the month or year, Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Forty-ninth Convention assembled at Toronto, Canada, hereby approves the upward adjustment of salary schedule for Panama Canal Pilots and instructs its Executive Officers to use their best efforts to assist the Masters, Mates and Pilots of America in securing such adjustment.

From information given your committee we are convinced there is a substantial grievance recited in the resolution that should be remedied as requested.

Your committee therefore recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Flaherty: This concludes the report of the committee, which is signed:

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman,  
THOMAS F. FLAHERTY, Secretary,  
LUTHER STEWARD,  
NEIL McLELLAN,  
W. W. BRITTON,  
WM. C. BIRTWRIGHT,  
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,  
B. M. JEWELL,  
WINFIELD KEEGAN,  
C. L. ROSEMUND,  
THOMAS J. DONNELLY,  
JOHN H. DILLON,  
GEO. S. LEVI,  
D. J. TOBIN,  
H. W. STRICKLAND,  
JAS. M. DUFFY,  
Committee on Legislation.

On motion of Secretary Flaherty the report of the Committee on Legislation was adopted as a whole and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### Report of Committee on Resolutions

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman, the committee had before it twenty-five sections and sub-sections of the Executive Council's report and forty-five of the resolutions presented to this convention. The Committee on Resolutions has endeavored to give its best thought and attention to all of the subjects assigned to it, as well as the resolutions presented. The committee has been actively at work ever since Tuesday noon, working each day until late hours of the night, completing its work on Saturday night. We trust that the report submitted by the Resolutions Committee will commend itself to your kind consideration. The secretary will present the report in behalf of the committee.

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, presented the following report:

#### INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

##### Present Economic Trends in United States Not Prosperity for All

Under the general caption, "Industrial Progress," and the sub-titles, "Present Economic Trends in United States" and "Not Prosperity for All," on pages 34-37, the Executive Council presents an interesting review and interpretation of the recently published report of the Committee on Economic Trends appointed by President Hoover while he was Secretary of Commerce. The Council emphasizes the obvious fact, as indicated by the report of the committee referred to, that the worker is a consumer as well as a wage earner, and that adequate wages are necessary to enable him to continue to make the purchases upon which employment depends. "Mass production can continue only if there is mass consumption," says the Executive Council. That is, incomes must be adequate to buy what is produced. This, it appears to your committee, is simply another way of saying that successful trade union organization among the workers is essential to business prosperity, for it is only through trade unions that working people can give expression to the need for higher wages and improved living and working conditions for the great mass of the people upon whose

purchasing power business of every sort depends for its very life. The upward pressure of trade unionism upon the economic life of the community ought to be welcomed by business men as well as by the workers, for it is distinctly beneficial to both.

In connection with this subject of the value of trade unionism to the community in which it flourishes, your committee also deems it appropriate to repeat the declaration adopted at the New Orleans Convention that "the trade union is not only the means through which the hopes and aspirations of the actual membership are expressed, but that the membership, and therefore the trade union, is representative in character and therefore is the medium through which the hopes and aspirations of all wage earners are made articulate. The unorganized are always without voice, or definite expression. The representative character of the trade union, in this respect, not only attests the need for its development as the only institution through which wage earners can protect and advance their economic interests, but it also points out that this position of leadership places upon the trade union the great duty of guiding the masses of wage earners along the path of true progress. It is the duty of the trade union movement, through its chosen representatives, to hold aloft the torch of human liberty and to point the way that leads to freedom."

The Council points out that "mechanical power and machine tools displace hand skill and develop new jobs requiring new skills," and then advises that "these new jobs and skills should be examined to find basis for industrial training and new organization. Proper and adequate vocational education is essential to craftsmanship."

Your committee recommends that the affiliated unions continue to give close attention to developing among the workers the new types of skill and craftsmanship which are replacing the old types. In the rapidity of change which is now going on in industry, the Council points out, workers who have given almost a lifetime to learning a highly skilled trade find themselves displaced by a machine and thus compelled to seek employment in other fields for which their training has not adapted them. To this it might be added that, under present conditions, industry is not providing employment for all workers thus displaced, and the net result is, therefore, a degree of unemployment which is on the in-

crease. An indication of what is taking place in this respect appears in the tabulation on page 20 of the Executive Council's report, which covers practically the whole field of manufacturing industry for the years 1922 to 1927 and which shows that employment declined in two-thirds of the industries listed. One of the very serious economic trends in the United States is, therefore, towards an increasing unemployment of workers, notwithstanding the increasing productivity of the industries. This is just as true in Canada as it is in the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### WAGE EARNERS' PROGRESS

##### Employment. Incomes.

**Wages of Wage Earners.  
Incomes of Other Groups.  
What Are Wage Earners Living On?  
Various Industrial Groups.  
Progress in Organized Trades.  
Comparison With Union Wages.**

Under the leading title, "Wage Earners' Progress," and sub-titles relating to employment, incomes and wages, the report of the Executive Council on pages 40-46 presents a mass of statistical information with which trade union officers and members will do well to become acquainted. First, under the sub-title, "Employment," the Council presents figures to show that in the first half of 1929 there were approximately 500,000 fewer wage earners employed in the manufacturing industries than during the year 1919, and approximately 790,000 less than in 1920. This, notwithstanding the fact that the number of wage earners employed in manufacturing industries during the first half of 1929 was 362,512 more than the number employed during the year 1928 and 144,498 more than in 1927. Here, therefore, we have another indication of unemployment. While the number of workers in manufacturing industries has decreased very substantially, the production of those industries has very greatly increased, the Council reminds us. The downward tendency in employment, the report states, is due to the increasing use of machinery. It is undoubtedly true, of course, that some of the displaced workers have found employment in other industries, notably in personal service occupations, hotels, etc. But they are not all accounted for, by any means. Any one who mingles among the working population can find evidence of unemployment on every hand. An instance of the



present trend is to be found in the intrusion of machinery into the field of music made possible by sound amplifiers attached to phonographic mechanism of one sort or another. Here we have a development that not only affects incomes and employment, but which tends to restrict that which is often referred to as the most creative of all arts. This is a phase of so-called mass production which, in the course of time, may tend to a limitation rather than an increase of supply. At any rate, the present effect is unemployment among musicians.

Everywhere we turn, the increasing use of machinery, which in the course of time will, in most instances, prove beneficial, is at the present causing unemployment and thus, as the Council states, is ushering in human want and suffering. Surely this is a problem to which the thoughtful citizen should give earnest consideration.

The Council points out, very pertinently, that when the employment of the worker ceases his income is cut off. To that we might add that when his income is cut off his purchasing power is diminished and eventually ceases. And when his purchasing power is lost, not only is industry without a customer in his case, but he and his family may, and sometimes do, become public charges, thus resulting in tax increases to which industry must contribute.

Why should it be necessary to go into detail with reference to a situation that must be obvious to every intelligent observer. Is it possible that intelligent men who have shown their capacity for successful organization in the establishment and developing of tremendous industrial establishments, great transportation systems and enormous financial institutions are unable to understand that their own continued prosperity and success is entirely dependent upon the purchasing power of the masses of the people. It is true that in recent years there has been an awakening among them to some extent and that there has been an increase in the number who understand that it is to their own interest to frankly and openly admit that steady employment and high wages are not only beneficial to the workers but to all other classes in society.

Your committee is in full accord with the proposal of the Executive Council that "efforts be made to stimulate study of the displacement problem and to urge conferences between

workers, employers and other concerned groups prior to the introduction of the changes and thus provide against avoidable hardships."

Your committee also recommends approval of the Council's recommendation for the authorization of an effective Federal employment service and the establishment of municipal employment bureaus, and also its recommendation that the promotion of Federal and State employment agencies be made one of the major projects of the Federation for the coming year.

Under the sub-title, "Comparison with Union Wages," the Council presents some interesting figures which show that the earnings of union members, 1927-1928, are substantially higher than the average earnings of all workers. In determining the average rate of all workers, those who receive the union rates of pay have, of course, been included. A comparison between the average wages of unorganized workers and the average wages of organized workers would show an even greater discrepancy in favor of the union rate, notwithstanding the well-known fact that any advance by the organized workers always has a favorable influence upon the wages and conditions of the unorganized. These figures, the Executive Council points out, are evidence of the value of trade unionism in raising the income of those who work for wages.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### OLD-AGE SECURITY

##### State Old-Age Pension Law—Old-Age Retirement Pensions

Under the main caption, "Old-Age Security," and the sub-titles, "State Old-Age Pension Law" and "Old-Age Retirement Pensions," the Executive Council, on pages 48-51, discusses the general subject of old-age pensions and refers to the reports of various state commissions which have dealt with the subject. The steadily increasing proportion of almshouse inmates who are sixty-five years of age or over is shown by the Council's report in the following figures from the United States Pauper Census:

1880—	25.6
1890—	31.8
1904—	40.6
1910—	42.7
1923—	53.8

On the subject of Old-Age Pensions, the Council makes the following recommendations:

First—That laws be enacted requiring a

pension commission for every county, "pension to be at least \$300.00 annually" and that 65 be set as the age for applicants.

Second—That a model compulsory old-age pension bill be drafted by the Federation and recommended to state federations of labor and that an active campaign be inaugurated for the enactment of such laws in every state.

Third—That the general problem of old-age retirement for employes in private industry be given careful study and that an effort be made to secure the counsel and cooperation of sympathetic individuals and groups in an effort to work out constructive plans on this subject during the coming year.

Your committee recommends that the recommendations of the Executive Council as stated herein on the subject of old-age pension be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I would like to inquire whether the committee has considered Resolution No. 3 in connection with that portion of the report.

Secretary Olander: We are just about to report on two resolutions.

Delegate Frey: I would like to know whether the report comes out wholly on the Executive Council's report or on the two resolutions jointly.

Secretary Olander: There are two resolutions before the committee dealing with this general subject, and the committee is about to report on that, and the recommendation will be that no action on the resolutions is necessary because of the recommendations made in connection with the report of the Executive Council.

Delegate Frey: Then, Mr. Chairman, I understand it is in order to discuss the report of the committee as covering the entire subject matter?

President Green: The Chair will be glad to give every delegate an opportunity to speak in a very wide and broad way.

#### DELEGATE FREY

Mr. Chairman, I find that I am not in accord with the resolutions, neither am I in accord with the recommendations of the Executive Council. I feel the day may come when it might be appropriate to consider the question. I believe at this time it is inadvisable. If I did not feel so seriously upon all that was involved I would move to amend by making the age forty-five years, so that it might cure some of the injustices being done men who are being thrown out of employment.

The question, if I understand all that is in-

involved, must go much further. If we are to have state insurance and pensions for those who have become incapacitated, the same reasoning, the same type of logic would also justify us in approving of state sick benefits, because a workman suffers more perhaps during the course of his employment from sickness than he does through old age. There is no problem that we have considered much more, so far as employment is concerned, than that of unemployment. We might well keep in mind the fact that we have in our country many well-minded people who advocate a state sick insurance and who advocate unemployment insurance, and much of the argument which would support one of these forms of insurance would support the other.

If we are to launch into a campaign for the establishment of insurance to protect the wage earners in sickness, in unemployment, and in old age, while we are considering that we might take into consideration as well whether, as trade unionists, we are putting some citizens in an inferior position to all the other citizens of our country. I would like to know whether we are going to place ourselves in the position of wards of the state, admitting that the problems that affect us in sickness, unemployment and old age are so far beyond our capacity as trade unionists to deal with that we must have a state sick insurance to protect us. I know what the record of our trade union movement is in working for the protection of the unfortunate, of the children, of the women. I think it is one of the proudest records that we could possibly have. We have devoted so much of our time, our money and our energy to securing legislation protecting the welfare of those who were not members of our organizations, but at this time, Mr. Chairman, I have something in mind which it seems to me is far more important than the consideration of social legislation to protect unfortunate workmen.

Those who study our convention proceedings will form an opinion as to our purposes by what we do. The recommendations we make will have a profound influence on the activities of our State Federations of Labor. I am interested in the welfare of the aged, those who are sick and those who are unemployed, but my trade union experience leads me to believe that a far more important problem than that faces the American trade union movement, and that is the millions of wage earners in the United States and Canada who are now in a condition of industrial bondage.

In order to secure employment in many manufacturing establishments the workers have been compelled to sell their birthright, they have been compelled to sign "yellow dog" contracts. The most available information that we can secure is that there are some 1,250,000 wage earners in the United States who, to hold their jobs and bring money home to support the family, have signed contracts of that character surrendering their right to organize. There are probably 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 more who are under a condition of semi-bondage because they are members of an organization invented and applied and managed by the owners of the great establishments, so that under the guise of something like organization

they can be kept out of our trade union movement.

That, Mr. Chairman, is a subject that I think is necessary, rather than dealing with this subject of social insurance. It is only a short time ago that the farmers of our country laid their complaints before Congress, and Congress created a Farm Relief Board, and that Farm Relief Board, in its first general statement, informed the farmers of the country that their difficulties were due more to the fact of insufficient organization than anything else; that their only hope of getting an adequate price for what they had to sell was to organize. Not only did this Farm Relief Board advise the farmers that they should organize, but they further informed them that a part of the \$500,000,000 set aside for farm relief would be used in assisting the farmer to organize so that he could get a better price for what he had to sell.

Mr. Chairman, while one branch of the United States government is spending the citizens' money to bring about more perfect organization so that some of our citizens can get more for what they have to sell, more than one branch of the United States government is using its influence to make it impossible for the American workman to organize and maintain his organization.

I want to call your attention to the fact that many of us who enjoy trade union organization today do so, so far as the courts are concerned, only by the employer's consent; that whenever the employer withdraws that consent the courts of the state and the Federal courts will issue injunctions restraining trade unionists from going on strike to prevent their organization from being destroyed by a member of the employer's organization.

During recent years, and particularly since the war, we have seen the state and federal courts issuing injunctions ordering members of one of our big trade unions to go back to work when they were out on strike. We have had injunctions issued restraining us from endeavoring to organize the unorganized, so that in some large territories of our country today no one can make any effort to organize the unorganized. It is my opinion that we have fewer of our rights as American citizens today than we ever had when we try to function as trade unionists. Little by little our rights have been whittled away, whether it is by injunction-granting courts or whether it is by the methods employers have used through "yellow dog" contracts and otherwise.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, there is no question equal to that of having our rights clearly defined once more. So long as our right to trade union organization can be successfully challenged by an employer's organization, so long as there are "yellow dog" contracts, so long as we have injunctions compelling us to go back to work when we are out on strike, so long as we have injunctions like that in the Bedford Stone case, where men by injunctions are ordered to remain at work, then we have a condition where, as American workmen, it will appear that we lose the major portion of our citizen rights the moment we become trade unionists.

I want to bring out, if I can, this fact:

that the most important thing which the American trade unions can do is to center all of their efforts upon one thing—the establishing of our rights so that our trade unions can function as successfully as a trade association can function, or as the farmers' associations can function. As a citizen, I am indignant to find one branch of the government assisting one group to organize and using its influence and its power to prevent another group from maintaining an organization.

I am aware of the strong appeal to our sentiments that this social legislation will always have. Every woman will think of the day when her husband is old; every man will dread the day when he is no longer able to work, but it seems to me until such time as we have our rights established first, it is a mistake to divide our interests and any of our energies. If the wage earners of the country, knowing a little of that condition that I have just referred to, had massed their forces, then there would have been a special session of Congress to give us the relief we are entitled to and to restore our rights once more as American citizens.

I know how hard the men of the State Federations of Labor work to secure legislation, but it seems to me now, Mr. Chairman, that there is nothing else of any importance, there is nothing which should detract our attention from the one great purpose which every trade unionist should have, and that is to never remain quiet, never remain silent until we have aroused our whole movement to compel the Congress of the United States to give our rights the recognition that we are entitled to. If other groups can organize, so can we for the purpose of having one major program go through, and as one trade unionist I can find no interest, no active desire to divide my time until this one question of the restoration of our rights has been accomplished.

If we want to enthuse the unorganized, if we want to give encouragement to those who have signed "yellow dog" contracts, if we want to bring a ray of hope back to the men now denied the right to organize, let us thunder at the doors of Congress until we have compelled the people there to give us at least all of our rights as American citizens and deny us none of them because we are trade unionists.

That is why, Mr. Chairman, that it seems it is unfortunate to bring any such matter of such strong sentimental appeal in at a time when the very right to exist is being whittled away. There can be no question of as great importance as that of the right to re-establish the right to organize and function, and that right has been taken away from us, as you are aware, until there are so many precedents in the court records that at any time when these employers who are opposed to our existence feel that the time is ripe, not only may our hands be tied, but we are wrapped around and chained.

There is something which lulls to sleep in some of this social legislation. It has the same effect on some men's minds as the promises made by the managers, the highly paid directors of the personnel departments of the company unions. I have no sympathy with that. It is not frequently that I differ with

the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, but in this instance I hope there will be no activity in endeavoring to put legislation of that kind over, and that when this convention adjourns every delegate will go back on fire to accomplish just one thing—the right of American workmen to enjoy trade union organization without legal interference.

#### VICE-PRESIDENT WOLL

The committee reports upon a report of the Executive Council which the Executive Council had been instructed to act upon at the last as well as the prior convention of the American Federation of Labor. As I understand the last delegate, he does not speak against the principle of legislation involved nor does he argue against the sensibility of arriving at a method of providing care and attention for those who have reached that age in life where they are no longer able to care for themselves, the whole argument being that this Federation at this time should take no interest in any other question or in any other proposal except that relating to the "yellow dog" contract and the injunction writ. If that be true, then we might as well dispose of all resolutions before us, of all subjects referred to this convention by the Executive Council and devote ourselves solely to the "yellow dog" contract and the injunction writ.

The delegate who spoke of this question knows full well that both of these subjects are coming before this convention. He knows full well that he was a party of a special committee having prepared legislation or drafted a bill on this subject, and I am frank to say that I fail to understand why the argument on these questions is now being urged not to give attention to other matters of vital interest to humankind and which previous conventions instructed the Executive Council to report and act upon.

I am very happy that I have the opportunity of speaking on this subject because perhaps no one has been more misunderstood and more misinterpreted on old-age pensions than I have. The American Federation of Labor, convention after convention, has declared itself in favor of this form of social legislation. In line with compensation legislation, incidentally, am I to understand from the delegate who has just spoken that we should not take any interest in that form of social legislation or any other? Surely they affect all life and the conditions of life of the wage earners.

As I stated, he does not argue against the principle, against the validity both of the Executive Council's and the committee's report, but we are to wave aside all emotionalism and deal only with one problem. Is that the dictum we are to follow? If he agrees in principle to this legislation, even though it may be founded on emotionalism, then I say it is the duty of this convention to declare itself on this subject and to further its interest, and in that regard I am reminded of the attitude of the State Federation of Labor of the state from which the delegate himself comes, the State of Ohio, having so interested itself in this problem that it has even urged a constitutional amendment to make it possible to do away with our pauper houses and

scientifically and rightly care for the aged in a more modern and more humane way by providing some income to them.

He speaks of farmers getting support financially. Yes, the trade unions should also be relieved from the restrictions placed upon them, and your committee is dealing with that problem. But then how about the aged, those who have no means to turn to in any way? Are we not justified, in view of the statement made by the previous delegate that the farmers have been given money to build up their farms, in asking that the State give money to the aged who have no other income? I sincerely hope the report of the committee will be unanimously adopted and that the interest radiated from it will result in effective legislation, and in the very near future.

#### DELEGATE FURSETH (Seamen)

I rise to agree with Delegate Frey. I look upon it from a somewhat different point of view, but, whether we look on it just as the speaker does or whether we look upon it from the point of view of Delegate Frey, there is another point of view that I think is more important than either, and that is that the labor movement has been going through a struggle as between big business when it was big, but not as big as it is now, and with the assistance then of the old governing classes. Now we are face to face with the third estate historically. The American expression for that is "big business."

The labor movement is per se a fighting institution. It has lived by fighting. It is an army, if you please, struggling to defend certain territory and to annex other territory.

Taking now the army tactics and looking upon the struggle of labor from the point of view of the army tactics, as Delegate Frey does largely, we come to this conclusion: that the army is there for the purpose of gaining territory, that it has no right to defend territory that it already has. That being so, it should train men for the purpose of fighting. It feeds them with the kind of food that makes them efficient fighters. It takes care of the wounded so far as it can, but a fight is not to be won by looking out for the wounded. The fight is to be won by fighting. The wounded are sometimes, in great struggles, left behind to the mercy of the enemy, and in some instances the knife is put to their throat in order to prevent them from falling into their power.

I believe that the position taken by Delegate Frey is correct: that we must first of all preserve our right to fight, our capacity to fight, our willingness to fight, and for that reason it is necessary to feed the lions some raw meat once in awhile. Cooked meat is all right, but it takes away the grit, and once in awhile some raw meat is necessary to feed the lions.

Like Delegate Frey I want to get ourselves mentally and physically into a condition where we can fight efficiently, and as soon as we learn to fight efficiently there will be fewer people to support when they are forty-five or sixty-five years old, there will be fewer people needing support even when they are wounded. An army that is inefficiently trained with

inefficient instrumentalities for fighting and inefficient training in every direction and under inefficient command, if you please, that kind of army is bound to have lots of sickness, lots of wounded, and it will find itself unable to do anything else except take care of them.

So that, while I want to take care of the old as far as we can and of the wounded as far as we can, just like Delegate Frey, I don't want us to put our whole weight and strength on the taking care of the wounded. Sometimes it is better to let the wounded die, sometimes it is better to let the old die than to sacrifice the fire of fighting and the ability to win battles on the part of those who are fighting.

This appeal for old-age pensions, this appeal for sickness insurance, this appeal for unemployment insurance—what is it? When it comes to the point of real issue it is nothing more nor less than sentiment that stands in the way of real fighting. Don't tell me, men, that you are willing to fight. You are not. I will call your attention to the plain, unvarnished evidence of that.

At the Denver convention, dealing with the question of the misuse of the equity power, the committee brought in a report advising the officers of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the trade unions generally, not to put any defense against something that you could not defend yourselves against. On the very contrary, shelter the rank and file as much as you can, and you yourselves take the position that the Catholic Church assigns for the Cardinals, to be the first ones to suffer and the first ones to die. And when that report was put into the convention at Denver one of the most powerful delegates in the convention at that time said: "In that case I want a substitute." I told him from the platform, because I was making the report: "I haven't any doubt but that there are men in the Typographical Union who are perfectly willing to be your substitute." It turned out after a while that there were men who were willing to be his substitute, and he is out of the picture for the time being.

Next we met at Toronto, twenty years ago, and there we passed a resolution pledging ourselves to disregard injunctions and to go to jail if necessary. Never mind what happened to each individual in that case. It was mostly against the officers of the unions. Never mind what happened to them—they would have to take the consequences of the danger as well as the consequences of the honor, and the emoluments, incidentally.

Then came the remarkable saying at Indianapolis when Judge Anderson issued an injunction prohibiting the Miners' officials from distributing the money that the men themselves had gathered together for the purpose of sustaining them in the struggle. He went much further than that in this injunction, he went so far that it almost horrified the country at the time. Mr. Gompers called the attention of the labor movement to that situation and called a meeting in Washington. He informed us that the Miners said: "No, we won't obey you. You may soil your ermine if you feel so inclined, but we will not help you. Do that as

you like, but this is our duty, this is our duty imposed upon us by voluntary association, this is the duty we have taken upon ourselves as officers of a voluntary association. We mean to stand by that duty and you may do that as you please."

That was the spirit in Washington, that was the spirit that we thought should be the spirit in Indianapolis. But was it? Instead of going to jail the man in question went to Judge Anderson and said, "I am an American citizen and I will obey." Shall I tell you that a United States judge with whom I was talking a few days afterwards said, "Oh, that miserable coward! that miserable coward!" Don't tell me that you have the guts to go to jail, because you haven't. The best of you have refused.

That being the situation, we must find some way out. If you are not able to get back the power of which you have been robbed when they took away from us all of the right to strike and the right to boycott, if you will tolerate that and you will not fight to get it back, you will not be able to meet many times more and deal with the question of the sick and the old and the indigent.

I therefore concur in the main in what Delegate Frey has said, but I would put it on a slightly different basis. As far as the plea of the chairman is concerned, that is the usual thing that we give to little children and to old women.

Delegate Frey, Molders: A question of personal privilege.

President Green: What is your question?

Delegate Frey: That the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions misstated the position I have taken.

President Green: I think the delegates to the convention will be able to decide that matter. They heard both statements.

Delegate Frey: In a general way that may be true, but specifically my position was misstated. I desire to have the record clear as to where I stand. I did not make the statement that I was in agreement with the principles involved in that type of legislation.

President Green: And we understand that you are opposed to the committee's report?

Delegate Frey: I hope that I made that apparent.

President Green: And you are opposed to old-age pension legislation?

Delegate Frey: At this time, sir, I am.

#### DELEGATE WALKER

(Illinois State Federation of Labor)

I favor the report of the committee and the recommendation of the Executive Council, but I sincerely hope that it will be adopted unanimously by this convention as the chairman has stated it. I hope that when we leave here and go back home we will try to put it into effect, but I believe if it would lessen the usefulness of the trade union movement to provide this care for the old folk, if it would lessen our interest in the problems of the immediate time that apply directly to those that are able to fight, I am not sure that I would not support it even then.

My judgment about it is that we should

provide some means of assuring decent men and women that when they get to the place where, through old age, they are unable to work for a livelihood, they may be taken care of in such a way, through having paid for it when they were able by providing themselves with that agency, that they can retain their self-respect in their last few years. I believe if that can be done by our trade union movement, that instead of weakening the fighting spirit of the trade unionists in this country you will kill the interest in that respect that is being exerted by the paternalistic corporations that are fighting our movement now, that are furnishing these pensions to the old who will agree to be good—and agreeing to be good means letting themselves be used to defeat us in the efforts we are making now. And when men and women are assured that they will not have to go to the poorhouse or become criminals, that they can get a bite to eat and a decent covering over their head in their old age, when they are younger they will fight better than they will with that dread hanging over them.

You are not introducing something new now. You are taking care of them and you are doing it in such a way that it brings the blush of shame to the cheek of every man who makes any investigation into the actual facts and finds out what it means. That is not alone true with reference to the filth and disease and vermin and the treatment that those old people are receiving in poorhouses, but it has cost us three or four times as much as it would have cost if we were to provide for them in decency.

My judgment in this matter is that we will have time sufficient, even when the effort is on to secure the enactment of such legislation, without detracting or weakening in the least the efforts you will make to accomplish the thing that Brother Frey is most concerned about. I say to you that I think I speak from some little experience in that matter, too. I don't know of a man that is fighting to secure the enactment of old-age pension laws who has in the least weakened in his efforts, by reason of that, to secure the enactment of legislation that will restore to us as trade unionists our full rights of citizenship.

If there is any one thing more than all other things that attracts decent, honest working men and women to the trade union movement, that brings us sympathy and some support at all times from the decent men and women in the other walks of life, it is that our movement is a human movement, standing for the things that are decent and fine from a humane point of view.

Thirty per cent. is a conservative estimate of those who are given old-age pensions under old-age pension laws, and they are the mothers of our people. I can't imagine a decent, red-blooded fighting man, such as John Frey is, who would not be willing to divert for a moment at least to take care of cases of that character: mothers who have had no chance ordinarily to provide for their old age, and they go into those vile dens—and I don't think it is any exaggeration in applying that term to most of our poorhouses.

I think there will be a smaller proportion of

those seeking pensions from our ranks than there will be from those who are unorganized. I say to you that if we should pass this measure it will not lessen our fighting strength; it will appeal to the great mass of the people and the workers and draw them closer to our movement, and it will bring to us the support of the decent, fine men and women in every other walk of life. I cannot see anything in it that will injure our movement at all. I can see nothing in it but added strength and interest, and the relief of the suffering that we are obligated to care for in a way that is not a reflection on us, that we will care for in a better way than we are doing at the present time.

#### DELEGATE MADSEN (Painters)

My organization, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, has for a number of years considered this question of old-age insurance within our organizations. We took the matter up in our convention in Denver, and our members came to the conclusion that this question of old-age insurance was a question for the state and not for the individual organizations to deal with.

As long as I have been coming to conventions of the American Federation of Labor we have gone on record unanimously in favor of old-age pensions, and it seems strange to me that at this time, when this movement is gaining momentum, one state after another adopting this principle, that opposition should come just now.

I am in favor of the things the American Federation of Labor stands for, but are we going to lie down and quit the fight when it is in position of being successful? I notice the President of the Seamen's organization did not quit when his organization was concerned, he did not say that would weaken the fight. My organization is willing to fight as long and as hard and as strong as any organization against the evil of the injunction and the "yellow dog" contract, but I am with the men and women who are fighting in the state legislatures to secure aid for old age members.

I think it is a blot upon the American labor movement that practically every country in the world has been able to secure an old-age pension and we have not been able to secure it in all the states of the Union. We have great opposition in the State legislatures. The manufacturers are there all the time—the same folk that are there fighting for the "yellow dog" contract are there fighting the old-age pension.

I don't think this will weaken our fight. I believe every time we fight for a principle for organized labor, every time we win a victory for organized labor, we strengthen our hands to go forward to win new victories, and I hope the report of the committee will be adopted.

#### DELEGATE OLANDER (Seamen)

Mr. President, I can't resist the temptation of joining in this debate. Those who know me have understood that I have never been an



enthusiast in the matter of this so-called social legislation. However, for a number of years we have taken an attitude on this particular question which has resulted in our Illinois State Federations of Labor taking the lead in the agitation for old-age pensions.

In the forefront of that struggle has been the State of Ohio, from which Delegate Frey comes. Indeed, he is more familiar with what took place there than I am by far. Now it is rather pleasant to find my colleague Delegate Furuseth and my good friend Frey in agreement that all legislative proposals should be dropped and that we should center upon the question of securing remedial legislation affecting the injunction situation.

Delegate Furuseth is a seaman, Delegate Frey is a metal worker. There have been resolutions dealing with the affairs of the industries in which they are represented before this convention. I conclude, therefore, since it is only now that they raise the question of concentration upon one issue, that what they mean is that all things should be dropped in the matter of legislation except those things in which the metal trades are particularly interested, or the seamen are particularly affected, and as to all else think of nothing but, the injunction question and "yellow dog" contract.

Let me ask this: After having led our state branches of our movement into a position favoring the establishment of old-age pensions and thus interesting in our general movement many who have not given it very much attention, are we now prepared to retrace our steps and say to these state branches that they should drop that movement? Or are we going to place ourselves in the pitiful position of having brought them where they are and then shirk the responsibility by refusing to guide them any further and yet not tell them to stop? I say that sort of action on the part of this convention would border on cowardice and would show, in my judgment, a lack of responsibility.

I was delighted to find Delegate Furuseth, for whom I have something more than respect—years of association with him have enabled me to look under an exterior which is sometimes a little irritating to the casual observer and to know the man as he really is; that has brought me very close to him in a personal sense—and Delegate Frey, with whom I have been privileged to have a rather close personal relationship that has been mighty pleasing—I am delighted, I say, to find them now in apparently close agreement as to exactly what ought to be done on the injunction question. I venture the hope that that will continue throughout this convention.

Your committee, in giving its approval to the report of the Executive Council, was virtually acting under instructions, and even if that were not true the situation created throughout the country under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and the instructions of its conventions in relation to the activities of our state branches place upon us a responsibility which we have no right to shirk at this time.

Now, just a closing word. Cease all legislative activities, except that concerning a few

trades, of course, in the matter of federal legislation and concentrate upon this one question? It is not within the range of possibility; it just cannot be done. As a matter of fact, it is not being proposed here by the speakers who have talked in opposition to this. They call upon you to stop state legislation—not federal legislation. Surely it is a remarkable attitude to take.

However, I am inclined to forgive them both. There is one point upon which I am in hearty agreement with them, and that is that every opportunity ought to be taken to discuss the menace involved in the injunction situation and certain related situations; that every opportunity ought to be taken to warn each other that we must give our greatest attention to that particular subject. As a member of the Committee on Resolutions I have been obliged to give it some very careful thought from the very day this convention opened. Knowing how strongly my two friends feel on the subject and knowing their courage and ability, I will not now accuse them of having thought of it before they spoke, notwithstanding that this convention has been an open forum now for several days, and I am glad they have sprung into action. Perhaps that is a little unfair.

I have had the very fine experience for several months of sitting with Delegate Frey as a member of a special committee dealing with this subject in which he is so much interested, and of course I know he has been giving it a great deal of attention. I don't know whether all of the resolutions dealing with the metal trades have been acted upon yet or not, or whether all of those affecting the seamen have gone through the convention, but I am sure that would not influence either one of these very good friends of mine.

I have talked on the subject of injunctions with Delegate Furuseth almost from the moment that I became a member of the Seamen's Union, and I am frank to admit here that whatever I may know on that particular question has been inspired by his leadership. A disagreement on some questions or even on that question could not bring me into the state of mind where I would or even could refuse to listen to any word that he might have to say and to give it the fullest of weight.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: A point of information—I don't believe that the speaker is discussing the subject before the house, and if we continue this thing as long after adjournment time as we have up to now we will be needing old-age pensions before this convention adjourns.

Delegate Olander: I am quite willing to cease right now by speaking seriously. You have not only got the question of old-age pensions before you, but the very important question of a responsibility that rests upon the American Federation of Labor resulting from its past activities in this particular matter. This is no time to face about.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

At 6 o'clock p.m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 15.

# Sixth Day---Tuesday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario.

October 15, 1929.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

## Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Rosemund, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully (J.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H.W.), Powers (F.B.), Wood, McCluskey, Phillips, Norrington, McConaughy, Kelly (J.), Johnson, Rossell, Laude, Hoffmann, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Southall, Watt (R.J.), Shave, Brandt, Bower, Curran, De Young, Smethhurst, Wright, Darrington, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Gallagher, McElligott, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway.

Delegate John P. Burke, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, stated that he was recorded as absent in the proceedings of Monday by error, he having signed the attendance card.

President Green stated that the correction would be noted in the proceedings.

## SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Upon the request of International Secretary Dave Evans, your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of Frank Dernberger in place of Wm. P. Walsh as delegate of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Olander of the Committee on Resolutions.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

### Urging Enactment of Old Age Pension Legislation in All States.

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Several states have enacted legislation providing pensions for aged residents, under certain conditions; and

WHEREAS, We believe this legislation will prove helpful in eliminating the worst features of "County Poor Farms" and "Poor Houses,"

whose operation in many state has been exposed as heartless, as well as humiliating to those whose loss of earning power or inability to provide for the requirements of old age force them to accept these provisions for their maintenance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the 49th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that we affirm our belief in social legislation of this character and call upon the justice-loving people of all states not yet having such legislation, to work for its enactment, with compulsory provisions that will not leave its application optional with Boards of County Commissioners or other county officers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge State Federations of Labor to use all possible efforts to co-operate with all other agencies or fraternal organizations to secure the enactment of this legislation.

The subject of old age pensions having been acted upon in the adoption of the report of the committee concurring in the recommendations of the Executive Council favoring old age pension legislation, no action is necessary on Resolution No. 3.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## Social Insurance

Resolution No. 9—By the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The development of our trade and the specialization and speed-up systems in industry generally throw thousands of workers out of employment yearly; and

WHEREAS, The employers are discriminating against middle age men, and, as a result of that, members of our Brotherhood, as well as workers generally, are suffering misery; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this fourteenth convention of the B. of P. D. & P. goes on record for a federal system of social insurance, unemployment, old age, sickness, etc.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to bring before it a resolution that the Federation as a whole go on record for this law of social insurance.

The report of the Executive Council in favor of old age pension legislation having been approved, your committee believes no action on Resolution No. 9 is necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### PROGRESS IN CANADA

The report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Progress in Canada," on page 56, indicates that the developments in relation to employment and unemployment, production, wage rates and earnings show practically the same trends in Canada as in the United States. It therefore suffices to say that, in relation to these matters, what has already been said by your committee in relation to conditions in the United States applies equally to conditions in Canada and for practically the same reasons. It is gratifying to note that the increase in the membership affiliated with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in 1928 has been followed by an increase in 1929 and that the trend of trade union organization in Canada is upward. It is certain that the international unions in the American Federation of Labor, which have Canadian membership, will continue to give the fullest measure of support to their various affiliated units in the Dominion of Canada to the end that the workers of the Dominion may be encouraged to put forward every effort to secure improved conditions of life and labor. The aid and encouragement of the American Federation of Labor to the workers of Canada will, of course, continue unabated. Your committee recommends the adoption of this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### SOUTHERN SITUATION

President Green: In conformity with the action taken by the convention on yesterday, we will now proceed to the special order of business. As you recall, a motion was made yesterday and unanimously adopted that the consideration of the Southern situation be made a special order for 10 o'clock this morning. It is now 10 o'clock and we will proceed to the consideration of this special order. I would suggest that those who expect to address the convention on that subject, particularly those who are tremendously interested in it, would come to the platform so that all might hear their addresses.

The Chair recognizes Miss McNally, Secretary of the Committee on Organization, who will now report upon a resolution dealing with the Southern organizing situation.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate McNally, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

##### Proposing Conference in Interest of Financing Organizing Campaign Among Textile Workers in the Southern States

Resolution No. 36—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, James Starr and William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The workers in factory, mine and mill of the Southern States of the United States are aroused as never before to the lack of organization among them; and

WHEREAS, These toilers, approximating one million (1,000,000) white workers, of which about two hundred thousand (200,000) are textile workers, are intensely interested in the betterment of their social life; and

WHEREAS, Educators, economists and public spirited citizens are advocating and recommending, through statistical compilation, with the written and spoken word, the necessity of bringing to these people the fundamentals and policy of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of securing, by organization within the American labor movement, the correction of existing abuses, now all too prevalent; and

WHEREAS, The unionizing of these Southern workers means a vast outlay of money, and to collect such money for the purpose of organizing these Southern workers means that the American Federation of Labor must undertake this work, as it is impossible, in our opinion, for any National or International Union to carry on such a task; and

WHEREAS, The Southern workers, if not organized and assimilated with the American Labor Movement, will become a more dangerous menace to the progress of the Organized Workers than can be found in any other economic obstacle now confronting them; and

WHEREAS, The cold-blooded shooting down of members of the United Textile Workers of America by the sheriffs at Marion, N.C., early Wednesday morning, October 2nd, following so closely the kidnapping of two of the representatives of our Labor movement at Elizabethton, Tenn., and at Waresboro, S.C., where a representative of the American Federation of Labor and a representative of the United Textile Workers of America were ordered out at point of gun, is a challenge to the entire American Labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The way to combat these abuses and this challenge is through the Organization of the Workers, and such an organization cannot be brought about unless money is secured; and

WHEREAS, The unionizing of these Southern workers means a vast outlay of money; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, through the delegates assembled, goes on record authorizing the raising of funds by the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to carry out this important and necessary work; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to call together for conference the officers of all National and International unions for the purpose of devising a policy that will be acceptable to all interested parties in the proposed campaign of organization among Southern workers regardless of craft or calling.

Your committee concurs in this Resolution and urges that every effort be made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to effectively carry out the resolution, and that the conference referred to in the second Resolve be held within thirty days, at such place as may be designated by the President of the American Federation of Labor. It is further recommended that, due to the present and existing situation in the South, the Executive Council undertake at this time the raising of funds at this Convention by requesting each affiliated organization to contribute such funds as possible. It is further recommended that every affiliated National and International Union which has not already assigned organizers be urged to give its fullest cooperation by the assignment of organizers to the South at the earliest date possible.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

#### DELEGATE McMAHON (Textile Workers)

Mr. President and Delegates to the Convention: I would indeed it were otherwise than being placed in the position I am, to be again appealing to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor—not for assistance for those of our members who have been in the movement for many, many years, but for those who are refused admission because of cold-blooded attacks of repressive agents under the guidance of chambers of commerce and other organizations.

In as brief a manner as possible, I will give you a history of the organization of which I happen to be the head, and I only want to go back a period of twenty-five years to run over as quickly as I can the work we have done and will continue to do to bring comfort and happiness to the people who toil, not alone in the mill or the mine or the factory, but to people who toil anywhere.

I hear, as it were, today the reverberations and the acclaim that came to us twenty-five years ago when we were waiting patiently, as must be those in the Southland today, to hear the result of this convention's action. We in the Fall River strike twenty-five years ago, with the mills entirely closed, were waiting patiently, some in that city on strike, I, an active official in my local union, waiting in my own home town in Rhode Island to hear what would be the result, and when it came over the wire, after the appeals made by men gone to the Great Beyond to meet the Master, oh, how the hearts of the struggling workers were filled with joy! And I can hear today the words of the inimitable Foster, the words of the cool, calculating Jim Duncan; I can hear the words of my old chief, gone; and it brings to me today happiness and consolation in the thought that I believe they, with others, like the great chief who preceded our present chief, Samuel Gompers, are with us in spirit and will make the appeal stronger than I am able to make it to reach the hearts of the men and women assembled in this convention today to do what they can, not for the textile workers of the South, not for the workers in any particular craft or calling, but for the workers of the Southland who are denied the right to belong to the American Federation of Labor.

That is our appeal, that is our purpose, and we hope that our appeal and purpose will be listened to by the delegates to this convention. Those of us who have been in the Southland over a twenty-year period know the conditions that exist. Those of us who struggled the twenty-odd years before locomotives were in operation, before the roads were in the condition they are today, realize full well how hard it was to approach the village where the cotton mill was to reach into the hearts of the men and women who, with Christian spirit, were struggling, hoping that the day would come that their emancipation might be made possible. Well do I remember years and years ago crossing over the Blue Ridge. There was no automobile to meet me, there was no hired machine to meet me, there was no dray or horses, but we plowed along, and as we crossed the Blue Ridge into the old Horse Creek Valley, sometimes reaching over to the banks of the Mississippi looking at it sluggishly go by, and came back and reported to our people that we were doing the best we could with the means at our disposal, knowing and realizing full well that the hates engendered and sunk into the lives of these people who toil were not forgotten, and that they were being inflamed by capital year in and year out with the purpose in view of keeping the shackles of slavery upon the working people.

The development of the industry became possible by those who had some money in the South, Southern capitalists, by money secured from the North. Little mill villages sprang up here and there, because in the hillsides, the mountain cities and the little farms the men and women were absolutely in want. We realized then as we realize more today that these people were the clean-living, upstanding, Christian people, and that when the seed was implanted upon their souls they would not hesitate to come forward, but would do with

might and main everything possible to regenerate themselves.

The period slowly passed on, with small means at our disposal, and I want here and now to take this opportunity of saying that not only the present President of the American Federation of Labor and his colleagues on the Council, but our late President and his colleagues, have given of their energy, their time and their money—everything that they could give—to assist us in this struggle. You will believe me when I say that my late President, when he assumed command of our International Union, worked for the mighty salary of \$200.00 per year. You will understand full well the conditions that existed, that he gave up his work at the mule-spinning job to take that job, and President Gompers made possible his existence by putting him on a six months' time salary in the American Labor movement. Do we forget those things, those few of us that are left in our movement? We cherish, we love them, and because of that knowledge and because we have held true to the faith we do not hesitate to appeal for those now struggling as we did twenty-five years ago, to emancipate themselves from the chains that held us in thrall.

Oh, my friends here in this convention, I trust that you can hear the heart-beats of these men and women; if not the heart-beats, then surely you must hear the reverberation of the music, to some ears, of the guns as they are shot off or of the clubs as they blackjack into submission these clean people. It must be either one or the other that will appeal, and when we give you the figures of our Bureau of Statistics at Washington they will bear us out in our contention that the workers in the South are working at a wage vastly much less than we are in many instances. I know that these words may bring joy to the hearts of some of our employers in the North and I realize full well that we will again possibly have to put on the armor and meet it as we did for ten long months in 1922: with 82,000 of our people struggling in the trenches, we, too, may have to again assume that armor and go forth, and we will, for we fear not. While we love not the fight for the fight's sake, we love the ideal that we will fight for justice's sake, and we feel that back of this will come your voice, and your help, and because you, too, are here in line because you consider it a duty; but you must consider it in the matter of the injustice to those whom you have the honor to represent. We are not, therefore, appealing to men and women unafraid. We are not, therefore, appealing to those who know not the things that I speak of and I know of.

To give those who will follow me the proper opportunity I know that I must cut my remarks short, and I want to get you nearer to the scene of action. It is now six months since I have been in the south in Elizabethton, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, going through there day after day for three or four weeks. I do not want to give you a picture, then, only to say this: that in Ware-shoals, South Carolina, there is a village that equals in its view and in the picture that it presents any village that existed in 1880—

antique of the antique; the roads that reach it little, yellow, back roads, impossible to pass along because of each road being covered with armed sheriffs; no hotel to stop at; no home to go into except a company home—down into the woods, down to the river bank we go day after day, there to make our appeal.

And I am glad to say to you, in quoting from the Bureau of Labor Statistics that there is an interesting comparison made between the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts in New England and the great Commonwealth of South Carolina. It is a wonderful thing, not given by me, just merely read to you and coming from that great Department in Washington. In Massachusetts the wage is \$16.47 per week for an average of forty-eight hours. In South Carolina the wage is \$9.56 per week for an average of fifty-five hours. You have got the picture there, you can visualize it yourself and ask yourself the question, How in the name of God could I live, let alone support a family, upon such a wage?

Do not consider that as our wage. We think we are making progress from the \$9.00 of twenty-seven and twenty-eight years ago to the \$16.00 average today, with a forty-eight-hour week. We know we are making progress. And I have this likewise to say to you: that as I visit the various centres, whether it is in the spinning or the weaving or the grinding, it matters not what department of the mill I may go into, I am capable, thank God, of understanding that department, and I say to you with pleasure and with pride that we have made progress and that we will make progress in this Southland of ours if you but give us the opportunity.

We have placed five representatives in the South today and the American Federation of Labor has placed two others, at our request, and several international unions have likewise given us their representatives. Our representatives are not told to organize textile workers; they are told merely to organize, organize, organize workers regardless of where they are, and we who gave of our small means, read to you yesterday by President Green, feel proud of our accomplishment, and we can say to those who criticize us, with a smile on our faces, and particularly to my friend David Clark of Charlotte, North Carolina, my very good friend, before this convention that I am proud of the title you gave me because I have brought to your heart the thing you feared most—hatred of the Labor movement that is now about to become firmly entrenched in the territory that you have served so well for those who have paid you—the Southern cotton textile manufacturers.

In conclusion may I say, as I did in the beginning, that I believe, from the training and the faith that is within me, that those who have passed to the Great Beyond are with us in spirit. I hope that those of you who are here in person will help us in the fight to bring comfort and cheer to the men and women who are struggling and watching us today in action, that they may be free and that industrial serfdom may be a thing of the past, and that our people in the Southland—our people, I call them, for I have been there long

enough to be one of them—may have that right which you and I enjoy. As a textile worker I appeal to you as trade unionists in the hope and with the thought that the resolution offered by the Committee on Organization will be given the unanimous approval of this convention immediately, for immediate want is there.

**ANDREW FURUSETH**  
(Seamen)

I am not going, Mr. Chairman, to any length in this matter. I am not going to try to emulate the previous speaker. It was a fighting address, it was an appeal to our manhood, an appeal to our citizenship, an appeal to Americanism.

There is only one thing I would like to change in the resolution. I would like to strike out the words "Labor Movement" and insert in place of them the word "Americanism." The United States was born in a struggle for human freedom. Freedom does not mean just simply a little more to eat or a little more attention to the old and indigent. That, the Roman Empire tried to do with its slaves. It means the readiness to go the whole length, it means the willingness on the part of men to give all that they have and all that they are in the struggle not only to attain human freedom, but to preserve it.

Having said this much, I want to call your attention to some little history, not ancient but modern. I was around Washington when the manufacturers were making the campaign to get away from the laws of Massachusetts and Rhode Island: to get down into the South, where there were no laws governing the hours of labor of women or children. They moved their factories down South to get away from the public opinion in the Eastern states, to get away from the legislation that had been adopted there. I was present in a hearing before the Committee on Judiciary of the House of Representatives when they wanted to put the regulation of the hours of labor and the conditions of labor under the Federal Constitution. I heard men who were sane and who knew something of the past and who knew something of the forces that were at work warn the Judiciary Committee against recommending any such constitutional amendment because it would most likely result, certainly not in increase in wages in South Carolina or Tennessee or in Alabama, but in reduction in wages and the abolition of legislation passed by some states for the protection of those who could not protect themselves.

The attention of the manufacturers was called to the fact that they were going down there for no purpose at all except for the purpose of getting cheap labor. Their attention was called, too, to the fact that what they were going to do, and what they did do, was to go into the mountain regions to get white men to do the work that the colored brothers could not do. Isn't it remarkable that in the cotton mills there are extremely few colored men working? Why? When the question was asked it was answered in this way: that the colored men are subject to go to sleep on account of the hum and noise of the machinery, and although they have tried numerous methods to keep them awake and keep them

attentive they found it wasn't any use, and so they had to go to the hills and get the white men.

Mind you, the white men of the hills of the South went into the hills because they did not want to be slaves and they did not want to be slave owners, but gradually there were taken from them by the powers that were in existence there the miserable little homes in the hills and they were put in the position of starving not only themselves but everybody around them, and so the condition was created to get them into the factories under the pretence that "Here is a place for you where you can work and earn enough to live, where you can feed your wife and children; here is a home built for you to go into; here is a promise to you that we will take care of you better than any labor organization can."

The poor devils believed it, and for the thirty or forty years that you have tried to get into the South you are up against that preconceived conception that the labor movement as such did not have any heart for them, that they had better depend upon their employers. Now they have learned a lesson. They have learned the lesson that they could not depend upon their employers; that, no matter how high their protection mounts, none of it comes to them. No matter what they are trying to do they are faced either with the right of property that keeps them from coming to or coming near a certain place and the guns in the hands of the deputy sheriff that enforces the order to handle these men who have been accustomed to a free life, more or less, in the hills. They are not ready and willing to accept the situation. And they are ready and willing to shoot back. There are some of them who would do that gladly no matter if they knew that at the end of it was absolute sure death.

Thus you have come finally to a situation in which it is possible for you to really do something in the South, something that will have results. What has been done in the past, all the money that has been spent, all the efforts that have been made, all the men that have gone to jail, all the men who have been killed—those things have happened for a purpose under the hand of God's guidance, for the purpose of arousing men themselves in the South to the necessity of organization.

Now, what are you men going to do? What are we in the North going to do? Go in there and help in every way that is possible, but as you go I want you to remember the injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Philadelphia. Then it was said that because Philadelphia was a non-union field and the union field of New York came in there they did not come to help the workers; they came in there, out of hate and malice, to destroy the business of their employers. That is what the judge based his injunction on.

Now I want to tell you that in going down there and doing these things you are going to be faced with the real thing itself. You had some experience in it when you did the same thing in the mines, when you went from place to place and sent organizers in among



the miners, and out of it came the Miners' Union and some reasonable conditions—not just as it should be, but at least some reasonable conditions for the miners. You are going to be up against that again now, and you need to realize the condition, but if I know anything about you, if by such a speech as was made before I came to the platform you can be made to realize that it is not their fight, it is your fight, that the conditions in the South are used to suppress the conditions in the North, I want to appeal to you from that point of view, calling to your selfishness—you cannot have decent wages in the North unless you get decent wages in the South. You cannot have decent wages in the North for any labor unless you can get decent wages in the South for all labor, because the two sections of the country will compete, and some of these blessed courts, listening to their consciences—I don't know where they got them, but sometimes I think they might have got them from the Lord Jesus Christ, but then I say, "You are a fool, Andrew, they got them from the devil."

There is one thing more I want to call your attention to, and that is that this is a part of a fight that from now on is going to rage bitterly throughout the whole United States and throughout the world. Big Business is in the saddle. It is undertaking to liquidate every right and every privilege that the workers have been granted in the past. In the struggle between the old governing classes and Big Business as it existed prior to the great war, we could always depend upon some advice, some sympathy, some help from the then governing classes. They did it probably because they realized that the real attack was upon them, but the war put the old governing classes out of business. The world is now in the hands of Big Business, historically called the Third Estate. You must realize it and you must be ready to walk the same road that the early Christians had to walk and that the agitators that organized discontent in the Church had to walk for centuries and centuries. You have to go through the same kind of struggle to get equality, equal freedom on the industrial field that we have obtained on the political field, at least in principle. You have to go through that fight on the industrial field, and I want you to understand that, so that you will know there is no mercy, there is no consideration of humanity that will count now. It is simply a question of whether you are strong enough, whether you are ready to give sacrifice enough to arouse the whole people to what this fight means, and when you do that there is enough Americanism in America to put a stopper to not only what is in the Southern States but to what is going on in the mining regions, to what has played its part in destroying the Machinists' Union, that has played its part in almost destroying the Seamen's Union. And so union after union has gone the same way.

Now is the time for us to make hay, now is the time for us to go in, now is the time for us to take the consequences of going in, and may God give us the strength to do it.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Birthright, Secretary of the Tennessee

State Federation of Labor and an officer of the Barbers' International Union.

#### DELEGATE W. C. BIRTHRIGHT (Barbers)

Mr. President and Delegates: I come to you this morning as a representative of the Tennessee State Federation of Labor and as a delegate to the convention from the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, and I feel qualified to speak on this situation.

The movement of the organization of the Southern workers is not a very new thing. The labor movement of the South has visualized the very condition that now exists, but we knew that there had to be some place to break through, and when the great Glanzstoff and Bemberg corporations were instituted in Elizabethton, Tennessee, they had hardly got into operation before the workers in those mills rebelled against the autocracy of the management.

The Tennessee State Federation of Labor, taking the view of the situation on a report received officially from that district, went there and undertook to do something to stimulate these workers and an adjustment was made. In 1927 in that same sector another rebellion occurred, and again the State Federation of Labor made an adjustment. We never made an effort to organize these people because we knew they were not ready for that adventure. You must remember, my friends, that these people came from the mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and part of Georgia. You must remember that they are 98 per cent. of the Anglo-Saxon race. They know nothing about these great industries until they are exploited into them, and the cry of these mills is, "Get them in, and get them cheap."

These people came down out of the mountains to work, and of course that miserably low wage of \$4.00 and \$9.00 looked large to them for a time, but as they walked on the highways and byways of the larger cities near by and saw the women and children better dressed and enjoying life, they wondered why. If they wanted to buy a pair of full fashioned hosiery they would have to buy it on the instalment plan by paying 25 cents a week on it, and with these conditions confronting them they began to realize that there was something wrong in the economic life of the mills, and therefore they rebelled.

And so the labor movement of the South, visualizing this thing that was gradually eating in like a cancer, at the instance of myself and a few other labor leaders of the South called a conference in October, 1928, in the city of Chattanooga, Tennessee, composed of the officials of the Southern State Federations of Labor, and there we consulted on this momentous matter. The question of organization in the South, the question of labor legislation in the South, the question of workers' education in the South, was our main discussion. Your honorable President despatched two of his great research workers to that conference, as well as two of his field agents, and he endorsed that conference by this movement.

We knew at that time that there was going to be a breaking point to this condition in

South, and so on the 13th day of last March—and a very good day for it to happen—there occurred the first real rebellion. And then the State Federation of Labor again went to Elizabethton, and after some seven or eight or ten days another settlement was made. The workers went back into these mills. The agreements were not kept. President Green despatched Ed. McGrady, whom most of you know, to Elizabethton, to see if the management intended to carry out this understanding. McGrady met the directors of this company. They agreed that on the following two days this agreement would be put into full force and effect. This happened one night, and after the conference McGrady and Hoffman, of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, were sitting in the lobby of their hotel. Hoffman was called away. Hoffman was carried away. McGrady, thinking Hoffman had been called away on another matter, went to his room. After midnight McGrady's door was rapped upon and when he opened the door there stood a mob—not a mob of thugs, not workers, but politicians and bankers, men who professed to be the followers of Jesus Christ. They said to McGrady, "Get your clothes on; we are going to take you for a ride." McGrady protested and they said, "You will either come with your clothes on or we will carry you without them." McGrady went, of course.

They carried McGrady away, and then in the wee hours of the morning they went to a local organizer in this institution, Mr. Penix, a carpenter, and they attempted to carry him away from his home, and Penix's sister, of the mountain type, went out and discharged a revolver at this outfit and they ran. Among this crowd that attempted to kidnap Penix was an elder of his church. Penix was an elder on the same board with this man who dared try to carry him away, a fellow-worker in the cause of Christ.

This incensed the labor movement of this country. All this happened while the workers were steadily working in these mills. I was in Washington attending the Workers' Education Convention. President Green and others and I conferred on this matter, and President Green laid aside his duties and went to Elizabethton, and on April 7 of last year your President delivered an address to the multitude at Elizabethton and laid down the policy of the great American Federation of Labor and what we expected to do. Green was received with open arms, but there enters into this picture an unscrupulous, low, vile politician named Crawford Alexander, president of the bank at Elizabethton, the man who said that President Green was the first prominent man that ever came to Elizabethton that he did not welcome. Green did not want his welcome.

After President Green had left, the mills steadily working, McGrady, Hoffman, Aymon, Miss Lindsay and others remained there, and this company posted a notice calling on the workers not to pay tribute to these outside organizations, saying that their conduct in that direction would have a great deal to do with their employment in the future. McGrady and I called the Washington Department of Conciliation. We advised Mr. Kerwin what had happened. Mr. Kerwin called in the head of

this company, Dr. Mothwurf, and Dr. Mothwurf said he didn't know anything about this notice. The result of that notice was the next strike.

This strike occurred in these great mills, affecting thousands of these people. And what had happened during all this time? This unscrupulous politician, member of the state election board of that state, representing the Republican party, made a pawn out of the Governor of Tennessee, a Democrat, for political pottage that that Governor had to have. That Governor knew that he only had one man on that board of election commissioners, and he needed a second one of the three, and he took Crawford Alexander. Alexander made a pawn out of this man, who knew not what was going on.

Then the soldiers began to roll in to protect this corporation and drive back to these mills these unprotected citizens of that state. Then things began to pop. With an Adjutant General who did not have respect for womanhood, whose whole desire was a selfish one, trucks were driven into the picket line where these women were in the early morning, injuring many of them almost to the point of death, and this governor telling the man all the time, "Whatever you do I will pardon you." These are the words this Adjutant General said to me that the Governor told him: "If they convict you for any of these things I will immediately pardon you." Then came a statement from this governor, this pawn in the hands of this man that he had appointed a great American to try to mediate this strike, and he said to the world: "I have appointed Major George L. Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, who is a citizen of this state, to help settle this thing for the interests of all concerned."

Berry made an honest attempt to bring this Dr. Mothwurf into conference with Bill Kelly and Hoffman of the Textile Workers. Mothwurf would not answer the letter. Mothwurf was insulted to know that Berry would have the audacity to write him a letter and ask him to meet Hoffman and Bill Kelly and McGrady and others. So the governor made a journey and when he came back he met the news men and denied that he had appointed George L. Berry to do this work. You see, he was a pawn in the hands of this clique. Berry got behind him and wanted to know why this statement denying that he made the statement. He called Berry to his office. Berry went there and laid a plan of settlement before him; told him to call in Mothwurf, Hoffman and Kelly to settle this thing. He agreed to do it.

The next morning the answer was more troops to Elizabethton. During this time we organized in the city of Johnson City, Tennessee, a cigar box makers' organization with twenty-five or thirty members, if I remember correctly, and on the very next day there were more soldiers surrounding the cigar box factory than there were people employed in it. McGrady and Hoffman and I asked the sheriffs of the county what it meant, and he said he asked for them.

Then Berry entered again. Berry entered into the State Federation of Labor convention

and, baring his breast to the powers that be in that state he defied them, as the man he is, and denounced them from the housetops. He pledged himself and his life to bring about better conditions for the Southern workers. He pledged a thousand dollars on his part, and food and clothing, and in that dramatic climax of that convention of Southern workers with this Southern standing at the head and delivering denunciation to the powers that be, to these foreign capitalists from Germany, another man entered and pledged himself with a thousand dollars. That was James C. Shanessy, President of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union. And so the cry went up that we must take care of this wedge in the industrial situation in the South and the labor movement of the South.

The Federations of Labor of Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, North and South Carolina and Virginia rallied to this fight with all their resources, and the State Federation of Labor of Tennessee exhausted their financial resources to help carry on this battle. May I stop here to make this observation to you men—that during all this terrific fight the newspapers of that section, to begin with, were friendly, and then suddenly overnight they began to decry and denounce the attitude of the American Federation of Labor. There were only two papers in that state who dared to stick to the cause of labor in that fight. These were the Memphis Daily Press of Memphis, Tennessee, and the Knoxville News Sentinel of Knoxville, Tennessee, both Scripps-Howard papers. Well do we remember that little Johnny Moutaw, the representative of the Scripps-Howard papers in Knoxville, was arrested and browbeaten and assaulted in the city of Elizabethton by the police of that city. He could hardly walk on the street for being assaulted because he was said to be an agitator, yet he was telling the truth as he knew it and saw it and it was being printed in his paper. We owe a debt of gratitude to that fellow and his paper for what they did in that struggle.

Then came the settlement that was brought about because they did not have finances to carry on this tremendous struggle that meant so much to the workers in the so-called South, as we are kind enough to call it. The money did not come fast enough. The people had to be taken care of, and I want to say to you men that if only you could know the Paul Reveres that rode the trail at night in that great struggle you would know of the intense, practical application by the workers of Elizabethton. They rode the trail at night that they could assure themselves that there would be no strikebreakers imported in the wee hours of the night, so that they might in the early morning hours at daylight retire to their homes and the pickets might go on duty. That is the sentiment of these people in these great mill districts. I might stay here for hours and talk to you about the situation, but the observation is this: That the worker of the Southern states is ready for concrete organization. We have labor movements in these states in the larger cities. They are the leaders in this and we are there ready

to carry their part of the burden, but here lies in Elizabethton the wedge to carry on this Southern fight for organization of all kinds of workers. If this convention today will send out its voice over this country that it is going to carry the battle on for the workers of Elizabethton and the South, you will strike a happy cord, because these men and women are looking to you veterans of labor to back them up in their efforts for a better day.

May I close with this and say to you, in answer to any statement that has been made, that Brother Green, the heads of the Carpenters' organization, the heads of the Barbers, the heads of the Machinists, the heads of the Pressmen, the heads of many that I don't recall right now, have always been in there fighting and helping to do their bit. President Green had Aymon on the job. He is there now at this moment, waiting for our answer. He had Googe in South Carolina, he had others elsewhere, he has his hand on the pulse of this situation in North Carolina and Tennessee. The condition in Marion, I may observe, is worse today than it was in Elizabethton, because murder is the order of the day there, men are dying by being shot in the back by those people who dare call themselves the guardians of the law.

Oh, my friends, you can't know the sentiment there is against those people in political power by the workers of that state, and before we leave this platform I say to you that we are expecting your help in the South, and the workers of Tennessee say that at the next election we will wipe out this political despot in that section.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Miss Matilda Lindsay, a representative of the Federal Employees' International Union. Miss Lindsay has been working in the South, she has been assisting in the South. She knows the people of the South and she comes fresh from that section. I know you will be very much pleased to receive her message this morning. It affords me great pleasure to present Miss Lindsay.

#### MISS MATILDA LINDSAY

(National Federation of Federal Employees)

Mr. President and Delegates of this Convention: The South today is a place where history is being written that is as interesting and as telling and as important as any history that has ever been written for the industrial world. The developments that are taking place there, the struggles that are going on would appeal to the hearts and minds of many of you older men who fought the early struggles for the organizations which you are representing here today, because we are living over again those situations below the Mason and Dixon line.

You have been hearing from the previous speakers about the developments in the textile industry. The textile industry is one that is holding the focus point of interest at the present moment, but there are other developments in the South that are important to you, as

representatives of the trade union movement. Other industries are coming there and are being built up. In Richmond, Virginia, just now there are plans being perfected for a huge cigarette factory that is going to make this city the largest cigarette producing city in the country. In High Point, North Carolina, the development in the furniture business is making that a rival with Michigan as a furniture center. Water power development and other power developments are being carried on on a tremendous scale in Alabama, in Tennessee, and in South Carolina. In the State of Virginia alone in the last eighteen months we have recorded 114 new industries. From Norfolk, Virginia, to Florida a new 12-foot canal waterway is being built.

This is only a very brief picture of some of the many things going on there, for the purpose of trying to show you that the South, as an industrial field, as a place of new industrial development, is one to which we must give very serious thought and very close attention. The people who are taking part in the struggles that are going on there are beginning to realize themselves something of the importance of what is happening to their part of the country. For some time before they realized what was happening, other parts of the country were getting a picture of that. Manufacturers were holding out to capital to come and invest itself in the South, because there we had this abundant supply of cheap, white, native labor, native Americans who would be willing to work long hours for low wages.

As the Southern representative of the National Women's Trade Union League I have been engaged in carrying out their program in the South for the past two years, and those of us who understand something of the South and its traditions knew a long time ago that when the time came that these Southern people realized what was being said about them and the picture that was being painted of them, they would revolt, they would not stand for it, they would come to the front. The qualities that have made their forefathers fight battles to the very last would stand them in good stead and they would repeat history in standing out as one hundred per cent Americans in the very highest and best sense of the word to fight for their rights.

If you people could have lived with us through the struggle at Elizabethton, if you could have seen the length to which the opposing forces went with their intimidation of these workers, and how the workers fought, you would realize the story that we are trying to tell you today. If you could have sat in the court house during the trial of these pickets that you have heard about from the previous speaker, when they were brought in by train loads and automobile loads, when there was no longer room in the jail for them and the court house had to be turned into a jail, when whole companies of National Guardsmen with guns, bayonets, tear-gas bombs and all kinds of weapons were marched up the court house steps and were lined up from the top to the bottom of the steps and clear around the court house yard, clearly and solely for the purpose of trying to intimidate the

people who were being tried for violating the injunction, if you could have heard those witnesses stand up one after another for their right to do peaceful picketing, you would have known that at last the Southern workers have come into their own.

We could continue to tell these stories by the hour, but I think the one thing you will be particularly interested in is to know something of the conditions under which these workers live and the rate of pay on which they have tried to exist. If you could go through some of the mill villages that we have gone through and see the little muddy streets, the unpainted houses that are little more than boxes built up on stilts, and know that the people who work in these mills rent these houses from the company, if you could realize that whatever they get to eat they must buy from the company stores, and that most generally they are so far behind at the company store in their accounts that they are tied to the system of that mill village and it is impossible for them to move on; if you could hear the stories told by the people who come in from the mountains, stories told them by the agents of these companies who go out in the mountains and tell them, as they have told them during the recent struggles down there, that the strikes are settled, that there is a nice house and a good job waiting for them down in the city, and to bring their families and come on down—and many of them, believing what has been told them, pick up their families in a very old second-hand Ford and start out, and they arrive at the mill village.

Some of them, when they arrive there and are told the true facts of the situation, do not want to stay and take the jobs of other workers and they return home. In some cases the unions have provided the gas for these people to go back to their mountain homes, because they appreciate the fact that these people are unwilling to make the battle that they are fighting even harder.

A few weeks ago, in Rock Hill, South Carolina, a conference of textile workers was being held where we had representatives from five of the Southern states come and tell us what was happening in their mills. These people, who were new in the labor movement, came and told us about the conditions under which they live and work, particularly since the inauguration of the stretch-out system of the textile mills of the South. As one worker put it, they are only asking for mercy. He said, "A task has been put upon us that is greater than a human being can stand, and the number of machines which we must tend have been doubled and trebled. Today we are not even getting the rate of pay we were getting five years ago." Then to hear them tell what they have to do, what they have to resort to in order to be able to discuss their trade union affairs—they have to whisper around to each other to meet at a certain time in a patch of woods, or up on the river bank, and they have to be careful in whispering around, because the moment the company finds out that they have been discussing the question of the trade union or the question of a labor organization, or if they find that they have a circular or anything

pertaining to the labor movement, they are discharged from their jobs.

Despite all these things the workers are still saying that they are going to fight for their rights to belong to a trade union. They want shorter hours. Most of them are working 55 and 60 hours a week and 11 and 12 hours on night shifts. You can readily see from that that there is very little time left for them to discuss their affairs, for them to have enough intelligence left in their minds in order to do the kind of thinking they have to do to be able to correct some of these conditions.

The thing the workers all talk to you about when you meet them in these conferences is their union. They say, "Of course we want shorter hours, we want more wages, but we know that we have got to fight for the right to belong to our trade union." That is the thing that I want to impress upon you if I possibly can: that the workers in the South are facing a bitter fight waged against their right to belong to the trade union movement. That is the reason why the things that are going on there are of such vital and strong importance to the whole labor movement.

You who are in the labor movement, who have fought for the things which your trade union stands for, can easily understand the attitude and the thoughts and the struggle that are before these groups of workers down there today. They have been unable before to understand our message. There have been some other groups of workers, probably, but we do have to understand their background, we do have to understand their development, and as one worker said, "while we may not appear to understand what you are trying to tell us, while we may not grasp it as quickly as you think we should, we want you to know that our hearts are right, that we have faith in the things which the trade union movement stands for and is trying to bring us."

Elizabethton is the crux of the situation because of the many ramifications and the many things that have entered into that struggle there. It has created a wide interest, it has become the focus point of organized opposition to the trade union movement. They feel that if they can make it impossible for the trade union in Elizabethton to function they have broken the backbone of the labor movement in the South. That is why many of us are putting so much emphasis and so much stress on what is taking place there, but those people in Elizabethton, added to their own zeal and strength to fight, have had an opportunity to hear speakers in the labor movement from the President of the American Federation of Labor down. The message that he brought, the message that other representatives have brought to them have taken root.

And as the story of Elizabethton and its strikes spread throughout the South, just so the fact that the union in Elizabethton is strong and is there to stay will have its effect on every other group of workers throughout the length and breadth of that country.

I know there are other speakers who will tell you other things about the South, and so in closing I want to tell you that they are looking to you for help, that they know they are going to get the help that the labor movement has always given to groups of unor-

ganized workers. And while you may have to face a long struggle and a hard struggle, I think every one who has been in the South will agree with me when I say that when you have made trade unionists out of people who have taken the principles of the trade union movement as a cause for which to fight, you will bring into your ranks people who will be a credit to you as fellow workers and as brothers and sisters in the great labor movement.

President Green: The Chair will call upon Secretary Morrison to read a communication addressed to the President of the American Federation of Labor by Dr. Worth Tippy, representing the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. It was expected that Dr. Tippy would be here to speak on this subject this morning as a representative of the churches, but unfortunately he was called away, and he directed this communication to me:

October 14, 1929.

To President William Green

And The American Federation of Labor:

I regret that I am called hurriedly back to my home in New York by an urgent telegram and long distance from Mrs. Tippy because of the critical illness and imminent death of a long-time and intimate friend, and that I cannot therefore personally address the convention on the industrial situation on the South Atlantic seaboard, as I have been requested to do.

The Federal Council of Churches and its affiliated denominations have been holding industrial conferences in the cities of the South for ten years. Two years ago, forty-two leading church officials of the South, pastors, editors, professors and including nine bishops, published an open pastoral letter to the industrial leaders of the South asking them to take the initiative themselves in doing away with the long work-day, to better protect the labor of women and children over fourteen, to proceed to the incorporation of mill villages and to deal with their work-people collectively. The letter received encouraging support, but also brought upon the heads of the signers and upon me and the Federal Council a torrent of abuse from certain journals.

Now the storm we saw coming has broken upon this area. While there are notable exceptions, the employers in this industry have shown that they cannot be left to correct these abuses alone. They have also demonstrated that the labor of the South must organize to protect itself and to lift its own standards of life.

The problem which lies ahead is extremely difficult. It is complicated by sectional feelings going back and growing out of the Civil War, by the lack of long-time industrial experience of the South, and by the character of the mill population which has come down out of the long isolation of the mountains to work in the mill towns of the plains.

These people have been accustomed to the use of firearms, to avenge wrongs and to carry feuds. To counsel or encourage violence is

hazardous and worse than foolish. Not only should the mill population be urged to disarm, but officers of the law must be instructed and disciplined to handle excited people without killing. The danger of entrusting arms and police power to inexperienced deputies, and especially to men who have had records or to company men, is apparent from the experiences at Marion.

What is needed seems to me to be a long-time educational and organizational effort, but a determined effort. The people should be taught to disarm. Firearms in the mill towns are not a help to the workers, but a danger to their cause. It is not only wrong in principle, but they could not stand up against troops. The Communists who have advised them to fight are wild men who are more dangerous to the workers than wild beasts.

The American Federation of Labor faces a test of its strength and wisdom. Impulsive, short-term action will be unavailing. What is needed is sacrificial work.

The less bitterness, the more education, the greater the skill of those who go to the South and the more the splendid cooperative program which the American Federation of Labor offers to employers are put to the front, the greater will be the success.

The churches of the South will increase their efforts for a shortened work-day, for higher wages, for protection of the labor of women, for the protection of older children, for the gradual abolition of the mill village, for a governmental investigation of the entire textile industry, and for the right and social necessity of labor organization.

Our Industrial Secretary, Mr. James Myers, has been at Marion and Gastonia for two weeks. He took part as a minister in the burial of the Marion victims. We have organized relief in money and supplies in our New York office.

The church belongs to all classes. We shall try to remember that. We are not out in the South to fight anybody, but to use the great influence of the churches against injustice and for the right. We shall try to keep our eyes on the needs of these men, women and children who labor and are heavy laden. But as we fight for them we shall touch elbows with you, and do it joyfully. We shall also touch elbows with the women in their organizations; with social workers, with high-minded employers whom we know, and with other public-spirited citizens.

WORTH TIPPY.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Gorman of the United Textile Workers of America. Brother Gorman comes to us direct from Marion, North Carolina, the place where these terrible tragedies occurred recently, tragedies which shocked us and hurt us very deeply. I know you will be interested in the story he will tell you this morning. I present Vice-President Gorman.

**DELEGATE FRANK GORMAN**  
(Vice-President, United Textile Workers of America)

Mr. President, Delegates and Friends: Before going into my assigned subject, and on behalf of the United Textile Workers of America, I desire to report to this convention and give the delegates some idea of our policy in the South.

During our visit in that part of the country we received considerable criticism and condemnation, built up on our opposition to the so-called stretch-out system. We were, of course, misquoted in the newspapers and linked up with the Communists because of our opposition to that vicious system. Our organization has a national policy on the question of scientific management in industry. It is not local or sectional, but a policy adopted by the convention of the United Textile Workers of America. We favor and endorse the idea of scientific management in industry; we favor the elimination of waste, either on the part of management or labor, but we oppose the attempt to apply the so-called stretch-out system or efficiency schemes without, first of all, consulting the workers on the job.

There is no one who knows the job of the mill worker better than the worker on the job. Even if a man spends several years in college learning the job he doesn't know how to spin and weave. Efficiency men will acknowledge that their concern is management and that they know nothing about the practical end of the industry, and we believe that before changes are made in any mill there should be a study and a combination of effort on the part of the workers and the management.

This system is the direct cause of events in the last year in the South. The application of this plan at Gastonia at the plant of the Manville-Jenckes Company was the cause of rebellion there. That company complimented the resident manager at Gastonia upon his wonderful ability in saving \$500,000 a year over and above dividends, surplus, depreciation and other things. They urged him to save a million dollars in the next year, and that was the cause of the rebellion. The manager doubled up the machinery and made the burden so heavy there was no recourse other than for the workers to leave the plant.

That policy can be illustrated by a story we heard in the South. It will show the ignorant manner in which these efficiency schemes are applied. Most of you are familiar with the set-up in a weaving room and the looms. A man went to the plant and asked for a job. The boss said, "All right! but before we give you a job I will give you a test." The worker said he wanted to secure work and would take the test. The boss gave him a hand brush and said: "You throw that hand brush as far as you can." The fellow had been a baseball player, and he flung the brush down to the other side of the weave shop. The boss said: "All right! the job is yours. You run all these looms." That is the manner in which the stretch-out policy is applied. We want our policy known here this morning because we have been misquoted and misunderstood during all our travels in the South.



A few days ago in Marion, North Carolina, a tragedy occurred which directed the eyes of the nation to that section. Union members were murdered, not while they were in defiance of the law, but while they were obeying the law. They were shot down, most of them shot in the back, while running away from tear gas and bullets.

On Friday, October 4th, we stood on a crudely fashioned platform in the woods near East Marion and looked down upon the bodies of our departed members. There was no tolling of bells, there was no chanting of choirs, there were no soft strains of an organ—all we had was the hillside country choir singing the requiem hymns. The native preacher prayed for comfort and consolation for the families and friends of the departed. We appeared there and conveyed to the mourners the heartfelt sympathy of the labor movement. We read the message of President Green in protest against the crime, and we said then, as you say now, that the Marion massacre will go down in the annals of labor long after all of us here have passed away, and that funeral will mark the beginning of the end of industrial slavery in the South.

We would like to take the delegates back to Marion for a few minutes and endeavor to find out what is the cause of all this tragedy and the sacrifice of human life. The workers in that section fought for the union, and after several weeks of strike they succeeded in gaining concessions from the employer in the form of a slight wage increase and a reduction in hours from sixty-seven to sixty a week. We returned to work with a sacred agreement made by the contending factors in the presence of the Governor's representative. It provided that there should be no discrimination against members of the union, but it appears to be common practice in that part of the country for the employers to agree to anything, and when they succeed in starting their mills they have no scruples about violating an honest agreement. It happened in Elizabethton, Tennessee, and it happened in Marion, North Carolina. It points clearly the strategy of the employer in the South in opposing unionization of the workers. By either fair means or foul means they are going to prevent that.

You can imagine the feelings of our members. They were in a fighting mood. They went to that mill gate, but with no guns. No evidence presented in the trial will ever bring out the fact that those men carried guns. They had no guns, but they were shot down. Some one in close connection with the company gloated about the excellent marksmanship of the sheriffs. When we looked at that picture before us at the funeral, and in answer to the statement of an official of the company that the union was dead, we said those men had died that the union might live.

The idea of the Southern workers embracing Communism is a fallacy. Any one who knows the Southern workers will know they are God-fearing people who have no time for that sort of philosophy. They attempted to confuse us with that. You take the people in the mountains, the people who have been paraded throughout the United States as "ignorant, docile and cheap," and you will find they have

been gravely misrepresented by the propaganda sent out. Those people are intelligent enough to desire to fight for the union before they apply themselves to the question of wages, hours and other conditions. I ask you if that type of people are ignorant. To our mind it shows the highest form of mental development. They want to fight for the establishment of the union, realizing that other things will come after that.

For years they have been the victims of conspiracy. The very industry in which they work is built up on the blood of women and children, and the power arrayed against them has been too powerful to combat because of the lack of educational facilities in the section where they live. The employers do not want to see the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the representatives of the Workers Education Bureau down there; they do not want to see anyone who will spread education among those people.

But there is a new day in the South. We heard today of things that happened twenty-five years ago. There is a young generation down there, and it is taking a keen interest in the labor movement and in the economic problem. We have the material upon which to build this organized labor movement. Our only handicap is the inability of our organization to cope with such a task. We are not taking any per capita tax or entrance fee out of the South. We are putting more back into it than we will take out for years.

We find in travelling throughout the country that the people want organization, they are pleading for it, and wherever we go we are asked to stay. With the limited means at our command we are keeping four organizers down there. This is not enough, even with the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, to cover the entire territory. For that reason we need further financial and moral support, and we know the American labor movement will provide it.

I am going to try to portray to you the type of people in Marion. Imagine a splendid type of Southern mother standing before an undertaker's shop in Marion for three hours waiting for some one connected with the union to arrive with \$25.00 in order that she could have the body of her boy embalmed. This occurred a few days ago. I wish you could hear her speak with admiration of the loyalty of her boy to the union, hear her tell of the four small children left, none of them able to work, and that she herself was receiving \$8.50 a week, working fifty-five hours in the mill, in order to support that family. She will tell about her husband dying eight months ago and the fact that she has been able to pay only \$5.00 on his funeral bill.

That is the type of worker down there who is asking for support. We must bury the dead, we must care for the wounded and the sick, we must feed the hungry strikers and their children, and now we are faced with the recent information that the companies are going to proceed to evict the people from the houses. In view of that we feel justified in appearing before this convention and laying before you the situation as we know it. But what would be much better would be the

presence of some of these people on this platform, because they are able to tell you a more vivid story than I am. If you could send out the information that the voice of labor would go into Elizabethton, Tennessee and Marion, North Carolina, there would be no doubt of the result.

We are in a good position today in both of these places. It is unfortunate that there had to be the sacrifice of human lives in Marion, and if it had not been for the efforts of the United Textile Workers there would have been further murder in Marion. We went to the home of Governor Gardner in Raleigh and asked him to appoint a committee of investigation. He is considering the proposition. He told us something about the limitations of the Governor in things of that kind, but we know that if we can make the story of Marion known throughout the United States sufficient pressure will be brought to bear on the owners of that mill to settle the strike. There will be no peace in Marion or Elizabethton until those agreements are upheld.

The United Textile Workers for months, with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, have carried on the fight. We want to carry it on further, we want to establish our unions. The people are ready for organization, they are ready to enroll in the American Federation of Labor, and we ask you for support to place the Southern textile workers on a decent standard of existence.

President Green: I want to present to you for a few minutes Miss Margaret Bowen, a textile worker from Elizabethton, Tennessee. Miss Bowen is a native of Eastern Tennessee. She worked in the rayon mills when the strike occurred. She has passed through a most interesting experience there and in her direct and sincere way I know she can tell us an impressive story. I am glad to present to you Miss Bowen.

#### MISS MARGARET BOWEN

Mr. President, Delegates and Visitors to the Convention: In October of last year I hired on to the Glanzstoff plant in Elizabethton, Tennessee. I was under the instruction department for two weeks, and after two weeks I was put in the inspection department. I had fifty-two girls who worked under me, and through me all orders were filed. When I was hired on there I was to get sixteen dollars a week and a raise. The first check I got was for \$10.08. I did not say anything the first week, because I felt it was probably a mistake and worked on for two weeks. I asked the foreman what was the matter with my check. He said: "That is all we pay."

I had to carry the silk from the scales back to my girls and instruct them. When the foreman wanted to know anything about the silk he had to ask me. I felt I had to have more money. When you have to pay five dollars a week for a room and pay board and laundry work you haven't much left. One day the girls asked me why they couldn't have a raise. I asked Mr. Burnett, the foreman, for a raise for the girls. He said, "No indeed, I will not give them a raise." I asked

him if he ever intended to give me a raise, and he said, "No, you are making enough." I said I could not live on what I was getting, and he said I ought to have a bank account. I said, "A bank account on \$10.08 a week?"

The first pay in February I got a raise of one cent an hour. That made it \$10.64. On Friday before the 12th of March I asked the foreman again for a raise for my girls and he refused. On Tuesday morning, March 12th, while I was marking up my time he and Miss Brown, the forelady, walked in the back of my section, and Miss Brown said: "This one will do and that one will do," and picked out all my girls except five. I had asked before that I be given another section of the house so all my girls would be together and I thought probably they were going to give me the section of the house I had asked for.

When I had finished marking up my time Miss Brown told the girls to pick up their silk. They did so, and she moved them over to another section of the house. She left five of my girls. Later she sent another section of girls into my section. I said, "Miss Brown, what are you going to do? What does this mean?" She said, "Well, you ought to be proud that you have got a section," and I said, "Why, it is no honor to be a section girl; you make as much by inspecting and do not have near the work to do."

A week before that a bunch of 'twisters came on strike and were out for ten minutes and got a raise. The girls decided to strike for a raise if they could not get it any other way. My girls would not weigh any silk or work at all. There was only ten pounds of silk weighed in my section all morning. We had our lunch period at 11:30. One of the girls had said to me, "Margaret, will you come out on strike?" I said I would not take my section and walk out because I would lose my job. Then the girl said, "They are watching you; let us go in the wash room." I said I could not do that.

They watched me all morning. One of the girls passed me and said, "There are nine sections ready to go out if you will take your girls and walk out." Then the girls they had taken away from me were given \$11.20, and another section of girls were given \$12.32. They did not give me any raise. Some of the girls said if I would walk out they would go with me. The section girl who had taken my place said she would not walk out. At 11:30 o'clock this girl told Miss Brown we were planning to strike at 1 o'clock.

We have thirty minutes for lunch. The manager came in and asked me and two other girls if we were planning on a strike. Nobody said anything. He said, "I have heard that you are going to strike at 1 o'clock." Nobody said anything. He said, "If you will stop this we will give the section girls twenty-two cents an hour." He did not say anything about the inspection girls who were doing the work. One of the girls asked me what he said. While he was talking to us Miss Brown was gathering up the other section girls. When she got hold of them they decided that then was the time to strike. Out of 550 girls only 17 were left in the mill.

We went outside the gate. Going out, Mr. Gill and Mr. Burnett met me and said, "Mar-

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garet, you section girls do not have to go out." I said, "No, but if you knew what they did to me this morning you would go out. They took my section away from me and the girls said they would walk out for me. I will not go into the mill until you do what is right for myself and the other workers." He said, "All right! get outside the gate." We went outside. The gatekeeper said we ought to get a committee and decide on what we were going to ask for. He said he would go and get Mr. Gill and Mr. Burnett and Dr. Mothwurf.

We decided on what we were going to ask for and told Mr. Seaton we were ready to talk. He asked Mr. Gill if he would come to the gate and talk to us, and Dr. Mothwurf said he would not come down. They had intended to turn the fire hose on us and run us away from the gates. When the 3 o'clock shift of spinners went on they said if they had not done something for them they would stay out in the morning. The 3 o'clock shift stayed out and the shift that went on night stayed out. The reelers and other sections said if they did not do something by 3 o'clock they would come out. The shift of spinners that were on said if something was not done they would close the mill.

We tried our best to get in touch with one of the officials, but they would not talk to us. At ten minutes to nine the girls and boys broke the gates down and went into the mills. They had locked all the doors except the lower spinning room door. When the workers got in there all the rest of the workers followed them out. They had fastened the inspectors in, and then put them in the elevator and kept them going from the basement to the inspection room.

That morning a fight started. A policeman struck a girl over the head. The people who had come from the town got mad. A bus driver told us to get into his bus and he would take us to the tabernacle. We got in the bus and the driver said: "Margaret, I believe you can do more with the girls than anybody else. Tell them to get away from here, because I believe there will be trouble." We went to the tabernacle and began forming our local union.

On March 22nd an agreement was reached that all of the old employees were to be put back in preference to anybody else. The workers went back. I didn't go back. As soon as the workers got in the mills they began to fire them. They would fire a worker for being sick and even for powdering her face. We stood that as long as we could. On the 15th of April there was another strike. Both mills were closed and nobody was allowed to go in. Then the troops were called out. I don't remember how many companies there were, but there were several, and the soldiers were parading the streets. They had machine guns parked on top of the mills. They took in scabs. We could not get any support from the newspapers. We had to battle our fight by our own selves.

On May 25th there was another agreement reached through Miss Anna Weinstock. This agreement read that all of the employees that had been hired from the 25th of May would be discharged and no foreman was to have

authority to hire or fire anybody, that it was to go through the personnel manager, Mr. E. T. Wilson. We got word from the office of the United Textile Workers that Mr. Wilson was all right. With that endorsement we thought we would go in and work. Our workers went back to work. They were all to be back to work by June 17th. They started taking the workers back gradually, one and two, and the biggest part of these were their pets. Then they began to fire the workers. They began to find fault with people who had worked there since the mills started. They said they were not able to do the work.

On the seventeenth day of June all the workers were not back to work and Miss Anna Weinstock came back to Elizabethton. They asked for more time, but when that time expired the workers were still out. We still have between 175 and 200 workers out and walking the streets. We have in Elizabethton Mr. Paul W. Fuller of the Educational Bureau, and he is doing a splendid work. The people are very eager to know trade unionism. The people of the South are not educated, but they are heart and soul with the labor movement.

In May we started to send out girls for tag days to get relief for the workers. On one occasion an organizer, Miss Nellie Andrews, who had just been sent there, took a group of girls to Knoxville for a tag day. When she and the girls got to Knoxville and had gone to the Adkins Hotel an officer and some soldiers came to get her on a charge of abduction. The parents of the girls had told her it was all right to take the girls, but the soldiers got one man drunk and had him go after Miss Andrews for abducting his daughter. When they handed her the warrant it was for somebody else and not for Miss Nellie Andrews. On May 16th Adjutant General Boyd, in charge of the soldiers, told them to drive through the picket lines in cars, and if that did not have any effect to back them up. Several girls were hurt, and one of them will probably never be of any use again.

#### PRESIDENT GREEN

This very sincere address delivered by this little girl is most eloquent and convincing. She told in her own way her experience, and I suppose her experience was that of many others in this fight at Elizabethton, Tennessee. This is a type of the girls living in that section of Eastern Tennessee from which these mills drew their workers. Surely such a type, surely such a people as these ought to appeal to our tenderest sympathy and to our most earnest and sincere support.

It is not my intention to engage in an extended discussion of the committee's report. I think it appropriate, however, to call your attention to one or two matters connected with this Southern situation which I am sure will be of very great interest to you all.

When the convention decided to make this subject a special order of business for this

morning I thought it advisable to request the presence here of some outstanding personage in the South. It occurred to me the situation was so serious and of such great public interest that not only the men and women of labor assembled here, but those whom you represent, as well as the great sympathetic public, would be glad to have the subject discussed by some distinguished, outstanding citizen of the South.

Accordingly, my mind turned to the Governor of North Carolina, because I have read with profound interest the statements he has made from time to time, his expression of sympathy for the movement among the Southern people to elevate their standards of life and living. It seemed to me that he, among the executives of the Southern States, was the one outstanding, forward-looking, progressive Executive that really grasped the situation. Accordingly I sent him this message:

Toronto, Canada,  
October 14, 1929.

Honorable O. Max Gardner,  
Governor of North Carolina,  
Executive Mansion,  
Raleigh, North Carolina, U.S.A.

The American Federation of Labor, in conformity with a special order of business, will discuss the Southern industrial situation at 10 o'clock tomorrow. We would be pleased if you could come to Toronto for the purpose of addressing the convention upon this subject. I extend you a most cordial invitation to do so. If necessary, we hope you will come to Toronto by airplane with the assurance that the Federation will bear all expense in connection with your trip. I will greatly appreciate a prompt acceptance and reply to this sincere invitation.

WM. GREEN, President,  
American Federation of Labor.

This morning I received the following reply:

Raleigh, N. Carolina, Oct. 14, 1929.

William Green,  
President of American Federation of Labor,  
Toronto, Ont.

Wire received. Governor Gardner confined to bed with gripe. He directs that I express appreciation for your kind invitation and his sincere regrets that it is impossible for him to accept.

TYRE C. TAYLOR,  
Secretary.

North Carolina is developing into a great industrial state, and it is but natural that in this growth and development there would arise great economic, social and human problems. It is impossible to settle these problems through the use of force, murder and the destruction of life. Men who love liberty and independence will fight and die for it, and every martyr is an inspiration to the others. And so, if there

is to be peace and prosperity in the South, the rights of the workers must be recognized; their right to organize must be conceded, and there must be developed an understanding between all the forces of industry and the representatives of the public that will mean cooperation and efficiency.

The American Federation of Labor has endeavored most consistently to respond to this appeal from Southern workers for help and assistance. I read yesterday into the records accounts of the millions of dollars in money that have been poured into the Southern States by the different organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Our organizers have gone there, our representatives have held meetings there, we have responded to every appeal that has ever been made upon the American Federation of Labor. And we have not gone in for the purpose of dictating to the Southern people, for the purpose of dictating to industry. The charge that has been made, in the press and otherwise, that we are influenced by the employers of the North to use our organization for the purpose of inflicting injury on the employers of the South is baseless and untrue. We are not in the South trying to force trade unionism upon the workers; we are not there trying to impose our philosophy upon the people of that section; but we are there because the South is awakening and because the workers themselves appeal to us to go there and help them.

In their extremity, the victims of injustice and greed, now that industry is developing in the South, where can they turn except to the great organized labor movement of our land? Can they appeal to civic organizations? Can they appeal to chambers of commerce? Can they appeal to fraternal organizations? Can they appeal even to the political powers for justice and the redress of wrong?

The answer to such appeals would be, "We have no authority," or, "We are not in sympathy with the appeal you make." But when the appeal comes to the great heart of labor and the men and women who toil, those who have gone through the sacrifice in defense of organization and for the right to organize, they find a response, and it is but natural that we should go to the place where these workers dwell, the victims of exploitation and greed, and in an unselfish manner give of our money, our time and of our service to help them.

When the appeal came from Elizabethton I dispatched our representative there along with

the representatives of other organizations. I instructed them to go there as quickly as possible and render all the assistance they could. You heard the story. Our representatives were kidnaped by those who classed themselves as respectable citizens, leaders in the church, bankers; not so-called racketeers or thugs, but those who paraded as Pharisees—holier than thou.

They took our representatives out and told them they were going to take them for a ride. In some places that statement strikes terror to the hearts of those who take a ride. Our representatives were terrorized; they did not know what it all meant; they suffered great mental anguish inflicted on them by those so-called representative citizens. When they came to me it so aroused my indignation that I said I would go there myself. I took the first train and went to Elizabethton. I addressed the people in that community and told them I considered the kidnaping of our representatives as a challenge to the American Federation of Labor. I said that, in so far as it lay within my power, I would endeavor to bring those guilty of that act to the bar of justice.

We employed a firm of attorneys. We went before the grand jury in Elizabethton with all the evidence. We told the members of the grand jury and the court that a crime had been perpetrated upon peaceful citizens. The kidnapers were identified, they were named and pointed out. We were told by the grand jury that kidnaping in Tennessee was no crime unless the kidnapers demanded a ransom. In one case the grand jury did return an indictment for assault and battery against those who kidnaped the local man, Mr. Penix.

When I returned from a Council meeting in Florida I visited Savannah, Jacksonville, Atlanta and other sections of the South, addressing numerous meetings, delivering the message of Labor and appealing to the workers of the South to come with us.

When the kidnaping occurred in Tennessee we prepared a resolution, and asked that it be introduced in the United States Senate, providing for an investigation of the terrible conditions that we knew existed in the Southland. Senator Wheeler of Montana introduced the resolution and the Committee on Manufacture conducted a very extended hearing. We submitted evidence; we filled the record with incontrovertible evidence of the existence of intolerable conditions.

I appeared before the Senate Committee on behalf of Labor and there I told my story. Some of the Southern senators objected. A majority report and a minority report were made. The majority report recommended that the Federal Trade Commission make an investigation of the entire textile situation throughout the country. The minority report, signed by Senator Wheeler, recommended that the Senate make the investigation. It was reported, it is on the calendar, it is there still while murder and exploitation go on in the Southland. We told them the situation would get worse. We warned them that there was a dynamic situation in the South; that it was a matter of public concern, so much so that this great legislative arm of the Federal government should, in the interest of human protection, go into the South, secure the facts and let the world know what the situation really is. We wanted the pitiless light of publicity turned on these terrible conditions in the Southland.

I have done all that was humanly possible to bring this investigation about. The other day when this tragedy took place at Marion, North Carolina, I wired Senator Wheeler calling his attention to the situation. I said that in the beginning we had represented that these things would occur, and again in the name of Labor I appealed to the Senate to adopt a resolution and start the investigation. The record shows that Senator Wheeler immediately acted: that he interposed during the tariff discussion to request that this resolution be considered, that he applied to the Senate to make the investigation. Senator Overman and Senator Simmons of North Carolina interposed their usual objections, and under the rules of the Senate the investigation could not be considered.

I want to read into the record an editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, dated Saturday, October 12. You all know the Chicago Tribune, and I think I can safely say that this great newspaper and those who publish it are not especially friendly to the organized labor movement. I do not mean by that that they are unfriendly, but we have not regarded this paper and those who publish it as the advocates or the champions of the American Federation of Labor. But under the caption of "The Nation's Stake in the Carolina Dispute," the editorial says some very pertinent things. The editorial is as follows:

### "THE NATION'S STAKE IN THE CAROLINA DISPUTE"

"The American Federation of Labor is preparing to throw its full force into the task of organizing the Southern textile mills. It is to be hoped that the effort succeeds, for the program of the Federation appears to offer the only escape from further bloodshed and demoralization. If there is any statesmanship in the Carolinas, the organizers of the Federation will be given every protection the law affords.

"Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the disorders in the mill towns has been the fact that they were predictable and predicted. Not one but many observers months ago foresaw with great accuracy what has since happened. It is unfortunate that, though many could foresee the future, few could suggest any means of avoiding conflict, and only the Federation of Labor thus far has proposed a way out of the difficulties into which the textile industry has been plunged.

"The mills moved south to be near the cotton fields, and the forests from which comes the wood pulp for rayon. Power was relatively cheap and taxes were low. Even more important in the manufacturers' eyes was the cheapness and plentifulness of labor. Mill owners were assured that the extreme individualism of the Southern mountain stock would be an effective bar to the organization of trade unions, and to that extent assure a continuously cheap labor supply.

"Perhaps that assurance was well founded. If it was, and the mountain folk remain disorganized, the textile industry can look forward, with such satisfaction as it can find, to a continuous feud, growing in bitterness with the years. Mr. Pettey's graphic dispatches suggest that the situation is not yet hopeless. The Communist agitators, preaching relentless class warfare, have as yet made but little progress. The workmen are still, for the most part, confused. It may still be possible to organize them into effective trade unions which can deal peaceably with the employers.

"It is fortunate for the nation that the Federation has a real stake in the success of its campaign in the South. As long as the South provides labor which will work inhumanly long hours for low wages the wage level and the living standards of American workmen, North and South, will be imperilled. Manufacturers in other sections of the country will find themselves in competition with the products of cheap labor and will be tempted to hammer wages down even though it is now clear that one of the secrets of American prosperity has been high wages. The effort of the Federation to organize the mill workers of the South deserves the indorsement of far-seeing business men throughout the country."

This editorial speaks for itself. It is in the record. I wish that you might read it and analyze it.

There is just one more observation I should like to make, and that is this: That, after all, the salvation of the Southern worker lies within himself. The Southern workers themselves must be willing to make the fight and

the sacrifice, if necessary, for trade unionism and for the right to organize. We cannot carry to them, individually and collectively, the cloak of trade unionism and theoretically place it upon their shoulders; it must be worn and made and fabricated by themselves.

The spirit of organization must be there; they must be willing to come. And so I wish that they might understand that, while we are ready to help and to give, we cannot pour millions into the South without the South responding to our appeal themselves. They must be taught this lesson: that in the struggle and the strife they must rely largely upon their own resources, upon community help, upon the South itself. Their minds must be disabused of the fact that as soon as a strike occurs, figuratively speaking, the bread wagon of the North appears at the doors. We are willing to give, and to give until it hurts, to send our men there, to use the great moral and political influence of our movement to help them, but they, too, must make up their minds that the fight for themselves is their fight and that we will help to lead it.

I think it appropriate to make this statement so that the Southern worker may know that he can achieve his objective only along the same royal route pursued by the trade unions of the North—it must be along the highway of struggle, for the hosts of opposition are very great indeed.

I hope that this committee's report will be adopted in a most convincing, ringing and enthusiastic way. I hope then that, in the emergency which now confronts us all, those who can respond—I mean the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—will respond with alacrity to the appeal of our people from the South. And then I hope that the national and international unions, when this resolution is adopted, will select their best men and send them into the South to preach the doctrine of trade unionism and to help in every possible way.

If you order it I will call the conference as proposed in the committee's report, where the policy to be pursued in the South can be made a special subject of careful consideration. And when all of this action is taken and we give them all we have, then we will have answered those who tell us that for thirty years we have ignored the South.

You are greatly impressed, I know, with all that has been said. You are thinking of the

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Southern situation as you never thought before. I know there is no one here or in the great constituency that you have the honor to represent but will give to these people, to the United Textile Workers organization and to our fellow workers in the South, every ounce of assistance that it is possible for them to render.

**DELEGATE JAMES WILLIAM  
FITZ PATRICK**

(Waterbury, Connecticut, Central Labor Union)

Mr. Chairman and Friends: I never thought that my voice would be raised on the floor of this American Federation of Labor convention again. I have received some very pointed hints to the effect that both my presence and my voice were objectionable and irritating; but, even at the expense of annoying those to whom my presence is unwelcome and my voice an irritation, I cannot resist the opportunity to add my word, even though it be the refrain of the swan song, to the discussion which is so properly taking place on the floor on this convention.

I was asked by Delegate McMahon if I would say a word or two in the interest of his fight. I told him I would be very glad to do it if it were not for the fact that, instead of helping, I might harm his cause; but even at the risk of that I am impelled to speak, for two reasons. One is because I come from a breed whose bones, mouldering in their grave, rattle their protest when injustice and wrong stalk the land; and the other is because I come from an organization which has been under the harrow of oppression, inside the labor movement and outside it, too long to remain silent when someone else clamors for help.

I am glad that the convention and the delegates have raised their voice; I am glad to hear again and to witness again the resurgence of that crusading spirit which has been responsible for the foundation and the success of the Federation. I wonder if it isn't a good thing that we have been so harshly criticized in the editorial which has received so much consideration. I am not justifying it. I am not saying it was right, but I am saying that at times it is good for the men and for the organization to have the gaff of criticism hooked into their ears to stimulate them to life; and the first time this convention was really and truly awake was when that editorial was commented upon on this floor.

When the President of the American Federation of Labor did me the honor to ask me to speak at the commemoration services held in Atlantic City in memory of Samuel Gompers, I touched upon something which has always been very close to my heart and my mind in connection with the labor movement. I am not afraid of oppression from the outside, I am not afraid of the power of organized business interests as an enemy of the organized labor movement. What I dread more than chambers of commerce and the National Association of Iron and Steel Erectors is the insidious decay which sets into men and movements when dollars and prosperity become more than principles and ideals.

I called attention on that occasion to the danger that confronted us—the danger that we were becoming cynical materialists in our attitude—and I am not going to discuss the point to justify my fears. I am simply asking you to recall and to revive and to continue the magnificent spirit which has been manifested here this morning; to remember that it is not our mission in life to establish banks or life insurance companies, good as they are, but our mission in life is to convince the workers of the world that when they have made their last appeal to public opinion the final source of refuge left to them is in the heart and in the arms of the great American Federation of Labor.

I haven't a fear about the outcome of this struggle in the South, and I do not place my confidence in the strength of the organized labor movement alone. I put my trust in the belief that there is an Eternal Being which says that justice shall be done. I believe with every atom of my heart that those

"Who scourge the meek and the lowly and the just with an iron rod,  
That they who are drunk with the blood of the holy will drink of the wrath of God."

And if ever the wrath of God impended over any group of people it is these men in the Southland who are indeed drunk with the blood of the holy and who are scourging the just and the meek with the iron rod.

We have been criticized and pilloried, and I think it is a good thing for us; I don't think criticism ever hurt anybody if it is right. I know I have been the victim of considerable criticism and I know that it hasn't stopped my growth or affected my vocal chords. We have a mission in this world, and in the conclusion of my address at Atlantic City I said it. It is the need, if need be, to perish stone blinded in the desert that men unborn might see. And that is the note I want to strike to you in this convention this morning, because in speaking I may be pronouncing my own eulogy.

We are confronted with a situation the like of which has not faced this convention and this organized movement in many a day. We are on trial before the world. The opportunity is at our door, and I am happy to see and to witness this morning the fact that we are not entirely ignorant of that opportunity. And, too, I am pleading, with everything I have in me, that we will not again lose the golden opportunity that fortune has placed at our disposal.

Let us again revive the spirit of the old men and the old days of the American Federation of Labor. Let us, if need be, take a leaf from the book of the Communist, who is a fanatical zealot, who is willing to suffer and bleed and die in the cause of a foul philosophy. Let us, like crusaders of old, welcome the opportunity to combat, and let us, with a profound conviction that, whether newspapers or chambers of commerce or textile barons are opposed to us, back of us and sustaining us is the hand of Almighty God, the God of justice and truth and love; and let us, like crusaders, set our lights in place and with hearts aflame and

courage alight plunge into this battle which faces us with the cry on our lips like the crusaders of old, "God with us! God with us!"

President Green: The Chair recognizes the secretary of the committee for a moment.

**DELEGATE McNALLY**  
(Federal Employees)

I just want to take a very few minutes to call attention to the fact that we must not let our emotions run away with us too far. You know there is a very old and very true saying that the Lord helps those who help themselves, and most of us know there have been a good many people throughout the South helping themselves with a good deal of assistance.

It is not only true that the opportunity is at our front door so far as this Southern work is concerned, but at this present time we have an opportunity out in the kitchen with a lot of people to feed. We must not let our emotions run away with us because somewhere someone wrote an editorial. I am getting a little bit bored with that editorial. We have had too much talk about it and it isn't worth it. We know what we are doing, why we are doing it, where we are going and why we are going there and how long we have been going. We want to get away from so much oratory and get a little bit of common sense into the situation.

I have been down in the South, and while all this work has been going on for the past two years the National Women's Trade Union League has had Tillie Lindsay working in the South. I have talked with these people, and here is their conception of the labor movement—they think they belong to a Local of which Billy Green is the President and they say, "When you go back to Washington you tell Billy Green we are all for him and we are going to join his union and nobody else's."

That does not come only from the workers down in the South. I left a mass meeting of the workers and I went to a meeting—of what? The Piedmont Organizing Council, where were gathered the representatives of the trade unions in the adjoining states, and if there had only been forty persons present that time instead of one we could have organized about twelve Locals that afternoon by scattering around in that locality where the representatives brought in word about conditions that were going on. We could have gone into High Point and organized a local union of carpenters; we could have organized a group of upholstery workers, a trade in which they have a different kind of a stretch-out system. Here they were told to stretch their material so that instead of requiring three yards of cloth to cover a couch it would require only two yards and a half. The workers said, "We can't do it," and the reply came back, "If you can't do it, do it any way, and if you use more than two yards and a half it comes out of your wages." That is stinging the worker and stinging the consumer, because when big fellows like Martin Ryan and myself sit down on that couch it is not going to last.

We are up against a real problem. The workers do not know all about you international

officers. We sometimes swell up and think we are the whole international union. Those folk down there don't know a thing about you. After the meeting of these workers was over they came to me, one at a time, and said, "You are from Washington, and when you go back you tell President Green what we are up against." The Southern situation is depending upon Billy Green, and if we don't uphold his hands he will not be able to go South, because the workers will kidnap him. We have got to go down in our jeans. We have got to do an awful lot of work. We have got to tell these people in the South that we have got their message over to the labor movement and that they are going to send more money and more organizers and add to what has already been going down there for a good long time.

When we go into the South we don't advertise the fact that we are forming a local union. That would be suicide. We get our local union going first, and if there has to be trouble, then we will meet it. Let us go down in our jeans, get the money and go to it. I don't fear the South, because these people will carry it on.

**DELEGATE BURKE**  
(Pulp and Sulphite Workers)

I do not desire to add very much to what has already been said about the struggles of the Southern textile workers. Those who have already spoken have given us vivid word pictures of the terrible industrial tragedies that have taken place in the Southland. Like most of the delegates, I have listened to these recitals with mingled feelings of pity, anger and horror. Every delegate to this convention knows that every word spoken from that platform is all too true.

The delegates to this convention are now brought face to face with this question. What do we propose to do about it? What is to be the answer of this convention to this industrial despotism of the South? Mr. Chairman, I have confidence enough in the American Federation of Labor to believe that we are going to send an answer from this convention that will bring hope and cheer and courage to the embattled textile workers of the South, and will put the fear of an aroused and outraged people into the hearts of the manufacturers of Dixieland.

I know that every international union has had its troubles since we fought and won the war for democracy, freedom and justice, and all the rest that we have heard about while the war was on. We have all been up against the open-shop fight. If we were able to call the roll of the organizations here this morning we would find that nearly every international union, the miners, the railroad workers, the seamen, the garment workers, the printers, the paper workers—we have all been up against the open-shop fight, but I am thankful to say that although they have tried to destroy our organizations, although they have tried to destroy the American Federation of Labor, not a single international union has been destroyed. It is true that we have lost some battles, it is true that we have suffered some reverses. Our ranks were pushed back some-

what and our treasuries somewhat depleted at the present time, but the American Federation of Labor is still a fighting organization that is able to put up a fight to protect those who are being oppressed.

I represent in this convention a comparatively small organization. We have had our troubles. We have spent a great deal of money for a small organization. Strikes during the past few years have cost us something like \$300,000—not a mean sum even for a large organization, but notwithstanding this amount of money that has been spent I have taken the floor at this time to say to the delegates that this little organization of ours is prepared to immediately donate the sum of one thousand dollars to the United Textile Workers of America, and in making that donation I do not consider that we are making a sacrifice, but I consider it a great privilege to have a chance to take part in this holy crusade to bring freedom, justice and democracy to the workers of the South.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by a unanimous rising vote.

President Green: In conformity with that part of the action of the committee which reads as follows: "It is further recommended that, due to the present and existing situation in the South, the Executive Council undertake at this time the raising of funds at this convention by requesting each affiliated organization to contribute such funds as possible"—the Chair will appoint a committee to carry out this decision of the convention for the purpose of raising funds.

#### DELEGATE CANAVAN (Stage Employees)

In connection with the matter of finance, as I listened to the plea that has been made in behalf of the textile workers, in its final analysis it gets down to the matter of dollars and cents. I feel that this convention should approach such a financial plan in a dignified and businesslike manner, decide how much money they want and find out where they are going to get it. I should say that our budget should be a million dollars.

I am well aware of the fact that there are many organizations involved in troubles, but it seems a simple matter to get a pledge from the labor movement of 35 cents a member, and that makes a million dollars. Such organizations as may be in position to contribute more could do it.

President Green: Let the Chair make this brief explanation. First of all there are immediate requirements, as set forth in the committee's report. Then there is a recommendation that a conference shall be held within thirty days of national and international representatives for the purpose of considering this matter.

Then there is this other matter to be considered: that each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is governed by its own law, that its executive officers are in supreme control, and that this American Federation of Labor is not an organization that can impose upon any national or international union any assessment whatsoever. That may perhaps be unfortunate, but that is the law, that is the rule.

But, in order that each national and international union represented in this Federation may make an immediate contribution in accordance with its financial ability, I am going to appoint a committee that will be clothed with the responsibility of calling upon the representatives of national and international unions here to give such as they may care to give for the immediate requirements, as provided for in the committee's report. I will appoint on that committee Delegate John P. Burke of the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, Delegate James William Fitz Patrick of the Vaudeville Actors, and Delegate William F. Canavan of the Stage Employees, they to work with President McMahon of the United Textile Workers.

#### Reception Committee for Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald

President Green: I wish to announce the names of delegates who will serve as a reception committee to meet the Premier of Great Britain tomorrow and escort him to our convention hall. As you know, arrangements have been made for him to address our convention at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. I think it appropriate to announce the names of that committee now, so that they may meet and make such arrangements as may be convenient and fitting. I announce the names of the following: John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers of America; Robert B. Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Walter V. Price, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers; William Canavan, Stage Employees, and Joseph Ryan of the International Longshoremen.

#### Presentation of Gifts to Fraternal Delegates

Following an established custom of the convention, President Green presented to each of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress a beautifully engraved gold watch and chain, as an expression of good-will of the delegates and officers.

Each of the fraternal delegates was presented with a handsome wrist watch for his wife, which President Green asked be accepted as a slight expression of the esteem of the delegates.

The gifts were briefly acknowledged by each of the fraternal delegates on behalf of himself and his wife.

At 1 o'clock the convention adjourned to 3 o'clock p.m. of the same day.

## Sixth Day---Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Rosemund, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully (J. J.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H. W.), Powers (F. B.), Wood, McCluskey, Gross, Phillips, Toussaint, Norrington, McConaughy, Kelly, Johnson, Rossell, Laude, Taylor (J. T.), Downie, Becker, Buckley, Southall, Watt (R. J.), Foster, Shave, Quinn, Brandt, Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Hagan, Darrington, Doyle (F. E.), Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Gallagher, Sidney, McElligott, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell (T), Portway.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Delegate Joyce, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials, having examined the credentials, recommends the seating of Steve C. Sumner as delegate of the Calumet Joint Labor Council, Kensington, Ill., with one vote.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Delegate McNally, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

#### Proposing A. F. of L. Food Department of Organizations in Catering Industry

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The food industry employes are largely unorganized, not because of any lack of intelligence or training on their part, but because all too often they are working at cross-purposes, creating a grand tangle of conflicting interests, with complete lack of co-ordination, in the midst of which organization work suffers; and

WHEREAS, To unite the various workers in the food and catering industry of America into a food department is one of the most essential and effective ways of organizing the millions of unorganized food and catering workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call a conference of representatives of the various International and National Unions concerned for the purpose of investigating and recommending the establishment of a Food Department.

The committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegates Hesketh and Koveleski of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes asked to be recorded as voting against the adoption of the report of the committee.

#### Organizing Automobile and Vehicle Workers in United States and Canada

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Arthur E. Mack of the Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18065, New York, N.Y., and John H. Tapken of the Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Union No. 18066, Brooklyn, New York:

WHEREAS, The Automobile and Vehicle industry is practically in an unorganized condition and thousands of men are employed in this particular line of work in New York and immediate vicinity; and

WHEREAS, The Local Unions of Automobile and Vehicle Workers now chartered by the American Federation of Labor are putting forth every effort in organizing this great industry with the limited means at hand, but find it almost impossible to cover the most important points in the surrounding territory where any number of large Automobile and Vehicle plants are located, and unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The Automobile and Vehicle Workers' Local Union No. 18065, of New York City, finds it impossible to finance the organizing of this great Metropolitan District and surrounding territory; therefore, be it

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RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled in Convention determine and decree that special organizers be assigned to assist in organizing this vast army of Automobile and Vehicle Workers in the eastern section of the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor prevail upon all Central Trades and Labor Councils throughout the country for their moral support in organizing the Automobile and Vehicle Workers of United States and Canada.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and its reference to the Executive Council, to be put into effect if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary McNally: This concludes the report of your committee, which is signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman.  
GERTRUDE McNALLY, Secretary.

E. J. MANION,  
JOHN P. BURKE,  
JAMES STARR,  
PHILIP BOCK,  
E. E. MILLIMIN,  
EDWIN GENTZLER,  
ROE H. BAKER,  
AGNES QUINN,  
E. J. VOLZ,  
GEO. M. HARRISON,  
J. L. COULTER,  
E. INGLES,  
J. W. BUZZELL,  
JOHN W. PARKS.

On motion of Secretary McNally, the report of the Committee on Organization was adopted as a whole.

President Green: The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green inquired whether the convention wished to accept the invitation extended by the local Entertainment Committee to make an automobile tour of the city at 3:30 o'clock.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, moved that the

local committee be thanked for their courteous invitation, and that the convention remain in session the entire afternoon in order to complete its work as expeditiously as possible. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Ramsay, Telegraphers, spoke in opposition to the motion, as did Delegate Conroy of the Firemen and Oilers, and Delegate Case of the Lathers.

Delegate Doyle, Painters, spoke in support of the motion.

President Green stated that in the opinion of the Chair the pending motion was a negative motion.

Delegate Ramsay, Telegraphers, then moved that the invitation of the local committee be accepted. The motion was seconded and carried by a vote of 108 to 73.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union, suggested that the sergeant-at-arms be instructed to seat the delegates in the convention hall first on Wednesday morning, and that after they had been seated visitors and others be permitted to fill up the remaining space.

President Green asked the sergeant-at-arms to carry out the suggestion.

#### Addition to Committee

President Green: The Chair wants to make one other announcement. I overlooked what I think was an important matter in the appointment of the Reception Committee this morning, and it was indeed an oversight. I want to add to the Reception Committee for the Prime Minister of Great Britain one of our outstanding Canadian brothers, and I shall add the name of Brother William R. Trotter of the International Typographical Union.

At 3:40 p. m., in accordance with the motion, the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 16.

## Seventh Day---Wednesday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario.

October 16, 1929.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Rosemund, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully, Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Coulter (J.L.), Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H.W.), Powers (F.B.), Wood, McCluskey, Barry, Norrington, McConaughy, Kelly, Johnson, Rossell, Laude, Taylor (J.T.), Hoffmann, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Southall, Watt (R.J.), Shave, Brandt, Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Darrington, Woodmansee, Fitzpatrick, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A.C.), Gallagher, Sidney, McElligott, Caldwell, Lawson (O.L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell, Portway.

President Green: Our distinguished visitor, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, will arrive at 10:30 o'clock. We will begin the session of our convention in conformity with our rules and continue in session considering the business of the convention until Premier MacDonald arrives. I request that all members of the Executive Council and the Fraternal Delegates come forward and take places on the stage.

We have with us a very sympathetic friend who desires to extend an invitation to the delegates, friends, visitors and others in attendance at this convention which I know will be very much appreciated and highly acceptable. Mr. Atkinson of the Toronto Star is here to extend to you his very cordial invitation.

Mr. Atkinson is recognized as a very sympathetic friend of organized labor, and his publication is of the most satisfactory character. I take pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Joseph Atkinson, proprietor of the Toronto Star.

### MR. JOSEPH ATKINSON

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: May I express how grateful I feel to your President and to you for the opportunity of extending personally the invitation, which has already been given to you through the local committee, to pay a visit to the Star Building to-night and receive, after you have been over the building, some slight hospitality on our part. It was an honor to the Star and to me that the local committee should have felt it fitting and suitable that in the programme prepared for your convention a visit to the Star Building should be included, and I gratefully accepted the opportunity that presented of extending our hospitality to you this evening.

Cards went out to all the delegates outside

of this city, but I understand that cards, by an oversight of the local committee, were not sent to the delegates of Toronto who are attending the convention, and I wish to add that we will have our happiness to-night increased if the local delegates and the members of the local committee will accept this invitation and accompany you to-night. Although I had the very great pleasure this week on one afternoon of receiving and entertaining some of the ladies who are attending this convention, I desire to emphasize the fact that we hope all the delegates and all the ladies who can possibly make it convenient will come to-night and be our guests. At 8 o'clock it is proposed that you visit the building, go through the plant, and after that a buffet supper will be served in one of the upper stories of the building.

I cannot tell you, Mr. President, how grateful I am and how honored I feel that you should have felt yourself to be able to make the very friendly references to the sympathy which I and the Star have always felt and shown toward the labor movement. And at the same time, perhaps, I may be permitted to add that I represent that mutual basis of friendliness which is the aim of organized labor and the employer, that mutual basis of friendliness by which the employers and their employees may meet in mutual confidence and settle their problems in the friendliest spirit.

I thank you again, sir, for the opportunity of pressing this personal invitation upon all of you that will come to-night and be our guests.

President Green: We are deeply appreciative of this very kind and sincere invitation extended by Mr. Atkinson to visit the Star Building and to be his guests this evening. I am sure that all who can respond to this invitation will do so. We thank you for your presence this morning and for your added invitation.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

### NATIONAL LEGISLATION

#### Conscription

In the section of its report sub-titled "Conscription," page 82, the Executive Council reports at some length on the subject of pending bills providing for both military and industrial conscription in times of so-called "national emergencies."

Your committee heartily endorses the firm stand taken by the Executive Council against the enactment of the proposed conscription legislation. The action of the Council in this respect is in full accord with the attitude of



the American Federation of Labor as clearly expressed by previous conventions.

In the light of the world-wide agreement for peace, as represented by the multilateral treaty for the renunciation of war, and the growing demand for the reduction of armaments, the people of America can well afford to turn their thoughts and direct their energies towards the promotion of peace. The United States now occupies a leading position in the movement to avoid war as a means of settling disputes between nations. It is therefore essential, as an evidence of good faith, that the American people shall, at least for the present, refrain from warlike preparations in the enactment of legislation. Even though war might become inevitable, the sort of conscription proposals now pending would not add to the nation's strength. Conscripted labor is necessarily forced labor, which, as is proved by the experience of the ages, is never as efficient as voluntary labor. It is practically certain that under industrial conscription the trade unions would be either dissolved or prevented from functioning in any effective manner, with the result that, regardless of their relations to and with the government during the war, the workers would be placed at the mercy of the employers immediately at the conclusion of the war. Industrial conscription, therefore, would be in the interests of the most reactionary employing interests and not in the interests of the nation.

Your committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council on this subject be approved, and further recommends that the American Federation of Labor now again reiterate its opposition to all legislation proposing conscription.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## NATIONAL LEGISLATION

### Unemployment

#### Unemployment Census

Under the sub-titles, "Unemployment," and "Unemployment Census," Page 84, the Executive Council reports upon certain legislative activities in relation to the subjects indicated; first, the hearings held by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on the unemployment bill introduced by Senator La Follette, and the recommendations made by that senate committee; second, the inclusion of the unemployment census clause in the census bill which was enacted; and, third, the appointment of President Green, by Secretary of Commerce

Lamont, as a member of a commission to determine the questions to be asked in collecting the information called for by the census law. The unemployment census provided for will be the first of its kind to be taken in the United States and will prove of immense value, in that accurate unemployment figures will be made available, the nature and scope of unemployment will become much clearer than it is at present, and the opportunities for dealing effectively with this vexing problem will be correspondingly greater.

The appointment of the President of the American Federation of Labor as a member of the commission to determine the particular points upon which data are to be collected is, we believe, an assurance that the census will result in reliable and complete information. Your committee congratulates President Green and the Executive Council upon the success achieved in the passage of the unemployment census clause and recommends the approval of the parts of the Executive Council's report referred to herein.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Private Employment Agencies

The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the matter of fees of private employment agencies, as reported by the Executive Council under the caption, "Private Employment Agencies," page 93, has created a situation which calls for strict regulation of such agencies through licensing regulations under state law. Such private agencies should also be made to feel the effects of the competition of free public employment agencies, as suggested in the report of the Executive Council, by the establishment of more and better free public employment offices. Your committee is in full accord with the reference which the Council makes regarding the Wisconsin law on the subject of private employment agency licenses, and recommends to the various state federations of labor that the Wisconsin law be used as a guide for the drafting of suitable bills to be introduced in the legislatures of their respective states in all states where effective legislation concerning the licensing of private employment agencies has not been enacted. Your committee recommends concurrence in the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Non-Partisan Political Policy

In that part of its report entitled "Non-Partisan Political Policy," pages 88-89, the Executive Council advises that the 1928 Congressional election resulted in victory for 135 representatives and 14 senators with 100 per cent legislative records on measures of direct interest to labor. In addition, 110 representatives and 15 senators whose labor records are considered fair were elected. The report states that a majority of the members in both houses of Congress are favorable to labor, but points out that some of the leaders of the House of Representatives are unfavorable and that they are powerful enough to prevent remedial measures from being brought up for a vote. Your committee heartily endorses the recommendation of the Council that an aggressive campaign should be made against those leaders of Congress who have been responsible for the suppression of measures designed to promote the well-being of the masses of the people. All trade unionists should prepare to participate in the next Congressional election, which takes place in 1930, when all members of the House and one third of the Senate are to be elected. The candidates who are friendly to labor should be supported and the enemies of labor should be opposed, without regard to political party affiliations. Local unions and central bodies which have not already appointed legislative committees should do so at once and, in accord with the recommendations of the Council, these committees can serve as non-partisan campaign committees during election campaigns. Your committee also desires to emphasize the statement of the Executive Council that "if Labor expects to eliminate labor injunctions from the federal courts, it must have a sufficient number of friends in Congress to bring about that result." It is plain that the injunction problem cannot be solved except through legislation, and that the necessary legislation will not be enacted by unfriendly senators and congressmen. This consideration should, itself, be sufficient to call forth the most energetic activity by trade unionists throughout the United States in the non-partisan political campaign of the American Federation of Labor during the next year. Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Discrimination Against Older Workers

The section of the report of the Executive

Council entitled, "Discrimination Against Older Workers," pages 94-98, presents an instructive picture of that ruthless practice of commerce and industry under which the worker as he reaches the period of middle age and full development of family life finds difficulty in securing employment because of his age. Not only is there a widespread practice on the part of firms and corporations in all sorts of business to place an arbitrary limit upon the maximum age in the hiring of new employes, but there is also evidence that many such concerns have no hesitancy in discharging older workers even after years of service. Industry as a whole must be made to understand that economic arrangements must be made whereby every person who desires employment must have an opportunity to work, or, failing in that, society, through its various political divisions, must make arrangements whereby those who are discarded by industry must be cared for at public expense. One course or the other is inevitable. A steadily widening knowledge of the rules of health is lengthening the span of human life. Not only must ample opportunity be given for the continued employment of the middle-aged, a need so apparent that it should require neither explanation nor argument, but places must be made for those who are entering upon that period which was formerly regarded as near to the end of the human trail. The average man of sixty years today is stronger and healthier and more alert than was the average man of some years younger a few decades ago. Through physical and mental hygiene, sanitation, medicine, surgery and safety regulations in commerce and industry, man is securing a firmer hold upon life. Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its investigation and study of this important question with a view to formulating some definite plan whereby the discrimination against older workers may be brought to an end.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee:

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I am not going to criticize the committee's report at all. I am simply going to make a suggestion which I hope the committee will accept: that included in the instructions to go on investigating the age limit they will at the same time investigate installment buying, so as to get the two facts that rob the workers of all independence flatly before us at some other convention.

I therefore suggest an amendment by adding the words, "and instalment buying." I hope the committee will accept it, because the two go together and are matters of such importance that I think they ought to be studied with care.

Vice-President Woll: The committee has no objection to receiving instructions to bring in a report on that subject, but the committee does feel that to bring in that subject in connection with this particular item would not be consistent, logical or helpful, so that if the instructions are received by the committee to deal with chain stores and instalment buying, as the delegate has in mind, the committee will be glad to consider it.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I would like to ask what the recommendation of the Executive Council is—what it is that we are acting upon.

Vice-President Woll: The Executive Council has started an investigation as to the extent and the severity of not employing workmen who have reached the age of forty or forty-five years, and, having secured that information, to prepare plans deemed most efficient and effective to deal with that problem in order to remove that inhumane, unwarrantable restriction upon workers.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: Have you any recommendations as to what industry shall do, having reference to these old men that will be turned out?

Vice-President Woll: That is what the Council is investigating, the committee making the statement that if industry of itself does not so conduct itself as to give employment to all workmen, regardless of age, then the state must take a hand and provide for those having no opportunity of employment.

**DELEGATE T. J. DONNELLY**  
(Ohio State Federation of Labor)

I presume most of the delegates in this convention are in accord with the report of the committee. I rise in perfect accord with the report of the committee, but I also rise because I believe that this convention, in considering the report, should have a rather wide and free discussion of this age limitation which is being placed upon members by industry. I think it is one of the most important and one of the most disturbing problems that are confronting not only the industrial workers of this country at the present time, but the whole of society.

I think we recognize the fact pretty generally that with the introduction of labor-saving, labor-displacing machinery there is a natural tendency upon the part of employers to secure

labor among those who are in the younger years of life; but I recognize also, as I think every man and woman in this convention and every thinking citizen must recognize, that if this practice is to be followed consistently, as it has been in the past few years by industry, we are creating a serious social problem that we, as organized workers and as citizens, are going to be brought face to face with: the problem of standing by our standards for the abolition of child labor, for higher educational qualifications, for better school laws, and for all those things that we have placed upon the statute books of the state and of the nation.

We find ourselves battling to preserve the cause of the bread winner, the head of the family who finds at an early age that, because of welfare schemes, because of company unions, because of retirement funds and because of these different implements and tools that have been forged by the great non-union industries of this nation, the worker of today at the age of forty or forty-five, with minor children on his hands requiring education, sustenance and a home, is going to be placed upon the street, unable to maintain his family.

Perhaps the greatest cause of this situation is the fact that men and women in industry and in many other walks of life are prepared to accept all the good things that are given to them by organized labor and refuse to assume their share of responsibility by joining the organizations of their crafts and maintaining standards. Why do we find retirement in many of the industrial institutions of this nation? For the reason that company unions are organized, for the reason that welfare schemes are organized and offered to these workers if they will but surrender their right to organize.

In the great organized trades of this country we are not facing in the same degree the question of age limit in industry. These organizations are providing for their membership by sick funds, pension funds and funds for the families of deceased members with mortuary and insurance benefits, and if the industrial workers had not surrendered their God-given and constitutional right to join labor unions and accepted these other schemes we would have found industry concerned with only one particular phase, and that would have been to employ men and women who were capable of performing the required day's work.

**DELEGATE W. D. MAHON**  
(Street Railway Employees)

I agree with Brother Donnelly that there is no more important subject confronting the workers of this continent today than the question of caring for the old men. If you will stop to look over the statistics you will find that since 1919 in the steam railroads in America we have some 340,000 men eliminated from the industry, due to the increase of the machinery that operates those roads. In the street railways of the country the same condition affects the men. I have at the present time in our organization a case in Canada where we have a number of men who have reached sixty-five and they are required to get out of the service, yet they are strong

and hearty men. The same condition prevails all over America.

We have been insisting in the last two or three years that the industry must care for those old men when they are cast aside. My report to our last convention shows that we have agreements now covering 65,000 of our members protecting them in their old age, when they are discarded by the industrial conditions that are now going on.

And I insist that the committee, in investigating this matter, should recommend that wherever industry can take care of these men they may be required by law, if such can be done, to do it. It is the most important subject today before all of our organizations. I know there are various places for the old to go, but I think the poorhouse is as obnoxious to the average worker as the jail, if you please, and if a man gives his life to an industry, that industry should protect him in his old age and care for him.

I think the committee should exert every effort it can to bring this question to the attention of the law-making powers in the United States and Canada and to the attention of industry and the general public. It is only those who work in connection with these conditions, such as the delegates here and their organizations, who know what is going on in America in this elimination process that is taking the old men out of industry and casting them aside.

#### DELEGATE FURUSETH (Seamen)

Of course, I may be somewhat of a nuisance, but I can't help expressing some thought here that has been forced upon me in the last few years. In my study of other questions I have got into the frame of mind in which I question nearly all of this so-called welfare legislation. You will find these things practically duplicated in the history of the Roman Empire, as far as the slaves are concerned. Now you want old-age pensions. Fine! But it would be a mighty sight better if you could take care of your own; that is to say, if each family could earn enough money to take care of the old men and the old women.

You want unemployment benefits. All right! That is very well, considering the fact that the employer has absolutely no cost put upon him in developing his future employees, that he has the right to get rid of them any time he wants to and, necessarily, must have that right under our system of society. The result is that when you get workmen's compensation you get also insurance to cover it. Now, the premium to cover that insurance necessarily becomes more heavy as the man grows older, and consequently that is one of the reasons why men at the age of forty or forty-five years are disposed of. But that is not the main reason. The main reason is that when a man approaches the forty or forty-five year limit he knows that he cannot go somewhere else to get employment. You cannot protect that man under those circumstances. There is the unholy fear in his mind that if he opposes his employer on this thing he will be fired and he cannot go elsewhere.

Another thing is the instalment buying. A man mortgages the future to the very last cent and figures only upon the wages he is getting for the present.

I therefore want this Executive Council to couple the two things together with a view to finding out, if they can, the real reason, and when they find the real reason possibly they will find some real remedy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Suggestions for Union Old Age Benefits

Under the title "Suggestions for Union Old Age Benefits," page 99, the Executive Council submits an old age pension plan for the information of affiliated unions. The New Orleans convention authorized the Council to provide for an analysis of existing trade union benefits, in addition to the analysis submitted by the Council to that convention, with a view to developing information and data which will be helpful to the affiliated organizations in the establishing and maintenance of such existing systems upon a sound basis. The New Orleans convention declared that "no trade union benefit system presents greater difficulties, demands more exacting analysis and embraces more tangible future liabilities than does that of old age pensions," and the convention urged that "when trade unions venture upon the field of old age pensions and similar benefits," as a part of their organization liabilities, "they should use care that they are proceeding upon a thoroughly sound actuarial basis." The Executive Council advises that "old age pension plans should be undertaken only with the greatest caution." Your committee is in full accord with that advice, which, we believe, should be accepted as in the nature of a warning.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Participation in Important Undertakings

On the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, page 100, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with approval and satisfaction the list of committees and commissions relating to economic and social conditions which have been participated in by the American Federation of Labor during the past year, in addition to the committees and conferences involved in the regular organization activities of the Federation. Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Broadcasting**

On the portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, pages 103-104, the committee reported as follows:

"Unless Labor finds a way to get its message on the air, it will be excluded from what has come to be a method of communication that now rivals the press," is the significant declaration with which the Executive Council opens that part of its report which deals with the subject of "Broadcasting." Just as the labor movement must have the recognized right to own, publish and control its papers and magazines, limited in circulation only by the financial means of the trade unions and the willingness of the people to subscribe and read, so it must obtain and hold the right to own, operate and control its own broadcasting facilities, limited only by its financial and managerial ability to maintain the necessary stations and the willingness of the listeners to "tune in." Organized labor, therefore, should be allotted at least one clear full-time air channel or wave-length, with the right to use high-power broadcasting apparatus. It is to secure this allotment and to establish this right for the use of the trade union movement that Station WCFL is endeavoring to secure the necessary time, wave-length and power rights. In this effort WCFL is receiving, and should continue to receive, the support of the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated organizations.

For the same reason that the representatives of the labor movement and its various divisions take advantage of opportunities to present the cause of labor through the medium of the public press, they should seek opportunities to send the message of organized labor to radio listeners through whatever broadcasting station may be available for the purpose. The Executive Council advises that arrangements for broadcasting programs are not matters to be undertaken without committees to plan and carry them through, and recommends that that should be done when possible. Your committee is in full accord with the warning of the Executive Council that, if organized labor does not take the initiative to secure for itself proper time on the radio, labor will be practically excluded from the field. In the establishment and maintenance of Station WCFL, the Chicago Federation of Labor has taken the initiative in the effort to secure full time on the air for labor broadcasting purposes.

Other divisions of our movement in other localities should initiate efforts for part-time privileges on available stations. The Council points out that this has already been done by various city central bodies in the United States and Canada. Your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council entitled "Broadcasting."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Resolution No. 86—In Support of Radio Broadcasting Station WCFL**

WHEREAS, Radio Broadcasting Station WCFL, at Chicago, Illinois, is the only broadcasting station in the United States owned and operated by and in the interests of Organized Labor, and has for more than three years maintained a high standard of service to Organized Labor and the public generally; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Radio Commission in its allocation of radio facilities in November, 1928, ordered Station WCFL, off of the radio frequency it had been using without time limitation, and put the Station on a less desirable frequency, and restricted it to daytime operation only, with low power; and

WHEREAS, A hearing was had before the Federal Radio Commission in which nearly one hundred officials and representatives of many national and international unions, state and city central bodies and local unions appeared to give oral testimony, and at which hearing hundreds of affidavits were presented expressing the sentiment of practically the entire labor movement of the United States, together with hundreds of affidavits from prominent citizens outside the labor movement, all tending to prove that the public interest, necessity and convenience would be greatly benefited if Station WCFL should be granted the unlimited use of a radio frequency. Notwithstanding all this, the Federal Radio Commission denied the application, and its decision is now pending on appeal in the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, Many of the desirable radio frequencies have been given to great corporations and metropolitan newspapers, and are now being used to further the private interests of those concerns, in some cases with such high power as to blanket other radio stations and destroy their usefulness, with the result that this marvelous new method of communication, more powerful and effective in molding public opinion than the public press, has been in considerable measure taken away from the people and handed over to great and powerful corporate interests; and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor of America, with nearly 5,000,000 of dues-paying members, and representing the many millions of men and women who toil, and having principles and ideals of the utmost value to the entire

world, is more justly entitled to the unlimited use of a radio broadcast channel than any hundred corporations in the land; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we endorse the efforts of Broadcasting Station WCFL to secure the unlimited use of a radio frequency, with adequate power and time of operation, in order that it may serve the labor movement and the general public by the promulgation of the principles and policies and ideals of Organized Labor; therefore, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we regard it as contrary to the public welfare for the Federal Radio Commission to turn over this important new means of communication to a small group of corporations and metropolitan newspapers, to be used in their private interests; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we respectfully call the attention of the Congress of the United States, and the other responsible officials of our Government, to the facts hereinabove set out, and that we urge such action on their part as will protect the interests of the American people in the field of radio broadcasting.

**International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers**—James P. Noonan, President; G. M. Bugniazet, International Secretary.

**Lathers' International Union**—Wm. J. McSorley, President.

**United Association Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters, U. S. & C.**—John Coefield, President; Thos. E. Burke, General Secretary and Treasurer.

**International Association of Machinists**—A. O. Wharton, President; E. C. Davison, General Secretary and Treasurer.

**International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers**—P. J. Morrin, President.

**The National Association of Letter Carriers**—Ed. Gainor, President.

**National Federation of Post Office Clerks**—Leo E. George, President.

**Railway Mail Association**—W. M. Collins, President; H. W. Strickland, Secretary.

**International Seamen's Union of America**—Andrew Furuseth, President; V. A. Olander, Secretary.

**National Federation of Federal Employees**—Gertrude M. McNally, Secretary and Treasurer.

**Theatrical Stage Employees**—Wm. F. Canavan, President.

**Actors' Equity Association**—Frank Gillmore, President; Paul Dullzell, Executive Secretary.

**International Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers**—John J. Gleeson, Secretary.

**National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association**—Albert L. Jones, Secretary and Treasurer.

**International Brotherhood of Bookbinders**—Felix J. Belair, Secretary and Treasurer.

**National Federation of Federal Employees**—L. C. Steward, President.

**Upholsterers' International Union**—Wm. Kohn, President; George V. Fay, Secretary.

**International Typographical Union**—Charles P. Howard, President; Woodruff Randolph, Secretary-Treasurer.

**Cigar Makers' International Union**—I. M. Ornburn, President.

**Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America**—Martin F. Ryan, President.

**International Moulders' Union**—M. J. Keough, President—N. D. Smith, Secretary.

**American Federation of Musicians**—J. N. Weber, President.

**Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees**—W. D. Mahon, President.

**International Glass Bottle Blowers' Association**—James Maloney, President; Harry Jenkins, Secretary.

**International Printing Pressmen**—George L. Berry, President; J. C. Orr, Secretary-Treasurer.

**International Firemen and Oilers' Union**—J. F. McNamara, President; Joseph Morton, Secretary.

**International Union Operating Engineers**—Arthur M. Huddell, President; D. Evans, Secretary.

**Switchmen's International Union of N. A.**—T. C. Cashen, President; J. M. Perry, Secretary and Treasurer.

**International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Helpers of America**—J. A. Franklin, President; Chas. F. Scott, Secretary.

**Building Service Employees' International Union**—Jerry Horan, President; Paul B. David, Secretary.

**Journeymen Barbers' International Union**—James C. Shanessy, President; H. C. Wenzel, Secretary-Treasurer.

**Order of Railroad Telegraphers**—E. J. Manion, President; L. J. Ross, Secretary-Treasurer.

**Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union**—M. Zaritsky, President; J. Roberts, Secretary-Treasurer.



Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America—L. P. Lindelof, President; Clarence E. Swick, Secretary.

International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union—Joseph Moreschi, President.

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers—M. F. Tighe, President; David J. Davis, Secretary-Treasurer.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance—Edward Florie, President; Robert B. Hesketh, Secretary-Treasurer.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs—Daniel J. Tobin, President.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union—A. A. Myrup, Secretary-Treasurer.

Sheet Metal Workers' International Association—John J. Hynes, President; William O'Brien, Secretary.

Journeyman Tailors' Union of America—Gust Soderberg, Secretary-Treasurer.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 86 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### WCFL

Resolution No. 16—Submitted by The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, Organized Labor is entitled to a national, cleared and unlimited time channel for its official radio broadcast station, owned, controlled and operated by the labor movement and designed solely to promote the industrial and humane welfare of the workers and their families in maintaining American standards of living, and in the public interest, convenience and necessity; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Radio Commission has not and will not give to Labor the fair and equitable consideration it is justly entitled to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, in regular convention assembled, hereby places itself on record as recommending to the American Federation of Labor, at their forthcoming convention, that appropriate action be immediately taken in petitioning Congress for remedial legislation in securing for WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," and Farmer, a free and untrammelled wave-length, with adequate power of 50,000 watts for their new, national super-power radio broadcast station, so much desired by the American Federation of Labor, representing Organized Labor, together with other features so necessary to carry the human message to every worker in every part of the North American Continent.

Resolution No. 16 is not drafted in the form necessary to propose action by the American Federation of Labor. The intent of the resolution is apparent, however, and refers to a matter already acted upon. It therefore requires no action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Protesting Repeal of Anti-Trust Provisions of Radio Law

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate D. G. Ramsay of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

WHEREAS, Efforts are being made to induce the Congress of the United States to repeal the anti-trust provisions of the Radio Law; and

WHEREAS, The result of such a repeal would be to aid the Radio Corporation of America, the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, the Western Electric Company, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and their affiliated companies, better known as the Radio Trust, to create a monopoly of the radio industry of the United States and to escape penalties for past violation of the anti-trust laws; and

WHEREAS, It is to the interest of Labor throughout the United States that said Radio Trust be dissolved and that competition be restored in the radio industry; and

WHEREAS, The future of Radio can best be secured by competition in that art; and

WHEREAS, The safety of the Republic demands that no radio monopoly be allowed to exist in the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that it protest against any effort to repeal or to weaken the anti-trust provisions of the present Radio Law of the United States and that it petition Congress to strengthen these anti-trust sections of the law and demand their enforcement by the Federal Radio Commission and the Department of Justice of the United States.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 67 be amended by striking out the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th paragraphs of the preamble, and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At this time Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald of Great Britain and his daughter, Miss Ishbel, escorted by the reception committee appointed by President Green on the

previous day, entered the hall and were enthusiastically applauded as they approached the platform.

**ADDRESS BY RIGHT HONORABLE JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD**

(Prime Minister of Great Britain)

(And Introduction by President Green)

President Green: My friends, we are fortunate indeed in that we are permitted to be present here this morning on this unique occasion; and in referring to that phase of our meeting I wish to report to our distinguished visitor that the officers and delegates and friends who are in attendance at this great congress of Labor were made inexpressibly happy when we were advised that the Prime Minister of Great Britain and his charming daughter had so arranged their itinerary while here in Canada as to make it possible for them to attend our convention this morning.

This is the American Federation of Labor, and I am sure that our distinguished visitor will appreciate its significance, representing a great cross-section of public opinion, when I explain that it occupies the same relationship in the economic and industrial life of the American Continent as does the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. We have watched with feelings of deep satisfaction and genuine pleasure the very cordial welcome and warm-hearted reception accorded this distinguished international figure as he moved from place to place upon the American Continent during the last ten days, preaching the doctrine of good-will, international understanding, and international peace.

He has received a most cordial welcome from all groups with whom he came in contact, but I venture to say that nowhere in all his travels has he received, nor will he receive, a more cordial, warm-hearted welcome than by you, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

We are so much in sympathy with his high ideals and his great objective in the promotion of peace and understanding, and we want to mobilize the public opinion of our great continent in support of this great peace program. We know the difficulties that will be met, we are conscious of the obstacles that will be in the way, but we have faith in the people, the common people, the masses of mankind; we believe that the sentiment in favor of peace that we know exists may be mobilized to reach such a climax as to be irresistible

indeed. The men and women of Labor have always, figuratively speaking, stood with their backs toward the setting sun. We have always travelled eastward toward the realization of new concepts and a new and better day.

We have long desired that the nations of the world might leave the gory highway of conflict and struggle and warfare and human strife, and allow mankind to travel serenely along the path of righteousness and peace.

And so I want to assure the Prime Minister of the great British Empire that he is welcomed here this morning with open arms. He is among true friends, sympathetic friends, who will receive him in a warm-hearted and most kindly way. We knew him in the days of old as the representative of the great Labor Party of Great Britain; we know him as the spokesman of the people of Great Britain. We are greatly honored, not only by his presence this morning, but by the presence of his charming daughter Ishbel as well.

It affords me inexpressible pleasure to present to you the Right Honorable James Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain.

**PREMIER MACDONALD**

Mr. President and Friends: It was with the greatest pleasure that about a couple of days ago I found that certain engagements that had been made for me for this morning had to be modified and that in consequence of that modification half an hour was made available for me to greet this Federation and old personal friends sitting in front of me. More than that: when I heard that you had given up the business of this afternoon in order to accommodate me nothing on this earth would have prevented me from coming personally and thanking you for that great act of courtesy. I have been introduced to you in the name of the office which I hold—Prime Minister of Great Britain. That is perfectly true; but at the same time I want you to feel that, whether Prime Minister or not, I am still the old workman as I was born. The workman is distinguished neither by the clothes he wears nor by the softness nor the hardness of his hands. The workman is distinguished by his mentality and his point of view upon life.

In Great Britain I am a party man. I am not ashamed of it. I glory in it. If the men and women of Great Britain who share my views elect us to the House of Commons in

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such numbers that we are called upon to form a Government, that is after my own heart. But here today, my friends, I do not represent a party, I do not represent one point of view. I represent the whole nation. I have come upon a mission across the Atlantic, not as a party leader, but as he who, at the moment, is not only the head of the party in the House of Commons, but is charged to represent to the people on this side of the Atlantic the opinion, the personality and the unity of the House of Commons.

On our side organized industrial labor is working out a great public philosophy. It is working it out, not by revolutionary means, which are bound to be temporary, but by evolutionary means, which have a chance of being permanent. Outward changes in events created by revolution may give men and classes and sections new power, but no sooner are they enthroned in office than they have to turn back and as responsible rulers face precisely the problems that we are facing in Great Britain today without any preliminary revolution. The revolution we believe in is the revolution of the ballot box, and if you cannot create great mental changes on account of appeals to reason and appeals to moral sense you can make no permanent changes in the social construction of nations.

I have come over as a missionary of peace. And where should I come to receive inspiration for that mission more than to the ranks of labor? Labor—you supply the army, you supply the munitions, you supply the national credit, you are used to incurring the debts, and you have to pay them in fullness of time. All classes in a war share in its sacrifices. Every mother, from the highest in the land to the most poverty-stricken, has to face the anxieties, the dangers, the pains, and ultimately the sacrifices being taken, but in the mass labor bears the burdens, labor bears the pains, labor bears the sacrifices. And if there should be another war the circumstances of it are such that the pains and sacrifices of labor will be infinitely greater than they have been in past wars.

In days gone by the fighting took place in the front lines. The men who were killed were the men who were within the range of the guns; but in the next war, should there be a next war, death will be dealt out not only on the battlefield, destruction will rise from the bottom of the sea, destruction will descend from the heavens themselves, destruc-

tion will meet your wives, your children, your homes. The civilian population, left miles and miles and miles away back from the front—destruction will meet those silently and they will be touched by the mysterious breath of poison and in a mysterious way they will drop down in the middle of your streets and die.

Ah, my labor friends, I never have been and I never shall be one of those who believe that class this and class that alone are there to help us. My appeal has always been a national appeal, whether fighting my party battles at home or trying to lead the whole world on the smoother and better roads of reason and moral righteousness—always has been, always will be; but nevertheless in these secret corners of my heart are the well-springs that give enthusiasm and power to go on and fight. It is the worker's fireside, it is the worker's life, it is the worker's wife and the worker's child that hold a sacred place. When I think of war, when I think of national enmity, when I think of strife, those are the people that come first and bear me companionship in my thoughts.

And so I come to you as an old friend. I come to you as one who would have been down there in body as well as with you up here in mind. I come to you as the leader of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, called upon for the moment to fulfill a somewhat broader mission and to give voice to a somewhat more widely humanitarian appeal. And as the missionary of peace, as one who has gone to the neighboring country in order to create mutual understanding instead of misunderstanding, in order to try to close all chapters of historical suspicion, it is a pleasure, it is of the nature of a fulfillment, that, visiting Toronto when you were visiting it, I should come and shake hands with you, meet you and receive from you the support of the labor movement in the United States, the labor movement in Canada: get their support to broaden the area of peace, to lay new foundations for the new world of mutual understanding, and to tell you that in the experiences I have had, the good experiences I have had, this is one of the best which I shall take away with me with greatest pleasure and greatest appreciation.

President Green: I want to sum up the feelings of your hearts and minds in just two or three words by saying to our distinguished speaker this morning that we thank him from the bottom of our hearts for his visit here, and

we appreciate more than language can express the inspiring message he has delivered.

And now we have this double treat. Labor will not be denied the enjoyment of listening to a sentence or two from the charming daughter of the Prime Minister.

#### MISS ISHBEL MacDONALD

Mr. Chairman and Friends: I didn't expect to have to speak this morning, but I could not resist coming with my father to meet you on this great occasion. Before leaving London I went to a wonderful section of the Labor Women's organization in England, and there they gave me a very warm send-off, because the women of the labor movement in Great Britain are particularly interested in this mission of peace and understanding, and

the section with which I am particularly connected, the women of South Poplar in London, sent me off with good wishes and asked me to try to make the women on this side of the Atlantic understand how very deeply they are interested in this mission of peace. I think that this, perhaps, is a good opportunity to tell you of the warmth of the send-off from that section, which really gave the feeling of the labor movement in Great Britain.

I thank you very much for making this little interlude in your business to meet me and my father this morning, and I am very pleased that I have been able to have the pleasure of meeting you.

At 11 o'clock the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 3:30 o'clock p.m. of the same day.

## Seventh Day---Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3:30 o'clock by President Green.

#### Absentees:

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Rosemund, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully, Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Coulter (J. L.), Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H. W.), Powers (F. B.), Wood, McCluskey, Gross, Phillips, Barry, Norrington, McConaughy, Kelly, Johnson, Russell, Laude, Hoffmann, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Southall, Watt (R. J.), Shave, Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Woodmansee, Fitz Patrick, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Sidney, McElligott, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell, Portway.

#### Substitution

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute the name of Delegate William C. Birthright, Barbers, for the name of Delegate James William Fitz Patrick, Waterbury Central Labor Union, on the special committee to solicit funds for the textile workers of the South.

#### Special Order

Delegate Bugniazet, Electric Workers: I move that the election of offices and fraternal delegates be made a special order of business at 4 o'clock Thursday afternoon, October 17.

The motion was seconded and carried.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

#### NATIONAL LEGISLATION Immigration

Under the sub-title "Immigration," on page 77, the Executive Council reports upon the activities of the United States Congress in the matter of immigration legislation and recommends that steps be taken to bring about the passage of more rigid immigration regulations than those which now prevail. It is gratifying to note, as reported by the Council, that the Supreme Court of the United States has upheld the power of the United States Department of Labor to restrict entries of immigrants from Canada who have been making the practice of crossing the border to work in the United States during the day time and to recross to their homes in Canada at the conclusion of the work day. The decision of the Court in that matter has settled the law on the question and will, it is hoped, be followed by the application of the restrictions necessary to fully apply the law.

The recently enacted legislation, as described in the report, consists of:

1. Providing that the immigrants who arrived

before June 3, 1921, may register and petition for United States citizenship;

2. Making it a felony for aliens who have been deported to re-enter the United States;

3. Making effective the national origins provision of the 1924 immigration act, thus allowing increased immigration from Eastern and Southeastern Europe and decreasing immigration from Northern Europe.

The Council reports that there is now pending in Congress a proposed amendment designed to give preference within the quota to (a) "quota immigrants who are the fathers or mothers, or the husbands by marriage occurring after May 31, 1928, of citizens of the United States who are twenty-one years of age or over"; (b) "\*\*\*\*quota immigrants who, being trained and skilled in a particular art, craft, technique, business, or science, or in agriculture, are needed by bona fide employers to engage in work to perform which persons so trained and skilled cannot be found unemployed in the United States\*\*\*\*" after a full hearing and investigation by the Secretary of Labor.

The exact language of the entire provision is submitted in full in the report of the Executive Council. The Council recommends that it should be amended in at least one particular, namely, "that alien technicians admitted to assist in establishing new industries should be limited to a stay of six months and devote part of their time to training citizens of the United States in their particular work." Your committee is in full accord with the recommendation of the Council on the matter.

The report further points out that at a time when an advertising campaign was being carried on in the Philippine Islands urging Filipinos to come to the United States, the Public Health Service investigated "and recommended to the President of the United States that no person should come from China, including Hongkong, or the Philippine Islands, because they were subject to malignant diseases, unless permitted to do so by the Secretary of State. President Hoover issued an Executive order to that effect, and the indications are that it will remain in force for a long time." Your committee agrees fully with the Council that the President and the Public Health Service should be commended for this action.

In relation to further restriction of immigration, the Council recommends:

"1. That efforts be made to further restrict

immigration from the Eastern hemisphere at least one-half";

"2. That all countries below the Rio Grande and adjacent islands be placed under a two per cent quota, based on the census of 1890";

"3. But whatever law is passed it must be accompanied by a provision for the employment of a sufficient number of border patrol to carry out the legislation."

Your committee is in full accord with the above recommendations.

The Council also expressed the hope "that our Canadian brothers will be able to prevent another influx from across the sea which will bring competitors to a land where unemployment is acute," and urges that "every aid should be given to the labor movement of Canada to prevent such an undesirable condition." This should find a willing response from all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Council also refers to persistent agitation on the part of the Japanese to send immigrants into the United States and also points out that a bill has been introduced into Congress to admit Polynesians and Hindus. These proposals must be vigorously opposed.

Your committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council on the subject of immigration be approved and that the recommendations of the Council be endorsed.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to take such steps as in its judgment may seem proper to secure such additional restrictions as may serve to further reduce immigration into the United States.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Collins, Michigan State Federation of Labor: I have a complaint to offer against the language of the Executive Council's report as printed here in which it is stated that the question involved in border crossings was settled by decision of the Supreme Court. I believe it was amplified in the committee's report and changed somewhat from the way it is printed in the Council's report, and I would like to ask the committee, just what their exact language is on that portion.

Secretary Olander: The language, I think, will satisfy the delegate: "The decision of the Court in that matter has settled the law on the question."

Delegate Collins: That is all right.

**DELEGATE MARTEL**  
(Typographical Union)

Delegate Martel, in discussing the question, said in part:

To allow the passing of this question without again bringing before this convention the condition that exists in the locality of Detroit and other territory adjacent to the Canadian border would be to allow the impression to go abroad in the land that the present condition was satisfactory. I want the delegates to know that we are not satisfied with the activity that we expected would come from the American Federation of Labor as the result of the instructions given to the Executive Council at the New Orleans convention. Word has been given us by the representatives of the Department of Labor that certain rules were made for the enforcement of the immigration law and as the result of conferences with the Executives of the American Federation of Labor. If such conferences were held for the purpose of discussing the situation that existed on the border and no representatives of labor from these localities affected were called into such conferences, then I say an injustice has been done to those of us who are forced to submit to the competition of the influx of excess quota aliens that we now have coming into Detroit because of the lack of enforcement of the immigration law by the Department of Labor.

We have in the city of Detroit some fifteen or eighteen thousand people crossing the border daily. They are earning their living in Detroit and spending their money on the Canadian side of the border, and so that I may not be misunderstood on this matter I want to make this statement at this time: that there is nothing in our effort to secure the enforcement of the Immigration Law that is in any sense a quarrel with our Canadian brothers, but the fact still remains, Mr. Chairman, that the Immigration Law is being violated and that violation is apparently being encouraged by some of the officials of the Canadian government. To permit a continuation of the commuting privilege for purposes of employment that now exist in Detroit, Port Huron and Buffalo and other points further east is to leave a loophole that is not only a menace to the cities that are located on the Canadian border, but a menace to the entire United States, because this commuting privilege as it now exists leaves the port open for these people to enter the United States daily and at the earliest opportunity seek a way into the interior.

There will be no hardship worked upon our trade union brothers in Canada or upon the Canadian people as a whole if the Immigration Law is properly enforced. Figures recently handed out by the Canadian government were to the effect that the population of this country during the last nine or ten years has increased less than two per cent, while on the American side of the border the population has increased better than ten per cent during the same time. What is the major problem in Canada today? Their statesmen tell the world it is lack of population, and if we, in an effort to protect ourselves, erect barriers for the purpose of keeping people from coming from Canada to

the States, we are not working any hardship upon Canada.

The United States Immigration Law of 1924 never contemplated that men were to be permitted to enter the country for the purpose of employment who had no legitimate right to enter under the law itself. Still we have the United States Department of Labor, under General Order 86, adjusting these excess quota aliens for that purpose. The United States Immigration Law nor any other law, treaty, or otherwise, ever contemplated that the Canadians or anyone else have the right to enter the United States for the purpose of employment and reside in Canada at the same time.

I said the other day in discussing the registration of aliens that there was some reason why this problem was not left open in this convention, that there was some hidden reason, and the chairman said it ill became me to say that. I want to say again that there is some hidden reason. Many men have spoken to me since I made that statement and I have yet to find one man who disagrees with me on that problem.

I will tell you why the convention has not insisted upon registration of aliens and I am not afraid to meet the issue. It is because we have in the American Federation of Labor, all told, some five or six thousand trade unionists who are segregated into foreign language local unions, and every time this problem is suggested or comes before the United States Congress these foreign language local unions petition the officials of their international unions and our representatives in Congress against compulsory registration.

The other day we had Secretary of Labor Davis stand on this platform and tell us to our teeth that the American Federation of Labor disagreed with him on the question of registering aliens, and that in taking that policy we were hampering him in a proper enforcement of the Immigration Law. I want to take from Mr. Davis his alibi for not enforcing the law. I think the way we can do it is to tell the world that if it is necessary to register aliens in the United States in order to secure the proper enforcement of the Immigration Law, then we will register the aliens if that is the only way it can be done.

There is another thing involved in this question that is lost sight of. The New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor very definitely and positively placed itself on record for a quota for every country on the Western Hemisphere. That means Canada as well as any other country. This year there is no mention made of it. In a discussion of this matter with the Secretary of Labor the other day he said that personally he was in favor of a quota provision to apply to Canada as well as every other country on the Western Hemisphere.

I am in favor of such a quota, and I will tell you why. Just so long as Canada leaves the door open for the industrial workers of Europe and the British Isles to come here in droves, just so long as the Salvation Army is going to act as a recruiting agency for immigrants to come to Canada, and just so long as the politicians in Great Britain try to solve their problems by shoving their unemployed on to the colonies, just so long will we have to meet that avalanche of those people flocking over the



border, either through bootlegging methods or General Order 86 or some other hocus-pocus that the Department will permit. And until such time as Canada is willing to set up a barrier to protect its industrial workers against this avalanche, we have got to protect ourselves, and the only way that can be done is to apply the principle of the quota to Canadians the same as to other countries. There is no hardship on the Canadian people in doing that.

Chairman Woll: The Committee on Resolutions is fully cognizant of the situation as it exists in Detroit, Buffalo, and other border cities and it is fully sympathetic with the plea made by the delegate and all within the border cities of seeking some remedy for the conditions prevailing. We believe that the committee has fully reported on this subject in so far as the Council is concerned, and it has before it four additional resolutions which will be reported upon immediately after this report has been acted upon.

I rise merely to say this: that the accusation made that the Executive Council has not fulfilled its duty, has not done all it might and could do to be helpful in this situation, is unwarranted and unfounded upon fact. The great difficulty is that there has been considerable misunderstanding with reference to the attitude and action of the Department of Labor, and we were fortunate, in the consideration of the Council's report as well as in the consideration of the several resolutions to follow, that we had a conference with the Secretary of Labor dealing with General Order 86 and other questions involved, and I feel confident that the delegate who has just spoken, as well as all others interested, has found that there has been a misunderstanding as to General Order 86—not that it is perfect, but to revoke it would mean to open the doors even wider than they are at the present time; that to revoke it would be to destroy the very decision of the United States Supreme Court used as a basis in this convention for its revocation.

The Secretary of Labor advised us that the question of commuters living in Windsor and working in Detroit was a question they were now dealing with. Under the Immigration Act, all who formerly commuted from Windsor to Detroit and other border cities before June, 1921, could continue that practice, and of course it is true that under that provision of the Immigration Act there is bootlegging of immigrants, as well as other forms of bootlegging. The Department is considering at the present time making a ruling that a man hav-

ing his residence in Windsor and merely coming over to work, claiming residence in Detroit by having one meal there and working in the industries of Detroit, is in violation of the contract labor law rather than the immigration law.

And so in our conferences with the Secretary of Labor the most sympathetic attitude has been expressed by that Department, and I feel confident, too, in regard to Rule 86, that the discussion on that subject must be fully satisfying to those in attendance at this convention. I regret that I am unable, bound by confidence, not to disclose what took place on that subject.

And so your committee, as well as your officers, fully confident of the dangers involved and the grievous situation prevailing, sympathizes to the utmost in seeking to find a proper remedy, and it has reported to this convention such action and such authority as it believes will be extremely helpful in correcting the situation complained of. Surely, if it be said that some foreign Locals are opposed to the registering of aliens, at least this convention ought not be charged with indifference on that subject. Rather might it well be argued that the delegate who urges this convention to take such action has failed to present a resolution or to submit a proper proposal to this convention for consideration on the subject, and, that being true, surely it comes with ill grace to charge any one with not doing what might have been done when indifference or neglect might be charged against him who makes the charge against others.

We believe, speaking impersonally, concerned solely with the subject of protecting the wage earners in American industry in a proper and effective way, that the committee has presented such proposals, such recommendations, such authority and such instructions as will carry that purpose into effect.

#### DELEGATE HESKETH

(Hotel and Restaurant Employees)

Not opposing the recommendation of the committee, I want to take this opportunity of thanking Brother Martel, on behalf of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, for his aid so far as we are concerned. I don't think there is any organization that suffers more from the importation of aliens than the hotel and restaurant employes in the United States and in Canada—the Orientals and Europeans. I might say in passing that I came into the country legally some forty years ago. I take this opportunity of thanking Delegate Martel and

other printing trades organizations for aiding the catering industry employes, and we can stand for other help from other organizations.

#### DELEGATE COLLINS

(Michigan State Federation of Labor)

I just want to ask a question in regard to the statement of Brother Woll, trying to point out the dangers that are involved, and he has gone into the discussion of a resolution that has not yet been presented before this convention. I reserve the right to ask him what dangers are involved in that, and you will believe me reasonable when I say our resolution is presented for the specific purpose of protecting ourselves against strike-breaking organizations that are gathered up out of these excluded aliens that have been adjusted to border crossing, working in the city of Detroit and specifically attacking the conditions of the Local Union which I have the privilege to represent.

In face of the fact that the Secretary of Labor is parading through the country making the statement that heads of the American Federation of Labor and heads of the International Unions were called into the conference that brought into existence this creature, General Order 86, you will believe me reasonable in getting up before this Federation and protesting against that when that creature has for its purpose and is accomplishing the purpose of continuing the process of adjusting border crossings to these excluded aliens for the purpose of making an attack upon my organization.

I would like to know what danger is involved in protesting against any situation of that kind. I would like to have that explained, inasmuch as you have coupled up the discussion of the resolution with the Executive Council's report.

Chairman Woll: Delegate Martel brought this Rule 86 into the discussion—I didn't. I might say that Rule 86 will be referred to specifically in the resolution introduced by Brother Collins.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I believe the statement of the delegate as regards the immigration problems of border cities is rather complete, with one single exception. It occurs to me there are certain phases of the problem attached to the aliens illegally in the United States to which the American Federation of Labor and the American trade union movement has never given proper consideration.

We are told on the best authority that there are within the borders of the United States approximately 1,750,000 aliens who are in our country illegally. I am wondering if it has occurred to the delegates in this convention and to the trade unionists of the United States that this 1,750,000 persons are not susceptible to organization and cannot in any way protect themselves. I think we should consider that these aliens who are in the United States illegally would be required to give up information in making application for membership in a trade union that would lead to their deportation.

I am confident that those who have studied

the question will agree that the employers of these aliens in many instances know full well they are employing persons in the country illegally and taking advantage of that fact. Many instances can be cited as proof of that statement, and I submit it is time we should give consideration to some remedy for this condition.

Rather indirect criticism has been directed against the enforcement agency in the United States. I hold no brief for the Secretary of Labor, but those who have heard him address the American Federation of Labor convention upon the subject of immigration, I think, will agree that his statements have been in full support of the policy of this organization upon the subject of immigration. Yes, I would say that, instead of giving full support to the policy of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject of immigration, he is about two jumps ahead of us upon the subject.

And representing an organization which has within its membership foreign language unions, men who I believe are in the United States one hundred per cent legally, I do not feel that I should sit in my seat and allow, even indirectly, an insinuation that the organization is attempting to protect its foreign language members in the belief that they are illegally residents of the United States.

I know the figures are not too high as to the number of aliens in the United States illegally, but I believe this organization should take the first step to correct that condition and accept our responsibility. If it requires registration of aliens to enforce the immigration laws of the United States, I say we should stand behind the officials who are responsible for the enforcement of the immigration laws and should advocate and support registration of aliens to secure enforcement of those laws.

President Green: The Chair wishes to make just one or two observations relating to this subject. The American Federation of Labor has always been tremendously interested in the passage of restrictive legislation and in the enforcement of immigration statutes. I think I can safely say that no organization on the American Continent has been more consistent in its efforts to secure reasonable restrictive immigration legislation. Surely it is worth considering most seriously when inferences are made that the American Federation of Labor itself or its officers or its Executive Council are to blame or are responsible for the failure to adequately enforce immigration laws along the borders of the different countries. There are a number of things to take into consideration when discussing that matter.

We have consistently contended that immigration laws should be faithfully executed and rigorously applied. We have appealed to the Congress of the United States to make ade-

quate appropriations so that the borders could be better patrolled. Congress has not always been responsive to our appeal; in fact, it has acted rather stingily, I think, in the appropriations for immigration law enforcement.

We talk about the 1,700,000 aliens in the United States illegally. I am not sure whether that figure is correct, whether there are more than that or whether there are less. It is an estimation. But please keep in mind that numbered among that 1,700,000, if those figures are correct, are thousands of Mexicans that come across the border and settle down in the cities and towns adjacent to the border line separating the United States and Mexico and are now penetrating to farther eastern cities. That is a very live question, one that seriously affects our national and our domestic and our economic life, for, as you well know, it is very difficult to blend into our citizenship these groups of people who come across our border from the Southern Republic.

The rule of reason must apply in the consideration of the application of immigration laws along the Canadian border. We must enforce these laws judiciously, but we must keep in mind that the border line is there. We are not responsible for it, and there have been built up along this border line growing cities and towns. And in connection there has developed a neighborly feeling and I feel sure that the Canadian people living in the towns along the border on the Canadian side are equally interested with us in the enforcement of the border-crossing legislation.

What we are concerned about is to prevent the back-door entry of aliens from European and Oriental countries into the United States of America. It is that problem with which we are grappling, and I am sure that our Canadian brothers and sisters living along the Canadian border will cooperate with us in dealing with that vexing problem.

I can say truthfully that I have not found the Secretary of Labor disinterested when we brought to him our problems and our point of view regarding the enforcement of the border-crossing rules. He has, of course, like us, been disappointed when appropriations were small that were made for the enforcement of these regulations and for the establishment of agencies that could adequately deal with the problem. Then he has been confronted with another difficulty: that of the surreptitious entry across these three thousand miles of

border into the United States of America. I know it is a problem. It is a difficult problem.

There is no difference here regarding compulsory registration. We think that rule should be put into effect. I think for the first time such a regulation and such a recommendation has been favorably considered by an American Federation of Labor convention. The Secretary of Labor, when he made his statement that we were not in accord with the Department regarding this question, stated that which was perhaps partly true and partly untrue, or perhaps not properly and fully stated.

We have no objection to compulsory registration, but what we do object to, as I stated yesterday, and which—must I persist in making plain—was the fingerprinting, the compulsory reporting that was advocated as an extreme measure by the Department of Labor during the administration of my predecessor, the late Samuel Gompers. It was upon that point where the very great difference arose, and I am repeating this statement so that the position of the American Federation of Labor upon this subject might be properly understood and I trust sincerely accepted.

The committee's report deals with the question, it seems to me, in a most constructive and practical way, and I feel if the report is adopted we will have made another step forward in dealing with this most vexing problem in a practical way.

Delegate Furuseth, in discussing the question, said in part:

There has been here a dissemination of the idea that the largest number of immigrants bootlegged into the United States come over the border. That is a very convenient thing to fill the newspapers with on the part of those who possibly will refuse to do anything to stop the coming in of those people on the ships.

We have compulsory registration of Chinese now. There is no dispute about that, but I have got some very astonishing information with reference to it. In 1891 the Congress of the United States adopted a Chinese Exclusion Act for ten years; in 1900 they made that law perpetual, so that for nearly forty years we have had the exclusion of Chinese and registration. Would you be surprised if you were told that there are pretty nearly as many Chinese in the United States now as there were in 1891? There is officially a small difference, few less, but the Department itself is perfectly willing to admit that there are thousands upon thousands of Chinese, and that they haven't registered half of them, and they are here in violation of the law.

If you look into the census of 1890, then take the census of 1920, thirty years later, you will find that the average age of the Chinese is

about the same in 1920 as it was in 1890. There are not very many Chinese women in the country, and they are not the kind that usually become mothers. How, then, does it happen that the Chinese are still the same age and about the same number? The ships bring the young immigrant from China into the ports of the United States, and the old Chinaman who is ready to go home goes home and the young Chinaman stays.

The second proposition is this: That practically all American ships on the Pacific carry either a whole Chinese crew, or some departments are made up of Chinese, and there is hardly a vessel coming in that is not smuggling Chinese into this country. Another proposition I want to call your attention to is the number that come in from Europe. From sixty to seventy-five thousand a year come into the ports of the United States ostensibly as seamen, but, as a matter of fact, as immigrants. There are places in New York which corporations in the East and in Pennsylvania are supporting for the purpose of relaying them to the place they are supposed to go. There are very few big corporations where you cannot find men who are working there absolutely in violation of the law and they came in as seamen. They are found in the mines as well, and when found, of course, they are deported—sometimes and sometimes not, but generally they are deported.

The sixty or seventy-five thousand that are coming in now are nothing compared with those likely to come in with the street wide open for them. They are paying from \$200 to \$450 to come from Europe; they are paying up to \$1,100 to come from Asia. The amount of money to be earned is stupendous. The ship-owners want them and are resisting the bill that I have been trying to have passed for the past seven years to stop this leak. It could easily be stopped; a broad, flowing river could be changed to a rippling brook without doing an injustice to anybody, because an examination into their skill and into their rating when they ship can be made, and then if the vessel brings them in they can be sent back at the expense of the ship-owner. It will not cost the United States anything. I have been trying for nearly eight years to get the bill through and I have not been able to do it yet.

I have had resolutions in connection with that question in former conventions; this time I did not introduce any. I looked over the Executive Council's report and I did not find anything in it and I said to let it go. I am going to go back to Washington and submit that to the Congress and Senate. Those who want to keep those people out can assist; those who do not want to, of course, will do as they please. Don't, however, think all your trouble is on the border.

I am glad that Brother Howard called attention to the fact that the employers bring them in and employ them and then say, "If you dare open your mouth you will be deported." I know where immigration officers came into a shop and said: "Where is John Smith? We want to see him," and John Smith was found and they took him out of the shop.

Where had the information come from that he was in that shop? From the employment offices and the employers of that seaman, for the purpose of getting him deported because he was not willing to do as they expected him to do. If you want to stop bootlegging you must not stop at the border, but deal with the more than a million men that come into the United States every year aboard ship.

### DELEGATE SIMPSON

(Toronto District Labor Council)

There is an aspect of this very important question in which we residents of this country, members of the international trade union movement, are deeply interested. I feel quite satisfied, after hearing some of the addresses that have been delivered, that the impression that would be left upon my mind by my good brother from Detroit would not be a very healthy impression, but after hearing President Green's remarks I am somewhat satisfied that the situation is not going to be as serious for us as it would be if the sentiments expressed by some of the speakers were carried out.

As an executive member of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, I might say this question is near our hearts. We feel particularly, inasmuch as we are a part of the American Federation of Labor and are international trade unionists, that as the Trades and Labor Congress we are not entirely exempt from the consideration of the seriousness of this situation if it happened to go in a certain direction. I am sure I voice the sentiments of the organized workers of this country when I say we do not want to be a party to any surreptitious entry into the United States. We know that the United States has a perfect right, and will always exercise that right, to protect the workers in its own country by passing immigration laws, and I am sure there is nobody in this country who wants Canada to be used as a means of overcoming these provisions which are made in the laws of the United States.

But there are other aspects of the question that are exceedingly vital to us, and particularly along the borderlands between the United States and Canada, where there are cities being built up and that have been built up for some time and that will likely grow and develop in the years to come, and that growth has been going on with the knowledge of the authorities of the United States and apparently with their approval, more or less, because of the friendly feeling existing between the two countries. That is the situation that vitally concerns us, because, as my friend Martel says, we have border cities where there are a great number of international trade unionists and where the conditions that have obtained between the United States and Canada have permitted an elasticity which, in my judgment, has been to the advantage of both the United States and Canada.

In fact, even at the present time, irrespective of the fact that the city of Windsor is not a very large city compared to Detroit, we find

now that there is an interchange of workers, some going from Detroit to Windsor to work and returning home in the evening, and some going from Windsor to Detroit and returning to Canada in the evening. Consequently I do not think that any change in the immigration laws of the United States which would destroy the vital interests of many of the members of the international trade union movement on our side of the line, which would destroy the things they have in the place of their residence, is going to be a very healthy thing in so far as our movement in this country is concerned.

We are already subject to the arguments of the enemies of the international trade union movement that the American Federation of Labor, according to certain resolutions introduced from time to time, is not disposed to support measures which are in the interests of the residents of this country who are members of the international trade union movement. I say these are the statements of our enemies. We do not accept them because we know the sentiment expressed by the President of this American Federation of Labor is practically the sentiment that is voiced in the policies and resolutions which are adopted by the American Federation of Labor. And I venture to say that perhaps the day will not be far distant when the men of vision will realize that it is not a wise thing for the government of the United States to make immigration laws and regulations too drastic at the present moment, having regard for the possibilities of the years which are to come, when, perhaps, because the flow of immigration will be in the other direction, this country will be very glad to receive citizens of the United States in helping this country in developing its natural resources and its great industrial life.

One other point. In the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada held in Saint John, its expression was absolutely against any quota law at all. I am not saying it is not wise for the United States to have a quota law, but we have come to the conclusion that it is unwise in Canada, that the economic and industrial conditions of this young country are varying from year to year, and to place any definite quota law, flowing out of that elasticity which is necessary for the economic and industrial development of this nation, would be a serious handicap to the country itself and to the workers.

What we substitute for that policy in this country is this: that having regard for the fact that we have only about ten or eleven millions of people, and that the division is 52 per cent agricultural and 48 per cent industrial, it is not a difficult matter for the government of this nation, if it desires to do so, to make an annual survey of the available labor resources of this country at any time and make a very careful approximate estimate of the wonderful potential possibilities of this country and fix its immigration policy in harmony with the needs of the country. In my judgment, if that were done a great deal of objection we have today to the influx of immigrants into this country would be over-

come and our immigration to this country would be operated entirely in harmony with the increased investment in this country.

In the consideration of this problem we, as international trade unionists of this country, are anxious that, so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, it will not do anything that is going to prejudice our government in building up this movement and making it the virile force that it is going to be for labor in this country. We are quite satisfied, from assurances we have received from those who have the right to give us those assurances, that, whatever immigration provisions are made by the United States government, they are not going to be made as directed against the workers of this country at all, but we are going to continue in this harmonious relationship which has existed for the years that have gone.

Delegate Fry, Machinists, moved the previous question.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union, had asked the privilege of the floor for the second time and had been informed by President Green that under the rules it would be necessary to wait until all others who desired to do so had spoken.

Delegate Martel: So far as the statements of my good friend Brother Simpson are concerned, I think he has placed before this convention very clearly the desire of the people on the Canadian side of the border to continue to enjoy a privilege that the United States immigration law does not contemplate they have a right to enjoy.

I want to read from the Executive Council's report, page 60, third paragraph:

"The Department of Labor had issued an order to carry out the Immigration Law of 1924 regarding border crossing, forbidding aliens living in contiguous territory to come into the United States outside of the quota, or for the citizens of those countries to come in without paying the head tax and visa fees. The decision of the Supreme Court overturned the decision of the Court of Appeals and upheld the Department of Labor."

That, Mr. Chairman, gives an indication of the reasoning the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is applying to this problem, and our contention is that that line of reasoning is contrary to the law, that the United States Congress never contemplated extending the border-crossing privileges for the purpose of employment when they passed the 1924 law, and the insertion of this language in the report of the Executive Council is an acceptance on the part of the Council that this procedure is right and proper under the law, and as a matter of fact it is not in harmony with the law and there is no justification under the law itself to permit commuting privileges for the purposes of employment.

I want to ask this question, Mr. Chairman. It has been repeated time and time again: Did the officials of the American Federation of Labor ever hold any conference with the De-

partment of Labor prior to the establishment of General Order 86?

President Green: I should have to examine the record, Brother Martel, before I am able to answer. I am not sure that General Order 86 was issued during the time I have been President of the American Federation of Labor, but I will look over the record and endeavor to answer you.

In conclusion, we have fallen into the way of accepting General Order 86 as a vehicle for enforcing the immigration law. It seems to be accepted in some quarters that it was necessary to have General Order 86 in order to get an application of the 1924 immigration law. Let me tell you something of the history of General Order 86.

Delegate Olander: Mr. Chairman, in all fairness to the convention, the chairman of the committee called attention to the fact that the resolution dealing with General Order 86 is to come up, waiting here to be reported upon in connection with three other resolutions. Under those circumstances is it fair to occupy the time of the convention to discuss that particular subject at a time when another matter, the report of the Executive Council, is being considered?

Delegate Martel: In closing let me say that General Order 86, or this order that the Executive Council refers to, came into being because of the persistent demand on the part of those members of the trade unions living along the border for an enforcement of the immigration law on the Canadian border and its application to those who are enjoying commuter privileges, and it was not until after the storm was raised and the complaints were piling in to Secretary of Labor Davis and to President Coolidge that General Order 86 was issued, or the order that is referred to by the Executive Council in which they say that it was made for the purpose of carrying out the law regarding border-crossing privileges.

The thing we are seeking under the law is the same protection for Detroit, Buffalo, Port Huron and other border cities that you men are enjoying in Indianapolis, Atlanta, Georgia, and Sneeze Junction, if you please.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Reaffirming Declaration Favoring the Placing of Mexico Under Quota Provisions of Immigration Law

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Business interests as represented by the Chambers of Commerce of various beet-raising states have declared in opposition to the passage of the Box Bill to place Mexican nationals under the quota provision of the Federal Immigration Law, alleging that this avenue to cheap labor must remain open or business interests will suffer; and

WHEREAS, Wage earners not alone of the states bordering on Mexico, but some far removed, find the introduction of these workers

contributing to increased unemployment and diminished standards of wages and hours of labor, tending to peonize unskilled workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its convention held in the city of New Orleans, November, 1928, went on record as favoring the enactment of legislation placing Mexico under the provisions of the quota law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we reaffirm our position as expressed in our 1928 convention, instruct our incoming Executive Council to exert every reasonable effort to secure the enactment of this legislation, and, further, that every national and international union, local and state central body be urged to correspond with their senators and congressmen asking their support of same, to the end that American standards of life may not be threatened for American labor.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 2.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I desire to submit for the record a telegram from the Phoenix Typographical Union and a letter from the San Diego Typographical Union in support of the report of the committee, asking that this convention take some constructive action to secure an immigration law against Mexicans coming into the United States.

President Green: These communications will be included in the proceedings.

The documents submitted by Delegate Martel are as follows:

"Phoenix, Ariz., Oct. 10, 1929.

"Frank X. Martell,  
"Typographical Union,  
"Delegate American Federation of  
"Labor Convention,  
"Toronto, Ont.

"Replying circular letter, you can greatly help not only our craft but all union labor in Southwest by actively supporting measures designed to further placing of Mexican immigration on quota basis. This is greatest problem and menace confronting Southwest, and Arizona Federation of Labor is engaged in active program of action and education along this line and seeks definite positive support of this legislation by entire labor movement. We desire more than passive support of policy adopted first time at New Orleans convention which approved proposed legislation. Thanks.

"CLYDE TIMBERLAKE,  
"Secretary Phoenix Typographical Union, Vice-President State Federation of Labor."



"San Diego, California, October 4, 1929.

"Mr. Frank X. Martel,

"Delegate American Federation of Labor,  
"c/o A. F. of L. Convention Hall, Toronto,  
Canada.

"Dear Mr. Martel:

"Your letter of Sept. 12 in re suggestions to be placed before the A. F. of L. convention was read at the last meeting of San Diego Typographical Union No. 221.

"On motion, I was instructed to request you to aid in putting through a memorial petitioning Congress to pass the Box-Harris bill, putting Mexican immigration on the quota basis.

"Hoping this letter reaches you in time, and wishing you and your colleagues success in your work, I remain,

"Fraternally yours,

"PAUL R. FERTIG, Secretary,  
"San Diego Typographical Union."

Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor, in discussing the question said, in part:

In support of the recommendation of the committee, might I give whatever information we have on that subject as appertaining to our state. Some few months ago we had a communication from the President of the American Federation of Labor asking that a survey be made of the number of Mexicans brought into Wyoming, and their general status, living conditions, etc. That survey is now being made by the State Labor Department. However, during a general trip last summer I found some of the most appalling conditions I had ever heard of as regards conditions under which these Mexicans are compelled to work by the sugar companies.

For a long time it was held that these Mexicans brought in by the sugar companies confined their labor to the sugar companies. A year or two ago in a convention a delegate from Colorado pointed out that the United Mine Workers in Colorado, particularly in the southern portion in that state, were feeling the introduction of Mexican workers in the coal mines. That condition has not as yet affected Wyoming, but in every other employment, semi-skilled or unskilled, we found a gradual introduction of Mexicans, largely Mexican workers who have been illegally brought into the country. I am not speaking of those brought in through regular channels, but those who have been proved upon investigation to have come in illegally.

The question of illegal and loose methods of allowing Mexicans to come in is becoming a matter of major moment, not only in our state but in other states—Montana, Idaho, Washington—every state in the far north is gradually feeling the effect of this introduction of Mexican workers. In Southern California last May I was told by Secretary Sharrenberg of the State Federation of Labor that it was estimated that over 60,000 Mexicans had entered that state illegally. In the previous few months, going through Southern California, noticing the condition these illegally entered Mexicans had brought about, we determined in our state to prevent similar conditions, and the only way we can do it is by curbing with the

hand of the government the entrance of these people.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers, in discussing the question, said, in part:

I live on the border at El Paso, where there are fifteen hundred miles of territory, some of it absolutely unpoliced in any manner; in fact, most of it is unpoliced. I have listened with great interest to the discussion on organizing the South. Let me explain something to you about the disorganizing of the Southwest and the Northwest that is coming about because there is no effort made to put a restriction upon the immigration from Mexico, a people of 17,000,000 who have lived under oppression for four hundred years, who through eighteen years of revolution have not been able to find themselves, and who work for fifteen and twenty cents a day.

These people are brought over by sugar industries, the railroads and other industries. They pay a head tax of \$3.00 and agree to bring them back in eight months, and do nothing of the kind. They have gone into every industry along the border, and they are not confining themselves to common labor or unskilled labor. I will not except the printing industry, except in the daily papers, where they are possibly forty-five per cent organized. The Mexican workers receive about 45 per cent of what the American workers receive. The city in which I live claims 117,000 people, and the Chamber of Commerce admits that 65 per cent are Mexicans.

Mexico has a quota law against us. In Mexican industries they have to have 90 per cent Mexicans. We work 95 per cent Mexicans to 5 per cent Americans. When I went to El Paso fifteen years ago the department stores employed between 70 and 80 per cent Americans. Today they are employing 90 per cent Mexicans.

They have what is known as a Border Chamber of Commerce down there. Two years ago these people met in El Paso and said they would not give out their names, that people did not want to know who these farmers were. Yes, it was an aggregation of farmers, but of farmers who farmed the farmers. They tilled no soil, but they soiled many a till. They were largely beet sugar and railroad managers and attorneys. They had one farmer who carries a pass on the railroad and works something like 3,000 acres, and you know how desperately he plows.

That is what is going into Washington before every Congress. If the American Federation of Labor through its executives does not offset that, what is going to become of the northwestern and southwestern states as organized states? These Mexicans are going into every skilled trade. There is a cotton mill in my town, and I am told they are going to bring in another. There are five Americans in that mill. There would never be a shortage of labor on that border if they would employ the jobless men.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: May I be permitted to give one minute's information that is of serious importance? I have in my hand a circular coming from Washington. It says that Senator Blaine has succeeded in putting through the Senate a provision that will exclude, if it can get through the House, all product of forced or contract labor—labor that comes in under contract. This province is full of it; I think you are interested in it, and therefore I give you this information.

**Urging Application of Quota Provisions of Immigration Law to Mexico, Central and South America**

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate H. C. Fremming of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor toward immigration is restriction to the point where it may assimilate without menace to American social and industrial standards; and

WHEREAS, This policy has been expressed by statute in our quota provisions and the American Federation of Labor in its last convention approved the application of a quota to Mexico and Latin America; and

WHEREAS, The United States Chamber of Commerce, Western Section, recently in session in Ogden, Utah, opposed immediate restriction of Mexican labor on the ground that it was both needed and desirable in the United States; and

WHEREAS, The records of our penal and charitable institutions in California and other western states show the Mexican problem to be the most acute of any of our alien races; and

WHEREAS, Mexican labor is steadily encroaching on the field of both unskilled and semi-skilled labor to the detriment of our own citizens; and

WHEREAS, Mobilization and transportation of Mexican labor now in the country, intelligently directed to meet the seasonal needs of agricultural and horticultural interests in the West and Southwest, would meet every labor demand without the necessity of further Mexican importation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirm its position taken at New Orleans in 1928 and urge upon Congress the immediate application of quota provisions to Mexico, Central and South America.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 33 be amended by striking out the sixth paragraph of the preamble and inserting in lieu of said paragraph the following:

"Whereas, the number of laborers now available, intelligently directed to meet the needs of agriculture and horticulture, is sufficient to meet all needs, not only in the West and Southwest, but throughout the whole country, therefore be it," and that the resolution thus amended be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Philippine Islands Immigration Restriction**

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates J. A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and H. C. Fremming of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The question of Filipino immigration has become a leading issue upon the Pacific Coast; and

WHEREAS, We find this immigration is encouraged by transportation companies and employers of cheap labor; and

WHEREAS, Both male and female workers in various occupations are being replaced by this class of labor; and

WHEREAS, Our experience on the Pacific Coast has been that this problem is not only economic but is a grave social and moral question; and

WHEREAS, Upon the authority of health officials it is declared that the mode and conditions of life in the Philippines tend to destroy the vitality and stamina of these people, making them easy victims of various contagious diseases, as evidenced by the recent epidemic of spinal meningitis, pneumonia and tuberculosis; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention reaffirms the action of the 1928 New Orleans session on this subject and urges upon Congress the speedy passage of legislation as expressed in the Welch Bill, H.R. 13900, introduced in a recent session of the United States Congress.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 35.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Revocation of General Order No. 86  
Issued by Secretary of Labor Affecting  
Immigration Law**

Resolution No. 63.—By Delegates Frank X. Martel of the International Typographical Union and Daniel O. Collins of the Michigan State Federation of Labor.

The 1924 Immigration Law has been interpreted by the United States Supreme Court as being for the express purpose of protecting the working people legal residents of the United States against competition of people of the countries coming under quotas; and

WHEREAS, There has been issued by the United States Secretary of Labor an Order, known as General Order No. 86, which has caused to be adjusted to border-crossing status and for the purpose of work many thousand quota aliens; and

WHEREAS, This General Order No. 86 is an annulment of the protection provided by the law and held to be the rights of the citizens of the United States and that the law and its enforcement in no wise is an encroachment on any right that may appear to exist in any understanding between the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, There exist among these adjusted quota aliens strike-breakers who have been deported under the law and who have been subsequently adjusted to border-crossing status and to continue their strike-breaking activities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor demand the revocation by the President of the United States of General Order No. 86, thereby providing the legal residents of the United States the protection that Congress in the enactment of the 1924 immigration intended they should have, and that the legal residents may be protected against the activities of strike-breakers recruited among these excluded aliens.

Your committee has given extensive consideration to the subject matter contained in Resolution No. 63. Hearings have been held to which all interested parties were invited, and conferences were held with Secretary James J. Davis of the United States Department of Labor and Minister of Labor Peter Heenan of the Dominion of Canada. Your committee is of the opinion the preambles to the resolution are based upon a misunderstanding of the effect and purpose of General Order No. 86, to which the resolution refers. We believe it would seriously weaken the enforcement of our immigration laws to revoke General Order No. 86.

Your committee further believes the conditions to which this resolution refers should and must be corrected. We are in hearty sympathy with the purpose which the proponents of the resolution seek to accomplish, but the members of your committee are convinced that the proper way to secure better degree of enforcement of the immigration laws and correct conditions against which complaint is made is to secure proper orders supplementing General Order No. 86.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Collins, Michigan State Federation of Labor, in discussing the question, said, in part:

I want to point out that there is a misunderstanding on the part of the committee as to the intention of the law. The statement of the Executive Council on page 60 with respect to the law says the Supreme Court decision was based upon some part of the law that applied to border crossing. There never was any provision in the law applying to border crossing for the purpose of working. The decisions are a part of the records of the Department of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor has information with regard to the abuses of this thing in its files.

It seems to me that someone has, from the very outset of our complaint of the failure to enforce the 1921 law and give us the protection of its provisions, been imbued with the idea that the newspapers spread throughout the land in both Canada and in the United States that there was some application of the Jay Treaty and the law to the end that this border-crossing situation was justified. We complained about this thing and of these excess aliens coming into Detroit, and particularly for the purpose of strike-breaking. We complained of the failure of the Department of Labor to carry out the law. We got as a result this General Order No. 86.

I have learned that the law has been enforced in other parts of the country since July, 1924, and I am quite at a loss to understand why the committee raises the point that it is necessary that an order should be issued for the enforcement of the 1924 Immigration Law, and because we have asked for the enforcement of that order we are proceeding along the wrong lines. Immigration officers who have had charge of other ports besides Detroit have never enforced the law in any other way than under the provisions of the 1924 law. That is as far as our misunderstanding goes, and our request that the order be revoked.

The other statement we made is that people have been deported under the law, have subsequently been adjusted under General Order No. 86 and privileged to continue their scabbing in Detroit. They tell us that General Order No. 86 was sponsored in conference by the heads of the American Federation of Labor and the heads of international unions. If that is a clean bill of health for it, all right, but I am

going out to tell the American public that we are not getting the benefits of the law that Congress intended we should have and that the interpretation of the Supreme Court of the United States intended we should have.

There is no reasonable justification for this thing to continue in existence, or at least that the people who are scabbing in Detroit or who are in excess of quota be permitted to continue to work in the United States. If something is added to that that will give us the protection we are entitled to under the law, I think that some definite instruction with respect to getting for us that regulation will be provided by the committee. Secretary Davis said: "There is the law; go out and enforce it." We ask that the convention go on record that we get that protection.

Secretary Olander: A short while ago the convention, notwithstanding seeming opposition to it, adopted a report of the committee stating that the decision in question had settled the question of law and that steps should now be taken for the enforcement of the law as laid down in the decision. That is the action of this convention, and if the delegate in question who is now criticizing the committee was not sufficiently interested to listen, that is not the fault of the committee nor of the convention.

A year ago this subject of General Order No. 86 came up. An alien who had been stopped under General Order No. 86 appealed to the court against that order. While that case was pending Delegate Collins appealed to the New Orleans convention against the order. The alien and Delegate Collins were in agreement. The committee a year ago obtained a copy of the order, found there was misunderstanding on the part of Delegate Collins and so reported, giving the language of the Order. That case in which the alien protested against General Order No. 86 has been decided by the court in favor of the power of the Department of Labor to issue orders of that kind. That having been done, Delegate Collins is here again demanding revocation of the Order, which if done will let down the bars along the border, because you all know that in the enforcement of law all of the departments issue general orders upon which their local officials act. Your committee now reports that to be the situation, but, following up a previous report adopted by this convention calling for enforcement and in line with the decision, they recommend that efforts be now made to get the necessary supplemental orders to No. 86, closing up whatever gaps there may be in it. Surely that situation is clear to you. Isn't that what you want?

The whole temper of the convention has

been to tighten up and not to loosen up, and yet the committee is now put in the position, because they will not agree to an absolutely absurd position based on a total misunderstanding on the part of men who were advised of this one year ago, and who have not thought enough of the matter since that time to inform themselves with regard to the action of the government.

Unquestionably there is reason for complaint against General Order No. 86; it clearly has some weaknesses, some loopholes in it. The remedy is to apply whatever change there may be needed in that Order, and certainly not to wipe it out and leave the local enforcing officials with no instructions whatever.

Delegate Collins seems to believe that a Supreme Court decision has legs and arms and eyes and ears and a brain, and that it will come to the particular spot where it is to be applied and there apply itself. We pointed out a number of instances where Supreme Court decisions favorable to the contentions of one group or another were made, and yet little benefit was obtained by those in whose favor they were made. The O'Hara case affecting Seamen, giving us all we asked for, had absolutely no effect on the conditions on board ship until we began to get action from the local inspector, and it is not being enforced today in the absence of the General Order on the question.

Delegate Martel: I want to correct an erroneous impression on the part of the secretary of the committee. I do not want him to construe anything I said this afternoon on the question of immigration as being in opposition to the committee's report. When I arose I stated I was taking advantage of the occasion to place some facts before this convention. What caused the discussion was the members of the committee taking issue with the facts as I stated them, not that I disagreed with the report. I think there has come a better understanding on the part of the committee as to what General Order No. 86 is, because of this discussion.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Green: Before the convention adjourns may the Chair announce that the American Federation of Labor has established a booth near the door at which you will find

literature of different kinds and character that I think will be of great interest to many of you. We would be glad to have you avail yourselves of the opportunity to secure copies of these pamphlets and of this literature. In addition we have made provisions for taking subscriptions to The American Federationist. We wish that you might all subscribe for our magazine and that you will please make it known to our attendant there and take some subscriptions for your friends. Have it sent out to those you think will read it and become interested in it. It will help us and it will help the movement if you will do that.

## TELEGRAMS RECEIVED

BOSTON, MASS.,

October 3, 1929.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Royal York Hotel,  
Toronto, Ont.

I have the honor to extend to the American Federation of Labor a cordial invitation to come to Boston for your convention in nineteen thirty. As the birthplace of America's liberty and independence Boston offers much in the great progress of her commercial and industrial importance and stands second to none in her educational institutions and her achievements in the works of art, music, science and literature. Boston, as a convention city is ideal from all angles of view; is generous in her welcome and has sincere warmth in her hospitality and as a city for your convention she offers much to the mutual interest of all.

MALCOLM E. NICHOLS,  
Mayor of Boston.

LONG ISLAND CITY, NEW YORK,

October 12, 1929.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,  
Forty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor,  
Royal York Hotel,  
Toronto, Ont.

On behalf of the General Executive Board of the International Fur Workers' Union, I wish to congratulate the American Federation of Labor, assembled in a convention, the forty-ninth in its

history; on the progress made during 1929, morally and numerically; the increase of members and the evident awakening of backward sections of American labor to the necessity and benefits of trade union organization is an encouraging sign of future possibilities. I hope and pray that the coming years will be even more fruitful in organizing new fields and bringing economic improvement to additional hundreds of thousands of workers who are still outside of the organized ranks. I also wish to record in this message the gratitude of my General Executive Board as well as of the rank and file to President William Green, Vice-President Matthew Woll and Legislative Representative Edward F. McGrady for the assistance given our international union, especially in New York, in the negotiations for a renewed and improved agreement with several associations of manufacturers and in many other ways while the benefit of the improvements gained have not reached the majority of our membership by reason of a persistent trade crisis prevalent since the fall of 1927 the valuable aid and helpful counsel given us by the officers of the American Federation of Labor have prevented a probable breakdown and have insured gradual progress in the coming years may this convention prove sufficiently fruitful in future planning to make the fiftieth convention in 1930 a real jubilee gathering, and the most glorious in the history of the American Federation of Labor.

H. BREGOON,

General Secretary-Treasurer, International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

VANCOUVER, B. C.,

October 15, 1929.

American Federation of Labor in Convention,  
Toronto, Ont.

Vancouver, New Westminster and District Trades and Labor Council extend fraternal greetings. Vancouver counting on entertaining you in near future. Intend inviting you next year to hold your nineteen thirty-one convention in British Columbia.

PERCY R. BENGOUGH.

At six o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Thursday, October 17th.

# Eighth Day---Thursday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario,  
October 17, 1929.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

## Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Rosemund, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully, Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Coulter (J.L.), Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H.W.), Powers (F.H.), Wood, McCluskey, Phillips, Norrington, Kelly, Johnson, Rossell, Laude, Hoffmann, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Southall, Watt (R.J.), Shave, Brandt, Bower, Curran, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Darrington, Woodmansee, Fitz Patrick, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Tapken, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A.C.), Gallagher, McElligott, Webster, Caldwell, Lawson (O.L.), Campbell (E.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway.

President Green: The Chair will interrupt the report of the Resolutions Committee in order to receive the report of the Committee on Education. When the Committee on Education concludes its report we will take up the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Hanson, secretary of the committee.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Hanson, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Education begs to submit the following report:

The American Federation of Labor, now as in the past, maintains its advanced educational outlook and continues its interest in education. It repeats its declaration for the support and protection of the public school of all grades and of adult education. It reasserts the demands of its educational platform:

Better enforcement of the educational laws.

Wider use of the school plant.

Reduction in the size of classes.

Revision of teachers' salary schedules upward.

Increase of school revenues to maintain and develop public schools.

Cooperation between boards of education and superintendents and committees representing the teaching body in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers.

Tenure of position for teachers during efficiency.

Sound pension laws.

Protection of the schools from propaganda and all forms of exploitation.

Labor representation on school boards.

Organization of teachers in such strength that they may be in a position to determine their own status, questions of professional conduct and terms of contract, and exercise fully their rights as citizens as well as teachers, thereby attaining the place of leadership to which they are entitled in order that the best and strongest may be attracted to the teaching calling and as free men and women may be fit builders of the citizens of tomorrow in a free republic.

Opportunity for every child to receive adequate educational advantages.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## LABOR'S SIGNIFICANT DAYS

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 76, the committee reported as follows:

The first matter referred to your Committee by the Executive Council was under the caption Labor's Significant Days. The increasing observance of Labor's special day, Labor Day, the first Monday in September, is a matter of great gratification. The growing observance of Labor Day is very significant. It was a great moment when pioneers of the labor movement secured acceptance by the federal and state governments of the first Monday in September as Labor's own holiday. It is urged that the members of organized labor recognize increasingly the significance to the labor movement of this day, and, in this recognition and in tribute to the memory of the pioneers whose efforts established it, observe this great day fittingly according to the original meaning of holiday, that is, holy day.

Your Committee urges the reverent observance of Labor Sunday, the Sunday preceding Labor Day, and Labor's Memorial Day, the fourth Sunday in May, being ever mindful of the spiritual purposes and idealism of the labor movement. To Labor's sacred dead Labor will not fail to remember to pay tribute when



it joins with other citizens in loving tribute to the nation's honored dead on the nation's Memorial Day.

#### EDUCATIONAL WORK

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, pages 90-97, the committee reported as follows:

Your Committee commends highly the educational work of the past year. It desires to quote from this report: "We believe that the facts of labor problems are convincing and that a major factor in effective work is to know what the facts are and to prepare them for most telling use." A most valuable medium in this particular is the **AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST**, the official organ of the American Federation of Labor. In form and content it is the equal of any magazine in the commercial field. Its educational value is immeasurable; through it workers are kept informed of trends and developments in the field of labor, and the labor movement is interpreted to employers, business men, and all persons interested in economic and social problems. To those earnestly seeking to promote our great cause, it gives the inspiration of great minds, and the practical information which points the way. Your Committee again urges that members subscribe to and read the **AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST**, and especially recommends that local officers see that the magazine is placed in the public and school libraries of their communities in order that students may have the opportunity for scientific study of the labor movement. Labor editors are urged to review the magazine in their columns as it appears each month and to make the fullest possible use of the current articles in their publications.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### A. F. OF L. WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 101, the committee reported as follows:

Outstanding among the services of the American Federation of Labor is the publication of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service. This service, consisting of 3,300 copies printed each week, is highly commended. The service is prompt, accurate, and comprehensive; it enables the labor press, official magazines, trade union officials and American Federation of Labor organizers to

keep well informed on developments in the organized labor movement and related subjects. The articles are marked by cleanness, fairness, good literary style, as well as interest. The Labor press and members of the trade union movement are greatly indebted to the American Federation of Labor and the editor of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service for this splendid and helpful publication.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### SURVEY OF BUSINESS

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 101, the committee reported as follows:

A new service which is already recognized as valuable is the **Monthly Survey of Business** which began with the month of July. The President of the American Federation of Labor is to be complimented for inaugurating this service, which is thoroughly up-to-date in its conception and method, and will be of assistance to every union executive in keeping posted on the trends of business and their effect on labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### STATISTICAL AND INFORMATION SERVICE

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 101, the committee reported as follows:

A Statistical and Information Service very valuable to members has been maintained. Special studies on request of member organizations have been made. "A Scientific Basis for Shorter Hours of Work" and "A Comparison of Wages North and South" are available for distribution and your Committee urges affiliated organizations to disseminate this information among their members. The Federation's plan for extension of this service is highly approved and it is urged to continue and develop its research work on the plan already inaugurated in order that it may become more helpful and useful in meeting the ever-changing problems.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### LIBRARY

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 102, the committee reported as follows:

The American Federation of Labor Library

is growing gratifyingly in importance and value to the movement. It has been brought up to date by the more important recent books on labor subjects and the addition of all publications of federal and state bureaus containing material of Labor interest. These valuable sources for figures on wages and hours are at the service of trade unionists. The Library is seeking to complete its files of trade union publications. Your complete cooperation is asked.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### ORGANIZING LITERATURE

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 102, the committee reported as follows:

The organizing literature at the disposal of all members is better than ever before. It is more complete, more appealing, more valuable. The pictures and cartoons are timely and forceful and your Committee believes that this method of placing Labor's cause before the public should be augmented. The value of union membership as a business proposition as well as a humanitarian movement is clearly and logically demonstrated. It is urged that central bodies and affiliated local unions needing special help make use of the pamphlets, folders and fliers. Affiliated unions should cooperate in this service by compiling and forwarding to the American Federation of Labor office facts of the service which they render, such as union gains in wages, reduction of work time, better conditions of work and improvement in work status.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### LABOR LITERATURE AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 102, the committee reported as follows:

The response to the Federation's request that local organizations see that Labor's publications are on the shelves of public libraries has been general and gratifying. It is urged that this effort be continued and that the responsibility for this distribution be placed with the Education Committee of each Central Labor Union and that attention be called through the Labor Press and any other available medium to the fact that this labor literature can be found in the community libraries.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I would like to ask the secretary of the committee a question and preface it with one word. Is it not a rather well-known fact that the Federationist is not read as well as it should be? Will the committee or somebody kindly give us the reason why.

Delegate Hanson: I understand the convention wishes to adjourn this week, and if I am to enter into the causes of why the American Federationist is not read as it should be I should have to discuss in full also the difficulties which the American labor movement has. It is not read as it should be, but it is being read more and more, and it is very sure that we are making very certain arrangements for the distribution of this magazine and its wider reading.

Delegate Furuseth: Suppose you do get a wider distribution. It does not cost much to subscribe for it; but will that give any guarantee that it will be read?

President Green: The Chair will say this: that it is difficult to speak for men and women of labor or for the friends of labor upon that subject. We are endeavoring as best we can to interest the men and women of labor, as well as sympathetic friends, and educational representatives, public men and women in all walks of life, in our magazine. We are endeavoring to give it as wide circulation as possible. I do know that it is very widely studied and read by those who are making a special study of the great American trade union movement. In the colleges, among students, among the professors we find that the American Federationist is read and is studied very carefully. The correspondence which comes to my office shows it to be a fact.

We would like very much if the American Federationist would be given wider circulation among the men and women of labor, and I suppose in making that remark I am but echoing the feelings of practically every editor of a labor publication upon the American Continent. We wish that all our labor publications, the Labor Press, were more widely distributed. I mean by that the bona fide, recognized publications of our country. We would like very much to give the American Federationist wider circulation and wider distribution, with the limited means at our com-

mand—very limited indeed—but we are doing all we can to give it the widest distribution possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 104, the committee reported as follows:

The report of the Legal Information Bureau, Executive Council's Report, should be mentioned with special emphasis and approval. The Legal Information Bulletin with approximately 30 decisions was published monthly from January through June. The Bureau has maintained a wide field of activity. Comparatively, the injunctions issued against our organizations and brought to the attention of our Bureau have been few. This is no doubt due in large measure to the widespread publicity given to this matter by the American Federation of Labor through the service of the Legal Information Bureau. Through the cooperation of union executives, the Federation's file of injunctions is constantly growing and it is urged that this cooperation be continued in full measure in order that this file of injunctions may be as complete as it is possible to obtain. This material is invaluable to trade unionists and it is strongly urged that they secure regularly the bulletins issued by the Legal Information Bureau and familiarize themselves with the decisions in these labor cases. Complete records of the decisions that have been rendered are in the files at American Federation of Labor headquarters. The attorneys of trade unionists or organizations should have their attention called to this collection of material on these all-important subjects. Among the more important decisions published this year are cases covering workmen's compensation; property rights of Japanese residents; price fixing; license to cooperatives; Canadian labor and immigration; naturalization; death benefits; injunction; employment; and damages.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 106, the committee reported as follows:

The permanent Committee on Education is congratulated on the completion of its survey of textbooks in the social sciences. It is

recommended this year as last that the permanent Committee on Education investigate to what extent the history of the labor movement and the movement for industrial and political equality for women is included in American history texts.

Your committee recommends independent study and cooperation with other organizations, educational and social, which are making a study of the textbook problem with reference to propaganda influence and favored and eliminated texts. It is recommended that the findings of the permanent Committee on Education be made available to educationists and trade unionists.

Your committee commends highly the work that has been done toward securing labor representation on boards of libraries, boards of education and commissions of vocational education and urges an ardent continuation of this program and work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### COMMISSION ON WORKERS' EDUCATION

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 107, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is well satisfied that the Commission on Workers' Education authorized by the New Orleans Convention, 1928, is making good progress. It recommends that this commission be enlarged to at least five trade union members, one of whom shall be some one from the Teachers' Union with command of teaching technique and who has had experience in the workers' educational field, preferably in the schools for Women Workers in Industry.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### ILLITERACY

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council dealing with this subject the committee reported as follows:

The need for work in eliminating illiteracy has recently been emphasized in public attention by President Hoover's statement.

Your committee urges cooperation with all organizations and agencies seeking to wipe out illiteracy, since the inability to read and write is a handicap to the development of individual character and a barrier to the development of sound democratic government, sound industrial

and economic conditions and international understanding and world peace.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### AMERICAN RED CROSS

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 107, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee desires to repeat the statement of the Executive Council on the American Red Cross and quotes it in full for your adoption:

"As the agency upon which our government and our people rely for sympathetic, highly trained, effective aid and help in every national disaster where the health and lives of our citizenship are threatened, the American Red Cross maintains a position in our body politic to which none other is comparable. Not only is its unique service nationally extended, but in times of great world disaster it functions as an international source of succor and relief."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### CHILD LABOR

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 87, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee wishes to repeat with the greatest possible emphasis the statement of the Executive Council: "The child labor amendment to the Constitution is still a live issue." Resolutions have been introduced in the state legislatures of Nebraska, Colorado, Connecticut, Kansas, Nevada, New York, Oregon, Tennessee and Utah, and the hope of adoption for the amendment was never better if the supporters of this action unite in whole-hearted endeavor. Recent disclosures have made more evident the horrors of child slavery which exists in our country as a stain upon our national honor.

The American Federation of Labor reiterates again its stand against child labor and for the child labor amendment, a stand in which it has never weakened. It is urged that every national and international union, state federation of labor, city central body and local union pledge itself to ardent and active support of this measure and to sincere work in state legislatures to the end that the exploitation of children in industry may cease. Let

us engage in an aggressive and persistent crusade to rouse the conscience of America against the evil of child exploitation and to obtain justice for the protection not only of the children but of the nation itself.

Your committee also recommends that the school-leaving age be raised in all states that have not yet attained the highest standard achieved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### CHILD HEALTH DAY

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 88, the committee reported as follows:

The observance of Child Health Day is most pleasing. The cooperation of the American Child Health Association is very welcome and its continuance is urged. The recommendations of the Executive Council that fitting observance be made, that state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions urge the recognition by public officials of May 1 as Child Health Day by the display of the American flag, that state legislatures be urged to adopt resolutions declaring May 1 Child Health Day, that a world-wide effort be made for all governments to set aside May 1 as Child Health Day are concurred in.

The establishment of Child Health Day is in line with the tradition of the American Federation of Labor and with its constant recognition that the first duty of mankind is to care for its children.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

##### Supplementary Report of the Executive Council

In the supplementary report of the Executive Council, pages 120 and 121, continued support and cooperation with the Workers Education Bureau is recommended.

Your committee congratulates the Workers Education Bureau on the substantial progress made, on its successful convention in Washington and the policy outlined. It commends the field activities of the Bureau, notably in the South. It recommends the interest and cooperation of all affiliated groups in the Congress of Labor to be held in Worcester, Mass., October 25, 26 and 27 under the joint auspices of the New England labor bodies and the Workers Education Bureau.

### Correspondence Instruction

Your committee notes with pleasure the action of the Executive Committee of the Workers Education Bureau in authorizing the development and extension of the service of correspondence instruction which was initiated by the Bureau in a modest way five years ago. Correspondence tuition or home study instruction in the field of adult education has increased to a great extent in the past few years; it enables the individual to continue his study of a particular subject at a time and in a manner which are most congenial to himself. It combines also concentrated study and careful supervision and correction of results that are most helpful. To the members of labor the development of a correspondence service under capable direction and related functionally to the educational policies of the American Federation of Labor should be of great value. The decision of the executives of the Bureau to develop such a service is a splendid step forward.

Your committee commends this decision and urges the members of the Federation of Labor to avail themselves of this service as soon as it has been set up on a practical basis.

During the months that have elapsed since the New Orleans Convention, attempts have been made to misrepresent the policy of the Federation on workers' education. Your committee is persuaded that it is wise to re-state briefly what this policy is.

The trade union was "born of necessity"; it is the instrument of the workers, created by the workers in their behalf. The trade union is the household of the wage earner; it is his device; he is responsible for it and to it. For this reason the trade union movement has laid it down as a fundamental principle that the development of the policy of the trade union is a trade union function; it will not surrender the policy-making function to any outside agency.

The Federation, in the second place, attaches great importance to the development of adult education opportunities for its members. It is in line with its century-old championship of educational opportunities for all. The Federation and its affiliated unions have given genuine support to workers' education undertakings that have been guided by educational aims. It has opposed the propaganda tendency of some of these undertakings. It has at all times refused to yield its primary function in the execution of policy to any agency.

We find further justification for union control of educational policies in the recent formation of a movement under the leadership of a group to revolutionize the aims and practices of the Federation. This so-called progressive movement seeks to dictate not only educational but also trade union policy. Such an effort by unauthorized groups reverses the very theory of the inherent rights of trade unions to determine their own policy.

This is, in brief, the Federation's position. We shall go forward; we shall not be swerved from our purpose.

Workers' education symbolizes the coming of the time when there shall be unlimited educational opportunity for all of the people all of the time.

Workers' education symbolizes the passing of the old notion that education is the preparation for life and the notion that life consists mainly in making a living.

Workers' education suggests the coming of a time when life will not consist chiefly in making a living, and when, therefore, the educational process will not begin at any particular point, and certainly will not end at any particular point, but will be a continuous process.

Workers' education symbolizes the passing of the old notion that there is a line between those who work with their hands and those who are cultured and educated.

Workers' education symbolizes the coming of a time when we are all going to share in doing the necessary work of the world and when we shall all have unlimited access to cultural educational opportunity.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Birthright, Barbers: The other day we had quite a discussion upon the situation in the South, and in that discussion we overlooked a very important adjunct to that condition. In Elizabethton, the Workers Education Bureau, cooperating through Mr. Paul Fuller, has done a great work in that mountain district. The work that Mr. Fuller has done has been accomplished through meetings in the mountain villages among the village people, in the churches and country schools, as well as in the meetings of the union. He has done splendid work among the workers, but I think the most valuable thing he has done has been to sell to the people in the mountain village the theory of the American Federation of Labor, its aims and its objects. I think this Bureau is preparing, especially, those people who are to come out of those districts in the very near future and take their place in industrial life, that they may know something of the conditions which they will go up against.

I know that the labor movement of the state I come from has been vitally interested in workers' education, and Mr. Spencer Miller and his Bureau have cooperated splendidly with the labor movement to the end that we have workers' education classes in our city. The movement is gradually drifting to the adult side of it, and I would feel that I had not done my duty in this convention if I did not say a word of commendation of the splendid work that Paul Fuller is doing in the eastern part of Tennessee and in the western part of North Carolina.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: There are few men who have had better opportunity than I have had of knowing the workings of the Bureau, and while I am in hearty accord with what Brother Birthright has said I want to add that the work done in Passaic during the terrific struggle following the strike, not inaugurated by us but by the communistic group, was splendid work. I refer to the work of Mr. Fuller. However, it is not so much that that I rise to speak about.

In discussing this matter of Workers Education Bureau with Mr. Miller quite recently, and hoping that the next few months may bring something new in the labor movement in the South. I felt it incumbent upon me to say that this department of our labor movement should be the leading part in whatever work is going to be put forward in the education of the workers of the South.

The United Textile Workers of America pay one-half the salary and expenses of Mr. Fuller, as well as our per capita tax to the Workers Education Bureau. We are willing to go further from our own resources, and not from the resources sent us by anyone either through the American Federation of Labor or from any source whatsoever.

Those of us who have grown gray in the labor movement can appreciate the fact that education is necessary. Without education the past will be well-nigh impossible. We are meeting at Worcester, Massachusetts, during the next week or ten days to do a work in New England that I trust will redound not only to the credit of the Workers Education Bureau, but to the credit of those who are putting forth heroic efforts to make that work a success. We are fighting in the North, we are fighting in the South. Our battle lines extend from the state of Maine down to the southernmost part of our country. We are the shock troops of this labor movement today and we are giving of our energy, our time and our health, and I want to say that none has been of more assistance to us than the secretary of the Workers Education Bureau.

Delegate Ramsay, Telegraphers: I am not just exactly clear on the report of the committee, and therefore I desire to ask the secretary a question. Is this report in harmony and in keeping with our previous policy, the policy of the American Federation of Labor and the policy readopted and concurred in in our New Orleans convention?

Delegate Hanson: Yes—there is nothing in this report which would indicate that the Workers Education Bureau and the policy of the American Federation of Labor is not to continue the same as it always has. The com-

mittee in this respect did not intend to say in any way that it objected to criticism. Objection to criticism is a sort of weakness, and the statements made here on the floor on Monday by Delegate Howard and Delegate Olander I think answer that question very completely.

Delegate Ramsay: I felt it was diametrically opposed to our policy of last year.

President Green: The chairman of the committee will answer your question.

Delegate Wharton: The report of the committee is in line with the policies of the American Federation of Labor and does not represent any change in that respect.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Proposing a National Labor College for Workers' Education

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There is a need for the operation and maintenance of a National Labor College, or colleges, wherein men and women of the labor movement may be educated and afforded a training that will enable them to carry on Workers' Education in their own or other communities; and

WHEREAS, It is essential that such college or colleges shall conform in their teachings, concerning the labor movement with the recognized code and practices as accepted and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, in order that uniformity may prevail; and

WHEREAS, Such college or colleges will only be possible when they are inspired, established, financed and conducted through the regular channels of the labor movement and under the direct supervision of the President of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, With the ever-changing aspects of our economic life, with their problems of mass production, substitution of the machine for man-power, with increased unemployment; the development of giant power, all bringing with them new problems, necessitating an intimate study of these as well as of more effective means for combating company unionism; and of better equipping our members for the active organizing work that is being demanded from us if we are to maintain even our comparative position and influence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we authorize our incoming Executive Council to give such consideration as is necessary to the above proposal, to devise ways and means for the establishment of such institution or institutions and, if necessary for the success of the movement, that they be empowered to levy an additional one cent per member per month on the affiliated membership for such period as may be



necessary to carry out the objects of this resolution, such levy not to be for a longer period than one year.

Your committee recommends that this Resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor, in discussing the question, said, in part:

I am not unmindful of the fact that at each one of the recent conventions of the American Federation of Labor innumerable delegates have got up and rendered tribute to the work performed by the Workers Education Department and the value of workers' education. It is my conviction, as it was in Los Angeles and as it was in New Orleans, that the American Federation of Labor is never going to proceed very far along workers' education lines until the great American Federation of Labor and affiliated national and international unions take hold of a school that will train and develop the young minds that we are taking into the movement.

The question of organization is one of salesmanship, and there isn't a corporation in the world that has so much valuable merchandise to sell as the labor movement. The fact that we have workers' colleges and that they have filled a particular need is evidence enough to my mind that an institution established by the regular bona fide and accepted trade union movement of our country, a trade union college that would teach our philosophy, that would develop the minds of our workers, is an absolute necessity. The trade union movement has a most important philosophy and we are only going to be in a position to develop that and sell our movement to the workers and the public as we ourselves are trained, both in the more intimate knowledge of the movement and in the problems facing us.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hanson: This completes the report of the Committee on Education, which is signed

A. O. WHARTON,

Chairman.

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,

Secretary.

JOHN H. WALKER,  
L. P. LINDELOF,  
ALEXANDER KESLO,  
M. C. GRIFFIN,  
HENRY F. SCHMAL,  
THOMAS E. BURKE,  
WM. R. TROTTER,  
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,  
IRA. F. THOMAS,  
LEO E. GEORGE,  
ROBERT MCCOY,  
GEO. R. BRUNET.

The report of the Committee on Education was adopted as a whole and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

## INJUNCTIONS AND ANTI-TRUST LAWS (Supplemental Report of Executive Council, Fourth Day, Page 194)

In its Supplemental Report, dealing with the subject of injunction and anti-trust laws, the Executive Council submits two definite legislative proposals:

1. That the Executive Council has under consideration and will cause to be presented to the United States Congress a legislative proposal having for its purpose the amending or repealing, or both, of the Sherman, Clayton and like restrictive laws, or such parts thereof, as a further study of this subject will warrant.

2. A bill to be introduced in the United States Congress and designed to prevent the misuse of restraining orders and injunctions in labor disputes.

The Council reports that the proposed legislation is necessary to "equality of freedom in our industrial life and industrial relations."

Your Committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council be adopted, its recommendations approved, and that the bill submitted in the report, dealing with the subject of injunctions, be endorsed and, further, that the Executive Council be authorized to make such changes or alterations in, or additions to, the measure as, in the judgment of the Council, future developments and requirements may demand.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

## DELEGATE FREY

(Molders)

Mr. Chairman, this all-important question has been discussed at many previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, but this year we are discussing it under entirely new circumstances. In the past the discussion has been largely confined to the convention itself. On this occasion, Mr. Chairman, we are discussing this question for the benefit of the Congress of the United States. Senators and Congressmen will very carefully read the debate on this question, so it seems to me we should keep in mind during the expressions of opinion that we desire to voice that the record of this debate is one that will be scanned by those who represent us in the Congress of the United States. I think it is necessary, for that reason, that our position should be made clear, that our attitude should be unmistakable.

So far as this all-important question is concerned the two major political parties of this country have pledged themselves to give us legislative relief. We want to be sure that we hold them strictly accountable for that promise. I am assuming that the legal, the judicial and the constitutional questions involved will be

discussed on this floor by those who have made a lifelong study of it.

It is not my purpose to bring in any particular decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, or any particular injunction case, but rather to place some matters before the convention which are of a general nature. Many years ago in a convention of the American Federation of Labor we discussed our rights as free and American citizens, and, while the convention took no action upon it formally, it was nevertheless the opinion of the delegates leaving that convention that a trade unionist was fully justified, when he believed that his citizen rights had been denied him by an equity court, to be governed by his own conscience, his own convictions and his belief in his rights as a free man, regardless of any injunction that might be issued against him.

At that time, and since, we have been accused of being law-violators, of being in defiance of the duly constituted authorities. Sometimes we have heard the statement from sincere men with red blood in their veins that, after all, "we solve this question by merely refusing en masse to obey an injunction which we believe invades our constitutional rights." And so our critics and our opponents, taking advantage of that position, have endeavored to place us in the attitude of a semi-lawless aggregation of men. Well, if that is true, Mr. Chairman, we have good company.

At one time the conscience of a good many Americans was stirred against a specific law and a decision of the United States Supreme Court. In the State of Ohio, where I lived for many years, the right-thinking men, the church congregations and the pastors were so stirred over human slavery, compulsory labor and traffic in human beings that they developed what was known as an underground railroad, and thousands upon thousands of negro slaves escaping from the Southern States across the Ohio River were helped by this underground railroad to reach the land of the free where we are meeting at the present time.

Those organized clergymen and their congregations deliberately violated the Fugitive Slave Law, and they were in defiance of the decision of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the Fugitive Slave Law in the *Dred Scott* case. We do not look upon those men as being lawless; we look upon them as men who placed their conscience and their love for human liberty above all other human considerations, and we have monuments erected to their honor today. And so when we are accused of being semi-lawless because we have been willing to carry out our own understanding of human liberty we have some glorious precedents to support us.

The disregard of the Fugitive Slave Law and the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott* case did not abolish human slavery—something more than defiance was required. The slaves were not freed until the proclamation of emancipation had been issued. It is a proclamation of emancipation upon the Congress of the United States that we are now demanding because our citizens' rights have been taken away from us.

May I briefly say that the handicap the wage earner has always had in English-speaking countries has been the doctrine of conspiracy which seems to underlie the guiding mind when injunctions are being issued. In England, when the workers first began to do something to improve their condition the law of conspiracy was established, and for many years the authorities had a happy way of enforcing the law. Two or more wage earners who combined for the purpose of improving their conditions of employment were punished by having their ears cut off, by having their nose slit, by being branded on the forehead with a hot iron. But when the mother country became more civilized, instead of branding men and cropping their ears they deported them, and the workers of England, knowing they had no hope at all except through organization, built up the beginning of the British trade union movement in defiance of the law of their country. And had they not had the courage to defy an unjust law they would never have aroused public opinion to repeal the conspiracy laws as they existed in Great Britain.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that what is involved is very largely this in this injunction question: that although the law of conspiracy as it had been made to apply to workers in Great Britain was repealed over a century ago, the equity courts of our country are endeavoring to re-establish the same doctrine in the United States. They are endeavoring to make every act of ours against which the employer complains an illegal conspiracy on our part, and so they issue their injunctions.

I think that it might be advisable at this time to very briefly outline what has occurred in connection with an anti-injunction bill introduced in Congress. Before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had prepared such a bill embodying such principles a senator introduced a bill in the Senate. That bill then was referred to the Committee on Judiciary and discussed. I doubt whether the President of the American Federation of Labor or a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor had read the Shipstead Bill before it was introduced.

When trade unionists studied the bill they had doubts in their mind; they were unwilling to give their entire endorsement either to the phraseology or the substance of the Shipstead Bill. And if my memory serves me right, when the representatives of our movement were discussing this bill before the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate no reference was made to the Shipstead Bill, but instead the reasons why legislative relief was necessary were placed before the committee.

I think without any doubt, with the material presented, the evidence introduced and the arguments made, the trade union movement has never yet made such a presentation as it did last year before that committee. The members of that committee were willing to listen; the members of that committee believed that the time had come when something must be done to relieve us from this growing incubus, from this growing tendency to destroy

citizens' rights, so that organized employers would be able to deal with workers as individuals.

And that sub-committee, feeling as many trade unionists did that the Shipstead Bill was not in itself sufficient, decided to prepare a substitute. While I have no knowledge of what that sub-committee did, I believe they consulted with a number of the ablest attorneys in the United States who have given some study to the injunction question. Eventually the sub-committee prepared a substitute for the Shipstead Bill. Trade unionists interested studied this bill. After studying it they believed it contained some provisions which were unsatisfactory, which would not protect our interests, and they also believed that the substitute was without some of the provisions which were essential for our welfare. The committee devoted almost a year to a study of the substitute. They had the services of the ablest attorneys they could procure, and as a result you have the recommendations of the Executive Council before you.

We have not been always unanimous regarding the equity powers or the constitutionality of certain provisions which might be placed in the bill. The ablest attorneys who have been consulted differ on some points, but we have now reached the point where the substance of an injunction bill is before this convention. The action which we take upon this substitute will be used by our friends in Congress to support our measure, or if we fail to act intelligently and unanimously it will be used by our opponents in Congress to prevent the enactment of any injunction legislation. It seems to me most essential that not only should our position be unanimous, but so vigorous that there can be no possible mistake on the part of any member of Congress.

This morning I saw a newspaper clipping. The attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Emery, who is also attorney for a large number of other employers' associations, made a speech yesterday, and in his speech he called attention to what we would do today; he called attention to what we would endeavor to accomplish when this convention adjourned, and he warned those he represented to be on their guard.

I think, Mr. Chairman, we might recognize the fact that most of the organized employers of the United States are opposed to any anti-injunction bill. I take it for granted that when Congress begins to consider our measure every Chamber of Commerce will be called upon to enter a protest; that the members of every employers' association throughout the country will be called upon to enter a protest; that there will be telegrams and communications by the thousands, yes, the hundreds of thousands, pouring in on Congressmen and Senators informing them that if they vote for this bill they will incur the everlasting displeasure of the business men.

The ablest attorneys these employers can secure will work in Washington to prevent the enactment of this legislation. We will meet with more organized opposition, more ably led opposition, probably, than in connection with any bill which we have ever introduced in Congress. And so it seems to me

that, if ever there was a time in connection with legislation that was vital to our interests, now is the day when we should prepare to use every available trade unionist in the United States, so that no Senator and no Congressman will fail to hear from his constituents.

We haven't the friends in Congress we should have. A very large number of those in Congress coming from industrial states and industrial centres are opposed to any legislation which would give us the right to organize as employers are organizing, which would give us the right to function if it displeases the employers that we should function. It seems to me we must so act now that the Congress of the United States will know we are not only united on this bill, but that we are united throughout the United States in holding everyone responsible who refuses to give us the relief we are justly entitled to.

I desire to take up no more time on this subject. I know many others want to speak. I merely want to leave this as a final thought: that our right to organize has been taken away from us by equity courts, that our right to strike has been taken away from us by equity courts, that our right to refuse to work has been taken away from us to such an extent that a minority opinion of the United States Supreme Court was that the majority report was a re-establishment of involuntary servitude.

We have reached the turning point, Mr. Chairman. We may not have been troubled much by injunctions in recent months, but we can recall a condition which existed prior to the deflation period of 1920 and 1921. The employers were preparing to hamstring our movement when prosperity dropped; they were building the machinery to hit us the moment unemployment became a factor, and they did it.

We are in a similar period now. These great corporations who were so interested in prosperity are unwilling to do something which would raise too great a storm of protest and interfere with the opportunities for making wealth they are enjoying at the present time; but through their attorneys they have been establishing new forms of prohibition so that if the industrial tide turns they are prepared to prevent our functioning in self-defense. Now is the time when we must have relief. If there is anything the trade union movement can do, now is the time to do it, because there can be no question before us equal to that of our right to organize and our right to function.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I am rising just to ask the chairman of the committee that drafted this bill, and who is also chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, some questions, and I hope he will answer them frankly. The first is: Is it not true that this bill grants jurisdiction to courts of equity in labor disputes?

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: Yes, in certain instances, to prevent

the commission of acts which are also unlawful and criminal.

Delegate Furuseth: The second question: Is it true that we have, up to the present, always objected to such jurisdiction?

Chairman Woll: If I read the records correctly, no.

Delegate Furuseth: The third question: Is it true that the bill undertakes to limit the judicial powers of the judge having jurisdiction and sitting in equity?

Chairman Woll: It does.

Delegate Furuseth: The next question is: Do you know of any textbooks, dictionaries or decisions of the court that have any such law limiting the judicial power that could not be declared void?

Chairman Woll: Yes, I have in mind a pamphlet written by the speaker himself as authority for that.

Delegate Furuseth: Then I want you to call attention to which pamphlet it is.

Chairman Woll: It is entitled: "Memorandum on Government by Law versus Government by Equity, in Relation to S. 1482, 70th Congress, as Perfected for the Purpose of Reintroduction in 71st Congress. By Andrew Furuseth."

Delegate Furuseth: I don't think you can find in that pamphlet any such statement.

Chairman Woll: I suggest that you continue your questions and I shall indicate it later on.

Delegate Furuseth: I asked you for dictionaries and textbooks, decisions, etc. Suppose this bill passes and the limitation as to the judicial power be held void, what would happen?

Chairman Woll: The same thing that would happen to the Shipstead Bill—there would be no legislation. I am not agreed that it is unconstitutional. In calling upon me the delegate stated that I drafted the bill. Of course he was mistaken in that. I helped with the committee in the preparing of this bill, not in its entirety, but using as its basis the original bill of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth: I said the chairman of the committee that prepared the bill.

Chairman Woll: I want to answer more fully when the opportune time presents itself.

#### DELEGATE FURUSETH (Seamen)

Mr. President and Members of the Convention: I agree that this is a crucial moment, and this convention in this matter is up against something that will determine, perhaps forever, certainly for a very, very long time,

the possibility or the impossibility of the labor movement continuing. I think that in the history of labor we have had no convention comparative to this convention, except the Richmond convention of the Knights of Labor. They had gradually developed a kind of machine that really governed the movement. That machine was attacked at Richmond on the question of national trade organizations, trade districts, and it left to the trade unions the opportunity to organize international trade districts. The convention followed the recommendations of its executive board, and you know that the result was the passing of the Knights of Labor.

I have not come here, and I am not speaking today, because I have any objection to any member of the Executive Council, nor because I have had any objection or ill feeling against any member of the committee that drew up the bill, nor because I question their right to think in this matter as they see fit and to report those things to this convention. I have come here for the purpose of analyzing shortly what this proposal means and to ask the convention to follow me in that analysis.

Preparatory to it I might say that when I walked out of the Rochester convention of the American Federation of Labor, where we had used up one whole day in discussing the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and its influence upon labor, I made myself the promise that I would not again bother with the question. When the Clayton Act came up for discussion I went to Gompers and to others and protested as strongly as I knew how against it. I went to Secretary Morrison when they had adopted what they called the charter of labor, and I asked him whether he believed in this thing, and he thought yes, he wasn't sure, though, but they had had the advice of the very best kind of lawyers; they had had the advice of a lawyer who was so prominent in his profession and who was so well thought of in his character that he had been the nominee for President of the United States, and he had assured them and the other lawyers that we had assured them that it was all right.

I went to Sam Gompers and protested. I said: "Your injunction bill here extends the equity power and gives the equity court rights that it doesn't now have, even under the contention of the men who are using it. You are turning yourselves into the court with hands and feet bound in passing this bill." And Sam said: "Well, Andy, you have got your black glasses on."

At the convention following the passage of the bill I was a member of the Committee on President's Report, and I wrote for that report a statement as to what I thought of this charter, this Magna Charta of the American labor movement. The chairman of the committee in reading it omitted the statement. I sat on the platform and heard him, and said to myself: "It is water over the dam; it is no use here." And so I said nothing, but when in the Duplex case the question of the Clayton Act came before the court everything I had said to Gompers turned out to be true, and not only that much, but a hundred times more.

Now you are told here today that this thing will save you from the equity courts, that this

thing will get you out of the trouble you are in, what evidence have you got of it? What proofs can you bring that will sustain that? You were told when the Sherman Law passed that it did not apply to labor. Such friends as you had in the Senate at that time, real good lawyers, said it did. When it was passed and it came to the courts, the first time the convention assembled was in New Orleans in less than two years, and there it was decided it was passed for the purpose of controlling the activities of labor organizations.

Just about the same time another court dealt with it, Judge Putnam in the case of the United States versus Patterson, and he admitted that Congress could pass such a law if it wanted to, but it could not be possible it had done it without specific language, that it could not be possible it could take the right to strike and boycott from labor, because they were the only rights labor had.

In the Debs case you argued before the court in Chicago that when the bill had been passed it was never intended to apply to labor, and it didn't, and the judge called attention to Section 4 of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act as to the jurisdiction, and then he called attention to Section 1 of the Act as to what it had accomplished, and he said: "Congress did not pass any class legislation, Congress didn't undertake to exempt labor from the operation of our criminal statutes," intimating that Congress could not do it, even if it wanted to.

The case came to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Supreme Court held exactly that. That was on the question of the habeas corpus. They said they could not even review it, because the judge sitting in equity knew best when it came to a question of contempt.

Then came the Buck Stove and Range Company case. In that case you went before the court and claimed that this injunction and the equity power were wiping out the First Amendment to the Constitution. It had already been argued in the Debs case that it abolished trial by jury. In the case of the Buck Stove and Range Company it was held that the First Amendment to the Constitution had nothing to do with it, that this was an equity case. And then there was a tremendous furor, and there was an effort to get legislation that would stop this thing.

We still thought we could segregate ourselves away from the common people, we still thought it was possible to exempt a special class from a general criminal statute, and it was upon that idea we went to Congress in getting the Clayton Act passed. When the Clayton Act was passed we said: "That is fine! Now we are out of it, now we are exempt, now the court cannot issue any more injunctions under the Sherman Act." And then you woke up one day and found there were more of them than ever, and the courts said the Clayton Act did nothing except legalize injunctions, and it simply legislatively authorized and supported the best practice of equity courts.

Now I ask the Chairman of the Committee: Do you not here ask Congress to pass a bill which gives equity jurisdiction over labor disputes and labor conditions? And he said yes.

Why, we have always thought we were against it. We have always assumed that we were against it; we have always complained of it. The trouble was not that we didn't want to get rid of it. The trouble has always been that we didn't know what it was. I spent about two years, and of that time five months studying with all the power that is in me the history of England up to the Stuarts and Holden's Middle Ages, keeping alongside of me the best legal dictionary in the country, and got the one that is used by the courts and by the legal fraternity.

Then I came to understand something that I had not understood before; that is, that the injunction is an arm or a weapon of equity courts, purely. It is that thing which makes the equity power effective, that the equity power was granted to the courts of the United States by the Constitution in the language which says that the judiciary power shall extend to cases of law and equity rights, etc., under the laws and Constitution of the United States. Now, what is equity power? It is the most absolute and irresponsible power that the world has ever known. It is a court of conscience with the power to set aside every statute, every constitution, every constitutional prohibition that you can find anywhere and disregard it utterly. It is not only his right but his duty to do so in order to do justice as he in his conscience shall determine. It is the antithesis of government by law in every way.

Some of you may be inclined to question that, and so I have here a definition of government by equity and government by law. Now after describing government by law it says:

"The doctrines and procedure of the common law of England and America, as distinguished from those of equity (Page 668 of Bouvier's Law Dictionary)." I did not read the first of it because that is not so important. Now, then, what is the definition of equity? Let me read it to you and read it slowly:

"The application of right and justice to the legal adjustment of differences where the law, by reason of its universality, is deficient, that system of jurisprudence which comprehends every matter of law for which the common law provides no remedy; springing originally from the royal prerogative, moderating the harshness of the common law according to good conscience."

"The avowed principle upon which the jurisdiction was at first exercised was the administration of justice according to honesty, equity and conscience." (Bouvier's Law Dictionary.)

"In the reign of Richard II two petitions addressed to the King and Lords of Parliament were sent to the chancery to be heard with the direction, 'Let there be done, by the authority of Parliament, that which right and reason and good faith and good conscience demands in the case.'" (Bouvier's Law Dictionary, page 359.)

It is a court of conscience. It came to the United States from England and then it was limited, as it had finally been, so that the court of equity had no jurisdiction at all except to protect property against irreparable injury when there was no remedy at law. That is

how it came. The latest and best textbook on injunction opinion was obtained from the Congressional Library. When I asked for the latest upon that subject this is what they gave me. It is written in New York and it is a small book and gives it just exactly the way it came. What is the jurisdiction in the United States? What was it before the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was adopted?

"In America the Federal courts have equity powers under the Constitution, where an adequate remedy at law does not exist. \* \* \* The adequate remedy at law, which is the test of the equitable jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, is that which existed when the judiciary act of 1789 was adopted, unless subsequently changed by Congress. (121 U. S. 201).

"The equity jurisdiction conferred on the Federal courts is the same that the high court of chancery in England possesses, is subject to neither limitation nor restraint by State legislation, and is uniform throughout the different States of the Union." (150 U. S. 202; 120 id. 130; 2 Sumn. 612.) (Bouvier's Law Dictionary, p. 361.)

Now where they have got jurisdiction they have no shackles. Congress gave jurisdiction to enforce the Sherman Act, or rather to prevent violation of the Sherman Act, to speak correctly, gave it to the court in Section 4. They did not have it before. If Section 4 was repealed it would not have it.

Then, of course, you say there remains the question of conspiracy. Yes, it would; then conspiracy would be a criminal offense and would have to be tried in a law court; you would have the benefit of the jury, and it is that jury which the Congress was afraid of when it set Section 4 into the act, just as it was afraid of it when it put the equity power into the Volstead Act. They have got a right to put it there because it deals with destruction of property, tangible, transferable property, but when it comes to issuing an injunction and arresting a man and sending him to jail for bootlegging, one judge decided at least that that was a violation of the Constitution and he would not do it. What has become of the case I don't know.

I have heard them discuss it, not only in the committee, but on the floor of both houses: the necessity of putting in these things because a jury cannot be depended upon to convict, so I am not so much afraid of that.

Of course I would rather have Section 1 and Section 4 repealed and the Sherman Act changed to be an anti-monopoly law in its essence, but that possibly would be altogether too much to ask for at the present time. If you are willing to do it, I am; if you have got the courage for it, I have, but I haven't got the courage to sustain this bill that the Executive Council proposes and the Committee on Resolutions endorses, because for the first time it puts labor in the position of asking to be placed under the jurisdiction of the equity courts, and then it undertakes, if you please, to control the judiciary power. It gives jurisdiction with one hand and says to the judge, "Please be kind to us, please don't use all of your power."

Now we have had judges who have been on

one side or another. One judge will not issue an injunction because he thinks it is all wrong. Another judge will issue it because it is according to his conscience. The judge who had to do with the subway case in New York refused to issue an injunction because his conscience so authorized him, and Judge Kirkpatrick in Philadelphia, three months ago or less, issued an injunction basing it upon the alleged fact that the union men of New York who came to organize them did not do that out of any love or respect for or any fellow feeling for the men in Philadelphia, the people who worked at the trade in Philadelphia. They said they did it because they wanted to get rid of the competition of Philadelphia. And then, dealing with his defense for what he did, he says that the Sherman Act deals with intentions, and that justifies his injunction.

Now, when you get through with it all, what are we doing here? You have found this: that the trial by jury has been swept away by the equity and you try to take the jury trial into the equity jurisdiction. That, I am satisfied beyond peradventure of a doubt, cannot be done. Nothing short of a constitutional amendment can do that, and I have got for that opinion the expressions of one man from Missouri who was an excellent lawyer and who was for a short time chairman of the Committee on Judiciary of the House of Representatives.

I am looking at the equity power. It would be an utter destruction of it, so that nothing short of a constitutional amendment could do that. Then we want to curtail the power of the judge sitting in equity. Then the Constitution gives him power, when he has jurisdiction, to set aside all kinds of written law. There is only one way to deal with this question, men, and that is to deal with jurisdiction and for authority for stating that thing you might find it, reading between the lines of Justice Miller, dealing with the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now, what are you going to do here? Reverse the whole history of the labor movement, hold out your hand for shackles, all because somebody was afraid by turning down the substitute of the committee we would offend the committee and that it would be an affront to them, and being an affront to them they would turn against us as well as the rest and we would have no friends at all? That is the argument I heard one member of the committee who drafted the bill make to the President of the American Federation of Labor in his office. I heard that stated over and over again and I said to myself, "Let's find out." I went to Mr. Blaine and I said to him: "The question that now agitates the labor movement extremely and about which there must be agreement is, first, would the turning down of the substitute offered by the committee be felt as an affront by you gentlemen on the committee?" He said, "Certainly not, certainly not. We put that up to be shot at, to be examined and shot at. There wasn't time to do anything else." Then I said to him: "We don't know, we can't agree in the labor movement, and one of the reasons why we can't agree is because of the question I have asked of you. The other reason is that we can't agree about what was meant by the Sherman Law and the Clayton Law and



all of it and what Congress can do in the matter and we would like you or somebody to help to clear up our minds on that question." According to his own statement, he talked later with Senator Norris and they agreed about it. In the meantime I have been to Senator Norris and asked him whether he would feel offended and he said, "Certainly not. I don't want anybody to agree to anything that they do not believe in."

The last speaker said that some of the more distinguished attorneys of the United States had been called in. Yes, I know they are both teachers of equity in great big universities. They are both honest men, but by their being teachers of equity and honest men could it be expected that they would teach equity to the extent of having it supplant and advocate that it do supplant law, and then they come into a committee like we are here and, no matter how much they are in sympathy with labor, would it be expected that they would be willing to admit that they are guilty of an accusation that the equity court destroys all freedom?

Now they advised a substitute. Labor lawyers, distinguished men, if you please, advised and helped make the substitute. I listened to two of the miners' lawyers make brilliant addresses to the Committee on Judiciary, and when I heard them I said to myself, "What is the matter with this man? Doesn't he know what equity courts are?" He never suspected for a minute that he was talking silly. That is the court's business when it has jurisdiction.

I don't blame you or anybody else, certainly not in years gone by, for believing all this talk about this does not apply to labor, and that you can do this or you can do that and that you can interfere with the judiciary power after the court has jurisdiction. I don't blame you very much for that even now, because Americans are subject to thinking in terms of law. They are not acquainted with the powers of an equity court. Those who are acquainted among employers and attorneys took care not to talk it too openly, and simply let it grow as it has been growing until we working people are living under an absolutist government by equity while the employers are living under law laid down by the Supreme Court, for they follow their own conscience.

I am going to prophesy something here. I am going to prophesy that if this bill is passed—and I hope it never will be, I hope it won't get the endorsement of this convention—but if it is passed I am willing to stake whatever I have got or whatever I am that when it comes to the Supreme Court that part of it that undertakes to interfere with the judiciary power when jurisdiction is granted will be held unconstitutional. I have looked for authority for it and I can't find it. Now, then, I found plenty of authority the other way.

One thing more I am going to say and then I am going to quit. Suppose that bill is passed and declared unconstitutional; then all the powers that you grant to the courts under the sections that are in the bill—and there never was an injunction issued in labor disputes that cannot be issued under sections 7A and 7B and 7C—never—analyze it and you

will find in the light of the powers of the equity courts having jurisdiction that they can and will do it, and you will find that that is true. Now all that thing you asked for—please give it to us, please shackle our hands; we are afraid of ourselves, we are afraid of freedom, and above all things we are afraid of responsibility, and so we are likely at all times to put it on to the Executive Council and somebody else.

In conclusion I want to call your attention to the fact that Samuel Untermyer, who is not a chicken, one of the greatest lawyers in the United States, a few days ago made a speech over the radio in which he advocated the repeal of the Sherman Act because it had been found utterly ineffective in dealing with combinations of capital. Of course that happens.

There is one thing more I want to call your attention to. The labor movement was organized because, according to your preamble, there was and is a fundamental struggle between those who are aggrieved and those who have the power, and based upon that proposition you recommend and urge that all men organize and that they come into the American Federation of Labor. We have been successful at this moment in so far as we have stood on that platform and actually tried to live up to it. You are putting us in the position, in passing that bill, of a privileged class asking for special privileges. You are separating yourselves from the rest of the common people in this furious and terrible struggle that is to come and has already come to some of us. You may do it, but you can't do it without taking the consequences of the suffering that is going to come as the result of it. I beg of you to think twice before you endorse such a bill as this.

What you ought to do is to send it back to the Executive Council with instructions to give it further consideration and leave the Council absolutely free to introduce what it wants. Then the responsibility would be upon them and not upon you.

If you feel that there is some truth in what I am saying, if you feel that there is some danger in what you are about to do, I ask you to follow the maxim of Dame Prophet—"Be sure that you are right, then go ahead," which means in other words, if you are not sure that you are right, do nothing. That is what you ought to do here now.

They have spoken here about the Shipstead Bill. The Shipstead Bill was faulty in some directions, first, because it did not include the expression "irreparable injury"; second, because it did not specifically repeal Section 4 of the Sherman Act. There is no question at all about that. But that is not in question. This bill you have now before you is your question. If you refer it back to the Executive Council and they want to discuss other bills as well as this one, they can do that; but if you adopt it, then it will be said again and again, as I have heard ad libitum here on this platform: "Labor meets in convention and it determines what it wants to do and the Executive Council simply obeys." That is true. You pass this thing, you adopt it, then you take the responsibility off their shoulders, and

if you are not sure that what they say is right and that this is the way out, if you are not sure of that, it is better to give the equity power jurisdiction, and if you have any thought in your mind that it would be better to take the jurisdiction away, then I suggest to you that you send this thing back to the Executive Council. It is not time to send it back now for any final action—at least I don't think so, and that may be a matter of opinion, but the best you can do here is to send it back to the Executive Council with instructions to go on and study until they find something that will amend Section 1, as they say they are trying to do, and repeal Section 4, which they don't do. The report of the committee is one thing and the bill is another. Compare the two. For God's sake, men, read it all, compare the two.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the chairman of the committee.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: As many of the delegates in this convention have been awaiting the discussion of the report of the Committee on Resolutions upon this subject, I fear that if we attempt to remain through the lunch hour for this discussion they may feel hurried in the consideration of this all-important question. If I am in order I would move that we adjourn for lunch and proceed with the discussion after the convention reconvenes.

President Green: The motion is not necessary, because we are within five minutes of adjourning time. If someone wants to discuss the subject for five or ten minutes the Chair will be glad to recognize him before we adjourn.

#### DELEGATE RAMSAY (Telegraphers)

In my judgment the three most important questions to the laboring man and the union man and the non-union man today are, first, this injunction question; second, the money question; and, third, the radio question. I have but one word to say on this injunction question after a study of this most important subject for more than forty years. As you know, I have been at the Bar for that length of time, but I have not lost interest in my union, for I carried a card many years before I commenced the practice of law.

Some thirty years ago the first injunction that was issued against any executive of a labor organization was issued against me, at the time I had the honor to be the Grand Chief of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, and I have not yet forgotten it, and shall not forget it until my last day. Since that time we have all suffered under the lash of this arbitrary, unlawful use of the so-called equity power. I could not attempt to tell you what I think about it in the course of a day's discussion, much less an hour.

I take it that our Executive Council have given deliberate consideration to this important matter. I know that our special committee, leaders of this convention, have given their best efforts to the consideration of this question. I think there is a great deal of meat in what my distinguished friend Furuseth has

said. One of my mottoes in life has been: If I don't know where to step I had better not step. In other words, be sure you are right, then go ahead. I think Mr. Furuseth has given us the milk in the cocoanut in his concluding sentence when he says that if this body puts its O.K. on this bill—and I am frank to tell you that I can't tell what is in that bill by the reading of it. I haven't had it before me—but if I have suffered from the injunction and have studied it for forty years, and if after practice of law for that time and having handled dozens of injunction cases I cannot judge this question, how can the baker, the candlestick maker, and the other workers sitting here in a body of four hundred delegates judge it? It is too important, gentlemen.

We may say, as Delegate Furuseth has suggested: Return this message to the Executive Council with the suggestion that they do the best they can. I take it that they will do that anyhow. Furthermore, we have friends in the Senate and in the Congress, men who are learned with reference to constitutional law and can help us in enacting a measure that may pass muster and gain the smile and the favor of the judges who will finally pass upon the matter, and in the final analysis it is the question of the guess of the judge.

I have sat at banquets of the Bar Association where we had members of the Supreme Court who stood along side the speaker and smiled and were gratified, and he received the plaudits of this gathering when he called to our attention innumerable statutory laws that were formerly interpreted one way by this eminent judge and now are interpreted another way. This speaker, one of the greatest in the United States, sitting smilingly and asking for the approval of his auditors, said, "But now the sentiment of the people is different, and therefore the Supreme Court of the United States are interpreting the law differently."

Let me tell you what Blackstone says equity is. It is not difficult to understand, it is a simple proposition. Blackstone says, "Equity is the correction of that where, by reason of its universality, law is deficient." Then that passes this proposition up to the guess of the judge that is interpreting it. Regardless of the bill you write, the only need we have of a constitutional lawyer or any lawyer, for that matter, instead of letting a seaman write the bill, is to obtain his opinion that after it is written in this way the courts will recognize it and pass favorably on it. In other words, as Delegate Furuseth says, they will tell you it is unconstitutional, and back to the waste basket it will go. In all seriousness, this is an important question and these sessions and introductions of resolutions on the subject are educating the people, thank God, and the strong arm of the injunction that has pressed so heavily upon the head of labor is beginning now to grasp the throats of the plutocratic press, and I hope that some of these injunction judges will choke the breath out of some of these powerful editors and then they will begin to preach that, after all, the American Federation of Labor is not composed of a set of highbinders.

Delegate Furuseth: May I ask a question of the delegate? You have practiced law for

forty years—you are a lawyer. Do you know anything that the court will respect to the same extent that it will the jurisdiction?

Delegate Ramsay: I agree with you, Brother Furuseth.

President Green: The hour of adjournment having arrived, the discussion will be discontinued at this time and taken up immediately

upon reconvening. I ask that the representatives of organizations who have members in the studios at Hollywood, California, meet me here after adjournment this evening, with Brother Buzzell of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Los Angeles.

At 12:35 p.m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock p.m.

## Eighth Day--Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Rosemund, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Coulter (J. L.), Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H. W.), Powers (F. B.), Wood, McCluskey, Phillips, Barry, Norrington, McConaughy, Kelly, Johnson, Rossell, Laude, Taylor (J. T.), Hoffmann, Starkweather, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Smith (J. T.), Southall, Watt (R. J.), Shave, Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Walsh, Fitzpatrick, Kromebein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Tapken, Saunders, Borrie, Albert, Loper, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Gallagher, Sidney, McElligott, Webster, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell, Portway, Vaccarelli.

### COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Boston, Mass., October 16, 1929.

President William Green,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Royal York Hotel,  
Toronto, Ontario.

Building construction contractors of Greater Boston, employees of union labor, cordially invite you and Federation of Labor to Boston, 1930, for Convention American Legion and other large organizations will hold conventions in Boston and assist in city tercentenary observances.

**BUILDING TRADES EMPLOYERS ASS'N,**  
JAMES J. SCULLY, President.

1 Beacon St., Boston.

Boston, Mass., October 17, 1929.

William Green,  
President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Royal York Hotel,  
Toronto, Ont.

Boston extends most cordial invitation to American Federation of Labor to hold its 1930 convention in capital city of New England. The natural scenic, historic and business attractions of city undoubtedly will make your Boston convention one of the best attended

and most worth while. Every American some time during his life desires to visit Boston and see historic places connected with very beginnings of American history. Come to Boston in 1930 and give your members this opportunity of a lifetime.

E. J. WHITCOMB,

Chairman Committee on Conventions, Boston Chamber of Commerce.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The discussion which begun at the morning session on the question of injunctions was continued at this time.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Vice-President Woll.

### VICE-PRESIDENT WOLL

Mr. Chairman, in opening the address the previous speaker referred to an event in Richmond, Virginia, in which he recited that the Executive Council of the Knights of Labor proposed a certain matter carried by the convention which resulted in the destruction of the Knights of Labor. I am not familiar with the event he referred to. Evidently the thought involved in that statement is that if this convention confirms the recommendation of the committee or approves the action of the Executive Council the American Federation of Labor itself will follow this disintegration and destruction. I seriously question any such outcome and I doubt even more the validity of the assertion by him who uttered it, if we will go back to his closing remarks and dictum to this convention, that, since none of us knows anything about this subject, or at least is doubtful, then we should refer the entire matter back to the Executive Council to do with it as it seems best or seems wisest. If the opening statement is correct, then the latter must be an invitation to that end, and yet I cannot help also remembering the statement made that you want masters only under the guise of democracy, and therefore refer this proposal to the Executive Council, apparently with superior judgment to act on this matter, shift responsibility and not assume responsibility yourselves. I leave it to you to determine the validity of any such outlook or direction.

However, this matter ought to be discussed without reference to individualities, but dealing with the concrete subject itself. And may I say at this moment that this subject, in my humble opinion, is one of the most complex and perplexing that not only the labor movement but all sympathetic with the labor movement have ever been confronted with, and certainly I would not set myself up as a standard of judgment of perfection on this highly intricate, vexing and complex problem. I would not say that I had the power to prophesy what the United States Supreme Court will hold constitutional or unconstitutional, whether proposed by the Executive Council, the committee or the previous delegate who has spoken.

His opening remarks related to the Clayton Law and to his protest. In that he refers to a report of a committee made to the convention, implying that part of a report was not presented to the convention. I don't know that I was at that convention. Certainly I was not on the committee, and so I have no knowledge of it, but what the record does disclose is a report by the committee of which the previous delegate was the chairman. May I just read to you what that report, signed by Delegate Furuseth, had to say on that subject:

"We commend the vigorous action that has been taken towards securing the enactment of legislation along these lines. As a result of the activity of the American Federation of Labor the Clayton Injunction Limitation Bill and Clayton Contempt Bill providing trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt were reported to and passed by the House of Representatives, and while these bills do not go as far as we had contended for, if enacted into law they will give a great measure of relief. We therefore endorse the recommendation of President Gompers that the men of organized labor, by conference with and communications to the senators from their respective states, make it known that they insist upon the passage by the Senate of these bills before the close of the Sixty-second Congress."

This is the report of 1912, signed by Mr. Furuseth as chairman of the committee, endorsing the Clayton Bill. It is my understanding that he did object to the words "lawful" and "peaceful" within that section of the bill, but not to the principle of legislation involved, and I shall refer to that just a little later on because of the question of constitutionality advanced by Delegate Furuseth as to the bill now proposed and the bill enacted into law and the law today.

Let us go back to the Sherman Law, and I am not one who has ever advocated the Sherman Law. I have constantly been opposed to the Sherman Law and I think my position is pretty well known on that subject, and the committee in its report likewise makes the report that the Executive Council has under consideration and preparation a bill dealing with the repeal of the Clayton and Sherman Law, or such parts thereof as it deems essential to the protection of labor, so that there might be question of difference between us, as whatever difference there might be on the question of legislation dealing with injunctions on that subject.

The Sherman Law, whether it was intended to exclude labor or not, is not the problem before us. The Sherman Law has been held to include labor, and I believe that even if it did not include labor it might just as well be repealed, because it is not enforced against anyone but labor. So I need hardly dwell on the matter of the Sherman Law other than perhaps in connection with the reference made to Section 4 within that law and Section 1, because the legal argument is made that Section 1, dealing with combinations of persons or contracts between persons making agreements or combinations conspiracy, therefore made it a criminal rather than a civil act. The matter of fact is that that section makes it both a civil and a criminal offense, for penalties in damages are provided as well as criminal penalties.

So Section 1 does not alone make it a criminal statute, but likewise makes it a civil statute. It is argued that, because it is a criminal statute, therefore no class might be exempted from its provisions, and yet rulings of the Supreme Court have been held that certain acts may be distributed by classifications based upon fundamental relationships, but it is a civil act as well and therefore there is no question as to the right and power of Congress to exempt any particular class from the operation of the Sherman Law, and, as a matter of fact, it has exempted a number of classes, for the Sherman Law is predicated upon the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce.

It is upon that grant of constitutional authority that the Sherman Act is founded, and the Congress had made distinctions and separations and classifications in its application of interstate commerce in many directions.

It is not my purpose to go extensively into these matters, but the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 finds its distinctions and classifications. The Hepburn Act of 1906, the Panama Act of 1912, the Employers' Liability Act relating to relations not including all persons, separating and classifying the relationship of men used as a basis of that power, the Safety Appliance Act, hours of service, the Adamson Law dealing with a specific class in a specific relationship. Shall I go further? Do we need cite further examples that Congress has the power to and may, if it is so disposed, legislate under its constitutional grant of interstate commerce to exempt labor and labor relationships from the Sherman Act?

It has been said that Section 4 of the Sherman Law may trade property and therefore extend the equity jurisdiction. As a matter of fact, Section 4 grants to the equity courts power to issue injunctions for the enforcement of the law, not seeking to define what is property but specifically delegating to the courts the right to issue injunction writs. However, this granted the power to apply for injunctions to the Attorney General and to no one else, and so until the enactment of the Clayton Law the individual had no right and the courts had no jurisdiction of exercising equity power for the enforcement of the Sherman Law, and the only one vested with such authority was the Attorney General. It did not

define property or extend the definition of property; it specifically delegated equity authority to the Attorney General. Now it is true that the Clayton Act extended that power and it gave to any citizen who felt that he was suffering by reason of a combination and conspiracy as set forth in the Act to sue in the equity divisions of the court and thereby, of course, enlarge the opportunity of using the equity powers against labor or all other relationships. I should not, I will not and cannot justify the equity provision in the Sherman Act any more than in the Clayton Act. I think both are unwarranted. I think the very principle is ill founded and ought not be a matter of law. But that is not the fault of the courts. That is the fault of our Congress. Our Congress has enacted that legislation and the courts are operating under it. Andy Furuseth tells us that the courts were justified in interpreting the Sherman Act to include labor, because we cannot be exempted from any other classification or relationship between men—a policy and philosophy and legal doctrine I do not subscribe to, and not justified by other Congressional enactments whose constitutionality has been questioned and has been upheld.

So, therefore, the question comes, What is the proper remedy we should follow in seeking relief from that against which all of us complain and in which there is a division of opinion? Shall it be by the annulment of the Sherman Act, the Clayton Act, and all other restrictive acts? And I for one will say that, if that were done, in my humble opinion many of our injunctions could not issue from the Federal courts, because since the Debs case nearly all of them have been predicated upon the interference with interstate commerce and predicated upon the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

Andy Furuseth, however, says that cannot and will not give us a remedy. We must do other things; and another remedy is to exempt labor from the Sherman and Clayton Laws entirely, leaving all other relations to be controlled by the Sherman Law. Again we are advised by our counsellors that that is unconstitutional, because we cannot exempt one class from another, although precedent has been established and upheld.

What, then, shall we do? What avenue is there open to us? He says we must limit and respect the equity powers of the courts, and that is what this bill reported to your convention contemplates as much as that of the Shipstead Bill. It is predicated upon that principle; it extends itself further.

Mr. Furuseth asked a question: Does the bill reported to this convention give equity power to the courts? I said it did and I stated I would amplify that statement. Yes, it does, but it seeks to restrict and limit that equity jurisdiction, and were I to ask Delegate Furuseth as to the Shipstead Bill, either in the original or the amended form, "Does it confer jurisdiction upon the equity courts?" his answer would likewise have to be in the affirmative, because it does give equity jurisdiction to them. It is true it likewise seeks to limit that jurisdiction, and so with our bill.

Let us be fair and frank and face facts as they are. I said I would use Delegate

Furuseth's own pamphlet on this subject as authority, rather than textbooks. And in that connection Senator Blaine's address must be considered almost as one, for the language used and the reasoning applied are identical, excepting perhaps in one conclusion that I am quite sure even Delegate Furuseth would not agree with Senator Blaine. Delegate Furuseth read from Senator Blaine's address as to the original power of our courts in equity, dealing with the question of the Constitution:

"And within these limits the jurisdiction of the equity courts cannot be denied in any court, state or national. The jurisdiction of the Federal courts is well stated, as follows:"

This is Senator Blaine, speaking of the original jurisdiction of our courts, affirmed by Delegate Furuseth in his pamphlet:

"In America the federal courts have equity powers under the Constitution, where an adequate remedy at law does not exist." If we were to take all equity powers away, it could only be done by constitutional amendment, and it is therefore foolish to ask, "Does your bill grant jurisdiction?" We are in the position where we cannot deny that fact because the Constitution and the framers delegated that authority to the courts, and Delegate Furuseth does not object . . .

Delegate Furuseth (interposing): Mr. President, I must clearly and definitely protest. I won't sit here and have what I said misrepresented.

President Green: You will have an opportunity, I presume, to correct what you think may be a wrong interpretation of anything you may have said, and I am sure that you recognize the necessity of obeying parliamentary procedure. Give Vice-President Woll the same opportunity to present his views as was accorded you when you stood here.

Vice-President Woll (continuing): Delegate Furuseth read this—and bear with me, this is his statement—as to the original equity jurisdiction:

"In America the federal courts have equity powers under the Constitution, where an adequate remedy at law does not exist."

Mind you, this is the original jurisdiction of the equity court, not denied or disputed by Delegate Furuseth or by Senator Blaine. I am not quoting the citations, because Delegate Furuseth did not read them, so it is not necessary. "Adequate remedy at law"—mind you; bear in mind this word "adequate," because I shall refer to it still later. (Quoting): "The adequate remedy at law, which is the test of the equitable jurisdiction of the courts of the United States, is that which existed when the Judiciary Act of 1789 was adopted, unless subsequently changed by Congress." This does not speak of yesterday or the day before, it speaks of the original jurisdiction of the equity courts, and having the jurisdiction it certainly is not intended to extend that. Again quoting:

"The enquiry jurisdiction conferred on the federal courts is the same that the high court of chancery in England possesses, is subject to neither limitation nor restraint by state legislation, and is uniform throughout the different states of the Union."

That is not my language, that is not Delegate Furuseth's language, it is not Senator Blaine's language—it is the language both latter gentlemen agree was the original jurisdiction of the federal courts, and I say to you if this is not all-embracing then I fail to understand the meaning of language.

But let us go further. Delegate Furuseth has asked, What is law? and in his pamphlet cites as his authority Bouvier's Law Dictionary on several definitions of law. Let us look them over, because when you have a selection of definitions you can pick out whichever you like and that which is most suitable to your nature, but the authority giving them intends them to apply to certain states of societies or governments prevailing. The first definition given of law is: "The aggregate rules set by men as politically superior or sovereign, to men as politically subject." That definition of law applies to a state of society where aristocracy is the governing power, not to a democracy or a kingdom. "A rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state, commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong." That applies to a state government where the reserve powers are in the state, and not in the peoples of that state. "A rule of conduct contained in a command of the sovereign addressed to the subject." That means a kingdom where one man commands to his subjects. "A rule or enactment promulgated by the legislative authority of a state; a long-established local custom which has the force of such an enactment." That applies to a democracy. "The doctrines and procedure of the common law of England and America, as distinguished from those of equity." And therein there must be a distinction drawn, because common law and statute law, while we accept in our states the common law as defined at the adoption of the Constitution, nevertheless there is that fundamental difference between our nation and England that in the latter the reserve powers are held by the government, whereas under our government the reserve powers are held by the people, and not by the state or national government.

So you see you have this series of definitions of law, and assuming this one here to be the proper one—"a rule or enactment promulgated by the legislative authority of a state"—what, then, is the legislative authority in our government? That necessarily raises the question of the sovereign governmental powers, and fortunately again in this document we have the finding: "When analyzed, sovereignty is naturally divided into three great powers, namely, the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary: the first is the power to make new laws and to collect and repeal the old; the second is the power to execute the laws, both at home and abroad; and the last is the power to apply the laws to particular facts, to judge the disputes which arise among the citizens, and to punish the crimes."

Then we are given the definition of the restrictions upon legislative authority. And what is that? "It has always been understood that the sovereignty of the federal government is in Congress, though limited to specified objects"—showing you that the legislative

power is not without limitation, but is confined to objects.

Now, getting to the equity power, What is the equity interpretation according to his own definition and as taken into consideration with the limitation upon legislative authority and the checks of the three governmental departments of sovereignty? "The application of right and justice to the legal adjustment of differences where the law, by reason of its universality, is deficient." There equity should prevail. In other words, where a law is so universal in its character that it is deficient in its application, equity may step in, thus forming the equity power and the equity considerations even under the definition cited by himself. For if it were that the law itself would remove every element of equity, then, whether deficient or efficient, equity could not intervene. "That system of jurisprudence which comprehends every matter of law for which the common law provides no remedy."

And what is common law? It is not my purpose to burden this convention with a legal argument or with seeking to expound any theory of law, but if the delegate studied the remedies that were open in the civil courts under common law methods he would have a different conception of what is meant by adequate remedy, or remedy at law, but nevertheless it allows for equity proceedings to come where the "harshness of the common law" does not permit—"springing originally from the royal prerogative . . . moderating the harshness of the common law according to good conscience."

Now these are the definitions that the delegate uses as defining equity, and I ask you if you could find clearer, more definite language confirming the equity jurisdiction in our courts which we protest against. And rather than these definitions being in support of the legislation we seek, they are the most profound and splendid arguments against that which we seek to have enacted.

"The avowed principle upon which the jurisdiction was at first exercised was the administration of justice according to honesty, equity and conscience." Could you find a definition greater than that to justify the equity powers now exercised in order that justice may be had according to honesty, equity and conscience? That is the definition—not by me, mind you, but by the delegate who opposes this recommendation.

Great stress has been laid upon the words "adequate remedy at law." I shall touch on that later. He states that this is the first time a bill has been proposed to place labor in the hands of the equity courts. Will he admit that the Clayton Law does it? Whether he does or not we know that injunctions are issued against us by reason of the Clayton Law, by reason of the Sherman Law, so this is not the first time. We approved the Clayton Act and I had nothing whatever to do with the Clayton Act, because it was just about that time that I came into the councils of the American Federation of Labor.

Let us go further, because in this pamphlet as well as in that of Senator Blaine something has been said about property. Perhaps I had better stay away from that for a moment and



go back to Senator Blaine's address on the Sherman law and Section 4, because I want to say that it is extremely unfortunate that Senator Blaine issued this address, and still more unfortunate that it has received the circulation that has been given to it.

First, as to the intent. I hold here a copy of the minutes of the Senate when this substitute measure was presented, and Senator Norris, speaking, said, among other things:

"It was intended to try to get that bill (meaning the substitute bill) reported from the full committee, but in the last week or two it has been an impossibility, on account of the pressure of work on all Senators which everybody understands, to give it the consideration which a bill of such importance deserves."

If I read that statement correctly, Senator Norris at that time stated that the subcommittee, including Senator Blaine, had urged the full Committee of the Judiciary to report out the substitute bill and it is now his judgment that he did not approve. It is indeed a strange and striking procedure to urge his fellow companions on that committee to report favorably upon a bill upon which he himself disclaims having favored at this time.

But outside of the arguments made, Senator Blaine winds us something like this: "Should Section 4 of the Sherman Law be repealed, then there will cease to be a law of the United States of the same or similar character, and hence the judicial power will not extend in such class of controversies beyond the period of the law." What does he mean, that there will cease to be a law of the United States of the same or similar character? Do I understand the Senator to mean that by taking out Section 7 it will destroy the Sherman Law, that removing it will only do away with the equity proceedings and it will still leave organized labor subject to its criminal sections and to its civil penalty provisions, tripled in damages, and will not give us all the relief sought?

But he goes further and says: "In other words, where there is a law of Congress the judicial power extends to all cases under that law, by constitutional authority. When that law terminates, there can be no case to which the judicial power is extended. When the law ceases the judicial power dies with it. Therefore, so far as concerns extending the judicial power to cases arising under the laws of the United States, the Congress is the creation, the resurrection, and the life of such judicial power."

I am frank to say that I am confused with that paragraph. I don't know whether he means that the removal of Section 4 destroys the Sherman Act or merely removes the equity powers. It is unfortunate that a man of his intelligence and knowledge, presumably having given the study to these problems that he has, should now make such confusing statements and that they should be circularized, confounding even the most profound subject.

As for the particular remedy proposed to this convention—what does it intend to do? First of all, by its declaration it intends to make valid and lawful contracts voluntarily entered into in our industrial life and relating

to industrial relations which today may be held to be in violation of law — and I am speaking now of contracts, of agreements collectively entered into with employers. And might I also say frankly that there are some agreements in force that might well be challenged from the standpoint of validity in view of interpretations placed upon the Sherman Law. So that this law, first of all, would legalize the activities of organized labor and remove them from the restraints placed upon or exercised by reason of grant of interstate commerce power in Congress.

Secondly, it seeks also to legalize and to declare lawful certain activities engaged in by labor or employers in times of industrial disturbances or disputes. In other words, it seeks to do what Delegate Furuseth himself confirms in his document, and states Congress has a right to do, and that is to make the law of the land, in so far as it is within its power to do and as it may do under the grant of power given to it under the interstate commerce authority. And so we seek to make lawful the right of organized labor entering into agreements with employers even in times of non-disturbance, whether they affect interstate commerce or not. Secondly, to set forth those rights when industrial controversies take place, so that we will have law on the subject and so that we may be free from the conscience of the court expressed through equity power. And in that the best case possible has been taken to set forth such fundamental and essential rights deemed necessary for the labor movement or for the wage-earning class to compete with against the corporate wealth class of our country.

It seeks to accomplish what has just now been done for the farmers, to encourage the organization of wage earners as well as our national government encourages associations of farmers. And if we have failed to set forth all of the acts that might be lawful, then we should not be criticized; rather we should be advised what additional rights to set forth. But there are acts where the individual not acting in concert is committing a crime or misdemeanor. We do not understand that the Labor movement seeks to make an act that the individual cannot commit singly in violation of law to become beyond the purview of the law if committed with his fellow men. In other words, we don't understand that the American labor movement desires to give to two or more, by agreement, power to commit an act which the individual could not of himself do, or, in other words, reversing the doctrine of conspiracy and saying that individually you may not do this, but collectively you are free from the punishment that will be meted out to you if you commit it.

And that is the point where we say the equity courts might intervene, and that is a limitation, not of equity jurisdiction, but upon what they may hold their conscience has the authority to operate upon. Even in these criminal acts and acts of misdemeanor, in saying that equity jurisdiction might be exercised we lay down certain rules of procedure by that procedure shall be had. Delegate Furuseth will answer that it is beyond the power of Congress to do so. Well, if he will study legislation he will find that Congress

time and time again has outlined methods of procedure to be followed and has not permitted courts of themselves, and wholly by themselves, to lay down rules of procedure, rules of evidence and all involved in a matter of litigation. And so in this bill we state, first of all, that in these acts held to be lawfully enumerated—I am not going to take your time to read them—deemed fundamental rights against the restriction of which we complain, that they are lawful in times of utterly contractual relations as well as in times of disturbances. Restrictions have been placed on the matter of the procedure making it more difficult to exercise that equity power even in that very limited amount of labor cases.

Shall I burden you with the reading of them? You have them in your proceedings here. Then setting forth still further as to what particular things may be included in an injunction writ in order that lawful rights declared for in this declaratory provision might be safeguarded—the answer to this will be and has been, not this morning in the appealing language of the delegate, but in his pamphlet: that that method is unconstitutional, that the United States Supreme Court will not sustain that principle of legislation which concedes the equity power to a limited extent and restricts and regulates it to other extents. The answer, however, is clear. The bill is proposed upon the same principle as the Clayton Law—and if it be argued that the Clayton Law is unconstitutional I regret to find any such decision, but find the Clayton Act in force every day in the week. The Clayton Law has never been declared unconstitutional and this bill is predicated upon that principle, and I agree that, should the Clayton Law be held unconstitutional, yes, then this bill would likewise be held unconstitutional.

Now it is urged that the Clayton Law is unconstitutional, or if it has not been held unconstitutional that it will be when the question may be seriously raised before the United States Supreme Court, and that is based upon the Truax case, where the Supreme Court ruled upon a similar statute enacted by the state of Arizona. And yet Senator Blaine makes the same contention as Delegate Furuseth, and it is surprising to me that Senator Blaine is unable to distinguish between the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, that such a profound legal mind is so easily confounded with such a clear line of demarcation. Apparently he has not read the Truax decision. I wonder if Delegate Furuseth has read that decision.

First of all let us read these two constitutional provisions so that there may be no doubt. Article V: "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor

shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

That is the Fifth Amendment. It relates entirely to our national government. It is an inhibition against the exercise of power not delegated either to the judiciary, the executive or the legislative authority, and mind you, it only deals with due process of law—not the equality of law—due process of law.

Article XIV: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Now this question arises in the enactment of a state law. The Arizona Legislature adopted a law similar to the Clayton Act, and in an appeal to the courts the Supreme Court of that state placed an interpretation upon that Act and the acts committed under it which the Supreme Court held were in violation of the equality section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which relates solely to the operation of the State and not the National government. It did not involve the power of Congress. As a matter of fact, the Supreme Court stated that that had nothing whatever to do with the validity of the Clayton Act. But may I first point out the difference even of the Supreme Court as to due process of law and equality of law, because the equality section does not apply to Congress, but is purely an inhibition to state legislatures.

Quoting: "The due process clause brought down from Magna Charta was found in the early State constitutions, and later in the Fifth Amendment to the Federal Constitution as a limitation upon the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the Federal Government, while the equality clause does not appear in the Fifth Amendment and so does not apply to Congressional legislation."

Therefore, though the Arizona law was held unconstitutional because of violation of the equality section, it could not be raised in so far as Congressional action is concerned, because no such inhibition exists against the national government.

Quoting again: "The due process clause requires that every man shall have the protection of his day in court and the benefit of the general law, a law which hears before it condemns, which proceeds, not arbitrarily or capriciously, but upon inquiry, and renders judgment only after trial, so that every citizen shall hold his life, liberty, property and immunity under the protection of the general rules which govern society."

It sounds almost as if we had written that language—no one to be condemned or restrained without first a hearing and found guilty; and that is what due process of law means, and it has no reference to equality whatever.

But dealing with the particular phase of the Clayton Law, let us see what the Supreme Court said in that case. This is the Truax case:

"It is urged that in holding paragraph 1464 invalid we are in effect holding invalid Section 20 of the Clayton Act. Of course, we are not doing so." That is the language of the United States Supreme Court. "In the first place, 'the equity clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply to congressional but only to state action.' And yet you have such men as Senator Blaine and Delegate Furuseth advising us that the Arizona statute, the decision upon that statute, declares unconstitutional the Clayton Act, overlooking entirely this great fundamental distinction between Article V and Article XIV of the Constitution itself. Surely, when men reason thus, is it any wonder that there is so much misunderstanding and confusion? Let me read from this section again as to classification, because, while that decision is adverse to our contention and while we do not concur in the reasoning of the Supreme Court in its application of the equality sections, nevertheless there are other dictums and declarations which are in accordance with our views. On this question of legislation exempting certain groups from others, let us read what the Supreme Court says:

"The rule (i.e., of the equality clause) is not a substitute for municipal law; it only prescribes that that law have the attribute of equality of operation, and equality of operation does not mean indiscriminate operation on persons merely as such, but on persons according to their relations"—laying down the fundamental principle that Congress may deal with different relations of men and legislate specifically upon such relations, verifying the validity of what is intended in this bill and take out all engaged in industrial life, employers as well as employees, and have legislation on that subject.

So much for our bill other than to say this: that I shall not hold that this entire bill or all of its sections will not be subject to constitutional criticism and ultimately that the Supreme Court may hold some sections invalid. No one knows what the United States Supreme Court do. Even they don't know themselves. Decisions, divided as they have been, clearly indicate that. We provide in the bill that the holding of any one part invalid shall not affect the other, if essential to the entire bill. It may be argued that that is dangerous, and yet if that were not in, the entire act might be invalid.

For instance—and I hate to argue on matters within this bill which may weaken our position when we go out and express a doubt on some sections ourselves—for instance, the subject of trial by jury in contempt cases. It is a highly controversial matter whether that may be taken from the courts and referred to juries. Thus far it is in the Clayton Act and has not been held unconstitutional. Having been in operation up to the present, we have reason to believe it is constitutional. Unless and until a contrary ruling is had, I am of the opinion it is constitutional. But suppose it were held unconstitutional, the balance of the Act would not be affected and the declaration of acts set out as lawful and which are today held unlawful would be a great gain and forward march.

And then, too, we realize that when these

bills are proposed they are going to be subjected to hearings and criticisms by the most strongly opposed, as well as the most friendly disposed, and in these hearings some weaknesses may develop, some things may have to be added or some stricken out or changed, because there is no one so perfect as to propose a piece of legislation not subject to change. And so we urge in the committee's report that the Executive Council be vested with authority to make such changes as may be deemed wise or as may be deemed imperative as we go on to promote legislation, but the principle thus far is to have enacted into law something that will give us the redress sought.

So much for the committee's report. The delegate has said here: "Refer it back to the Executive Council, shift the responsibility, don't assume it yourselves." I regret that he did not offer some constructive suggestion so that the Executive Council might have the advice and counsel of one who knows all laws and will prophesy future decisions of the Supreme Court. But we have his constructive suggestion and so I feel at liberty just briefly to touch upon it. And mind you, I wonder whether we should take the Delegate Furuseth of 1912, or might I even say of two years ago, of 1927, because I presume that we do not either understand the law or equity, because all college professors of course anxious to promote equity and those teaching it have a certain view, and so everyone is prejudiced who has a contrary point of view. But what was the attitude of Delegate Furuseth in 1927 when he introduced Resolution No. 42, which sought to confirm a bill introduced in the House of Representatives by the then Congressman Hearst and referred to the Committee on Judiciary. I am not going to read this entire bill. This is his proposal two years ago and deals with the anti-trust law subject (quoting from the bill):

"That the several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this Act"; delegating the equity jurisdiction now denounced in the Sherman Act and Clayton Act, only two years ago urging that we should approve this thing and confirm it. Again quoting: "That every person or corporation, and every officer, director or agent of a corporation who shall knowingly do any act in the preceding section prohibited shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction thereof shall, if a natural person, be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars or by imprisonment for not longer than one year, or by both, said punishments in the discretion of the court; and if a corporation, by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars."

That is but two years ago. And now we have the Shipstead Act. I haven't a copy of the original Shipstead Act, but let me take the amended Act. This, I presume, is the remedy, the constructive measure that should cover:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Chapter II. of an Act entitled, 'An Act to Codify, Revise and Amend the Laws Relating to the

Judiciary,' approved March 3, 1911, be amended by adding thereto the following:

"Section 28, Equity courts shall have jurisdiction"—now, he asks, Does this bill give jurisdiction? Here is his bill—"Equity courts shall have jurisdiction." Does that confirm jurisdiction? Is the language clear? Does it say courts shall have no equity jurisdiction? No; it says equity courts shall have jurisdiction—to do what? "To protect property"—protect property—a direction to the court in addition to authorization, almost a mandate to the court to protect property. And what is property? Let us again turn to this textbook and define property. You will find it on page 9, those of you who have it. "Property,"—mind you this is Delegate Furuseh speaking—"property is created in the same way today by the application of labor upon natural resources, or else by the sovereign granting title to a special privilege." You notice the distinction? "Property is created in the same way today, by the application of labor today upon natural resources or else by the sovereign granting title to a special privilege, such as a patent, a copyright, a franchise to build a toll road, a railway, to improve the navigation of a river, the exclusive right to operate a ferry, or to build a bridge across the river, etc., or it might be a right to organize a corporation, which is a combination for specific purposes."

Here, then, we have our honored delegate saying that the right to organize a corporation for business purposes and to carry it out is a proper right. What better definition could you then want to justify all that is going on? That is in his conception a property right, whether it is sensible to the humane senses or whether it is only conceivable as a right to a thing. And in the committee hearing, when asked as to the distinction between tangible and intangible things, contending that a patent right was tangible, even though there be nothing manufactured under the right to manufacture and sell exclusively, he says the document evidencing that right is property and therefore it is property, and if that definition were to apply, then a bill of sale, a contract in evidence of an agreement or title would be property, and thus no protection would be given, but the court has given the mandate to protect this tangible and intangible property at all times.

So if there is extension of jurisdiction under his own definition, I wonder where we would go to if we approved that form of legislation? Let us go further, because Delegate Furuseh will say it shall only be as against irreparable injury caused by affirmative destructive action. Now the reason for that is this: that we have perishable goods in transit, and of course if a man refuses to unload that property, even in tangible property form, it would be subject to irreparable damage, because it would perish and be destroyed, and, of course, in the original Shipstead Bill the courts might have issued that injunction because irreparable damage was being done to tangible property and the court is directed to protect it. And then, in order to safeguard that, the phrase was put in, "caused by affirmative destructive action." It is true that I of myself might refuse to take part in removing fruit from

the boats that, unless removed, would perish, but if I say to my fellow man, "John, you ought not touch it," that immediately is an affirmative destructive act, and therefore injunctions again would lie for conspiring in the committing of an affirmative destructive act, and then there is no remedy at law.

Bear that in mind, and I want to refresh your memory to the original equity jurisdiction granted as defined by Delegate Furuseh's statement "adequate remedy at law." Note that he leaves out the words "adequate remedy at law," and I touch upon this merely because of the constitutionality of his own act being subject to extreme danger, for by his own word, his own interpretation, that of Senator Blaine's copied from his, when original jurisdiction was granted it was to prevent, where there was no adequate remedy at law—and to be sure let me turn to this textbook on page 5—Delegate Furuseh speaking:

"Such was the power and jurisdiction of equity as it existed in England when our Constitutional convention met and acted. As a result of such action—

"In America, the federal courts have equity powers under the Constitution where an adequate remedy at law does not exist." But as long as there is an adequate remedy that therefore it shall not apply and will make this Act unconstitutional. I am quite frank to say that if Delegate Furuseh will study this problem further he will find there is some merit to the word "adequate."

(Quoting): "For the purpose of determining such jurisdiction the expression 'remedy at law' shall be held to be any remedy, criminal or civil"—and yet his very definition of the law, "where the harshness of the law is contrary to conscience," there equity must prevail, and where there is no adequate remedy at law, according to his own definition equity shall prevail.

Where, then, are we with these legislative proposals? I again repeat—and much more might be said on this question, it is one of the most perplexing problems I know of, and I certainly do not set myself up as a final judge on this or any other piece of legislation; but I do say this: that men who reason as they have here certainly cannot claim for themselves that virtue.

We have endeavored to do the best we can to seek light in every way possible, and we wish that some one might bring to us a proposal that would clear up this situation and bring the relief sought. Mind you, we have a state of society where governmental powers are divided and where the rights of peoples are sought to be protected. If this were the law today, and assuming property, not as defined by Furuseh, but confined to tangible properties, I wonder if we would not be the first to challenge such restrictions upon the courts; for realize first of all this: that the state has only limited powers to legislate, and that if the state would attempt by legislation to take away our rights contrary to constitutional provision as contained in Section 14, we would be the first to see that the state could not enforce that law and that it would be compelled to cease its enforcement until a higher judicial decree might be had upon its legislation.

Oh, yes, we are urged to seek a remedy in our industrial life, but we cannot separate ourselves from all of our other relationships and we cannot trust ourselves completely and wholly and solely to any restraining powers of the state, and therefore our national government and our equity jurisdiction by the Constitution, to safeguard likewise the rights of the people against usurping powers of the State.

In addition to that might I read to you a series of other activities and relations in which it is seriously questioned whether they would longer be protected by equity proceedings if Delegate Furuseth's idea as expressed in Senate Bill 1482 should prevail:

Trusts and monopolies.  
Unfair trade.  
Interstate commerce orders.  
Federal Trade Commission orders.  
Personal services of an exclusive expert class.  
Infringement of trademarks.  
Packers and Stockyards Act: enforcement of orders of Secretary of Agriculture.  
Tariffs, rebates and discrimination.  
State commission orders.  
Obstruction of and interference with U.S. mails.  
Multiplicity of suits.  
To preserve courts' jurisdiction.  
Infringement of patents.  
Abuse of legal process.  
For protection of receiver, guardian or committee of lunatic appointed in one court and sued in another.  
To restrain actions at law.  
To prevent vexatious suits not brought in good faith.  
To enjoin from using evidence obtained by fraud or duress.—Callender v. Callender, 53 How. Pr. 364.  
To enjoin State officials from prosecuting cases in State courts contrary to Federal law.—Smyth v. Ames, 169 U.S. 466.  
Re-entering same business after selling same with good-will with covenant not to re-enter.  
Mandatory injunction for inspection of corporate books by a stockholder.  
To restrain corporation and its officers from preventing a stockholder from voting.  
To restrain illegal acts of public officers.  
Enjoining officials from revoking license.  
Enjoining public agents from carrying out illegal orders of their superiors, as, for instance, enjoining the Postmaster from carrying out an invalid order of the Postmaster General not to deliver mail to complainant.—American Magnetic Healing School v. McAnnulty, 187 U.S. 23.  
Injunction to abate a nuisance.  
To restrain the fraudulent or unlawful appropriation of public moneys.

So, can't you realize the vastness of the subject dealing with the power of government—yes, used against us terribly, viciously at this time; but we must be careful in the remedy we seek and the legislation we propose that we may not make even worse conditions than those existing now. And last, but not least, we must have regard to what we are able to accomplish.

I don't know to whom Delegate Furuseth

referred when he stated that while in the President's office some member of the committee said we must not offend the sub-committee because they are our friends. My answer to that is: I know nothing of such a conference, and what is more, the Chairman and Secretary of this committee did not care whether we offended Senator Norris, Senator Walsh or Senator Blaine at our last convention, because we refused, and so recommended to this convention, to endorse the bill in its original form, and the convention approved that.

We have tried to do the best we can. Here we have a multiplicity of propositions changing almost every year, and even by him who seeks to criticize most. I am not going to say this is a perfect bill. I am not going to say it is the only remedy. I think it is the best thing that comes to our mind and judgment, in the view and the light and the study of conditions prevailing, to enable us to secure some relief, some redress from that most obnoxious and depressing condition under which we are working.

I don't think I need say more. I think I have indicated sufficient to advise this convention that your sub-committee, the Executive Council, and the Committee on Resolutions are familiar with the problems involved, have given study to them and are as sincere as is Brother Furuseth in trying to follow the right course, in trying to do the right thing, and in seeking to accomplish constructive ends. I am not of the opinion that if this bill is approved by this convention we are going to have our Richmond. I feel convinced that if enacted into law it will re-establish, perhaps not to the full degree, but certainly to a high degree, the right of labor to organize, to combine even during periods of order with our employers as well as to strive in periods of industrial friction for collective action in conserving and advancing our labor, our service, our rights as citizens, our rights as wage earners.

I submit to you that I have given the best thought time and ability have given to me to attach to this subject, and I should be the last to urge it upon this convention if I felt it was imperfect in its construction, weak in its nature, unconstitutional in its provisions. And yet at the same time I can say that I am no prophet, nor is any one. No one can foretell, when legislation is proposed, what a constitutional authority or judiciary will do when it comes ultimately up to them. That judgment must rest with them.

I hope this convention will adopt this report unanimously, and go out, undivided and not dismembered and dissociated, to arouse the public conscience to that which is going on, to mobilize the spirit of America, to organize the demand for the rights of men as against property, and to see that labor is given that privilege now given to capital to organize in corporate enterprises, to give to labor the privilege of organizing in trade unions, to give to labor the same right that is given to farmers to associate, and thus by collective action we will have equal and equitable relations and considerations in our industrial life and our industrial relations.

President Green announced that the hour for the special order of business, the nomination and election of officers and the selection of a convention city, had arrived and requested Delegate Franklin, President of the Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders to preside.

#### Election of Officers

Chairman Franklin: The hour having arrived to elect officers of the American Federation of Labor, nominations are now in order for President.

Delegate Kennedy, Secretary United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, the man I am about to place in nomination is a member of the organization in which I hold office and membership. I was his successor in the office he held in the Mine Workers' organization. I have known him for twenty-five years. As a local union officer, as a district president, as an international secretary-treasurer and as a senator in the great State of Ohio, this man has measured up to every tradition of the trade union movement. He has made good in every office he has held within our council and his watchword has ever been honesty and service to the men and the organization he represented.

It is a very distinct privilege and pleasure at this time to nominate this outstanding character in the labor movement, the man who is measuring up to the traditions of his illustrious predecessor in making good, and is leading the labor movement of the North American Continent along the lines of constructive service in the interests of his people and in the interests of the nation. I now take pleasure in nominating that outstanding trade unionist, President William Green. (At the mention of President Green's name the entire delegation arose and applauded for more than a minute.)

The Chairman asked for further nominations. No further nominations being made, Delegate Flore, President Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that the Secretary be authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for President Green for President. The instruction was complied with, and William Green was declared duly elected President for the ensuing term.

President Green in the Chair.

President Green: Fellow Delegates and Friends: I have been very deeply touched by this expression of your renewed confidence and support. I realize that it carries with it a commission to serve. I accept that commis-

sion, and will endeavor with all the ability I possess to render the best service of which I am capable during the ensuing year.

I have been going at a tremendous pace for these five years since you called me to serve as the successor of the great and mighty Gompers. I am not sure that I can keep up the pace, but I will keep it up or sink in my tracks. I am overwhelmed with the responsibility that comes as a result of your action. I feel deeply, very, very deeply, this call to service. You have spoken and I am responding. As I stated to you on previous occasions when you had so signally honored me, as you have honored me today, that without reservations, mental, physical or otherwise, I pledge to you during the ensuing term all I have and all I can give.

Frank Duffy, General Secretary-Treasurer of the Carpenters and Joiners, was placed in nomination for First Vice-President by Delegate Kelso, of the same organization, who said: The man I wish to nominate needs no introduction here; his record in the American Federation of Labor is full well known to the delegates, and his record as Secretary-Treasurer of the organization in which he holds membership is very hard to beat. I wish to place in nomination the present incumbent of the office, Frank Duffy.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instruction was complied with, and Vice-President Duffy was declared elected for the ensuing term.

T. A. Rickert, President of the United Garment Workers of America, was nominated for Second Vice-President by Delegate John J. Manning, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department, who said: Brevity evidently being the keynote in the addresses here, I will be governed accordingly. All I have to offer the delegates with the man I am about to nominate is efficiency and continuous service for the last twelve years. I therefore nominate T. A. Rickert for Second Vice-President.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Wines, United Garment Workers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for T. A. Rickert. The instruction was complied with, and Vice-President Rickert was declared unanimously elected.

Matthew Woll of the International Photo



Engravers' Union was nominated for Third Vice-President by Delegate Olander, Secretary of Seamen's International Union, who said: A great many years have elapsed since I first met a very energetic young trade unionist who at first glance made a great impression upon me, and with whom I was to contract a very close and lasting friendship. I have had the pleasure of watching him move up in the councils of the American Federation of Labor, and have enjoyed it as if I, too, were making the journey. Many opportunities have been given me to work with him, and I have seen the energy, patience and intelligence with which he has devoted himself to the movement. It is therefore with great pleasure that I arise to place in nomination my very good friend and fellow worker, Matthew Woll.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Birthright, Barbers, the Secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Matthew Woll for Third Vice-President. The instruction was complied with, and Vice-President Woll was declared elected for the ensuing term.

James Wilson, President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, was nominated for Fourth Vice-President by Delegate Huddell, Operating Engineers, who said: I desire to place in nomination for Fourth Vice-President a candidate that I do not anticipate any opposition to. His genial smile and winning way have endeared him to the hearts of the men in the labor movement. His endurance is marvelous; day and night you will find him on the job. He is a glutton for work, and sometimes takes a lot of punishment in the movement. I desire to name the present incumbent of this office, James Wilson.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Bussell, Electrical Workers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Wilson. The instruction was complied with, and James Wilson was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

James P. Noonan, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was nominated for Fifth Vice-President by Delegate Bugniazet, of the same organization, who said: I desire to place in nomination one who needs no introduction to the delegates, and one who has always been found ready to do his work when called upon to do it—James P. Noonan.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon

motion of Delegate Joyce, Electrical Workers, the Secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James P. Noonan for Fifth Vice-President. The instruction was complied with, and Vice-President Noonan was declared duly elected.

John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, was placed in nomination for Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Burke, Secretary-Treasurer of the same organization, who said: I consider it a great honor to place before this convention for Sixth Vice-President John Coefield, an ardent and consistent trade unionist and an outstanding real American.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield. The instruction was complied with, and John Coefield was declared elected Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Arthur O. Wharton, President of the International Association of Machinists, was nominated for Seventh Vice-President by James O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, who said:

Since the opening day I have been attending this convention, and now I want to get my name in the record. The gentleman I am going to nominate asked me to do it, and I told him I had already decided to do it in order to get my name in the record. I had the honor of nominating him in the New Orleans convention. During the year the Executive Council advanced him from Eighth Vice-President to Seventh Vice-President. He is president of one of the largest organizations in America—A. O. Wharton.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Henning, Machinists, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for A. O. Wharton. The instruction was complied with, and Vice-President Wharton was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

Joseph N. Weber, President of the American Federation of Musicians, was placed in nomination by Delegate Weaver of the same organization, who said: In the pre-Volstead days we used to hear the phrase sometimes about reserving the best of the wine until the last of the feast, and I trust that even in the more or less bone-dry days through which

we are now passing the same figure of speech will not be entirely out of place.

One of the high spots of the Denver convention of the American Federation of Musicians, held during the month of May of the current year, was when the telegraphic communication was received that Joe Weber had been named to fill the office of Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. The response to that announcement was a whirlwind of applause. Then there was a momentary reaction. On a multitude of lips the question became articulate: "Does it mean that the man who for nearly a third of a century has been to us a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, leading us nearer and ever nearer in the direction of the Utopia of our dreams, is to be taken away?" And when assured that that inference did not necessarily follow they said with unity and accord: "We will share him with the parent body that requires his services."

So, Mr. President, on behalf of the 150,000 musicians scattered over the United States and Canada, and knowing the man as I do, knowing the breadth and the virility of his mind, knowing the depths of his sympathy, knowing the serene and lofty heights of his life purpose, I propose to nominate Joseph N. Weber of New York.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Conners, Switchmen, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph N. Weber. The Secretary complied with the instruction, and Joseph N. Weber was declared duly elected Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Martin F. Ryan, President of the International Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, was placed in nomination for Treasurer by Delegate McNally, Secretary of the National Federation of Federal Employees, who said:

Some time ago I was visited in my office by a member of the Bindery Workers' Union in Washington. Some years ago she had saved up a couple of hundred dollars, and a man in the labor movement invested it for her. Later she saved up another couple of hundred dollars, and she wanted to know when that labor man would be in Washington to advise her about investing it. That man is my candidate for Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, Martin F. Ryan.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Fraternal Delegate Nestor, National Women's Trade Union League, the Secretary

was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Martin F. Ryan. The instruction was complied with, and Treasurer Ryan was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

Frank Morrison, International Typographical Union, was nominated for Secretary by Delegate McHugh, Vice-President of the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, who said: It has been the custom in past years for a delegate of the Printing Pressmen's Union to nominate for Secretary a man whom we honor and respect, who has held that position for a great many years. The privilege of nominating him has usually been accorded to the President of our International Union. In his absence, however, my delegation has conferred upon me the privilege and pleasure of placing in nomination Mr. Frank Morrison for Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Martel, Typographical Union, the President was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary for the ensuing year.

President Green: In accordance with the instruction of the convention I cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the election of Frank Morrison as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

(The delegation arose and applauded the Secretary.)

President Green: And in conformity with this action, as Chairman of the convention, I hereby declare Frank Morrison elected Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now we are called upon to nominate two fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. Each fraternal delegate will be required to receive a majority vote of the convention; therefore there will be two elections: first, for one fraternal delegate, and, second, for an associate fraternal delegate, neither one, however, occupying any priority over the other. Nominations are in order for the first fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

John J. Manning, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department, a member of the United Garment Workers, was nominated by Delegate Daisy Houck of the same organization, who said: It gives me pleasure to nominate a candidate for first fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress, Brother John J. Manning.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Brunet, Pressmen, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for John J. Manning. The instruction was complied with by the Secretary, and the Chairman declared John J. Manning duly elected.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: I rise at this time to place in nomination for second fraternal delegate a representative of one of the railroad organizations who for many years has been loyal to the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor. He is well known throughout the entire labor movement of America, and especially well known throughout the railroad organizations. It therefore gives me great pleasure to place in nomination T. C. Cashen of the Switchmen's Union of North America.

Delegate Tobin, President International Brotherhood of Teamsters: It is a rather unusual coincidence to have myself and my old-time friend Bill Mahon, who served with me on the Executive Council for years, and who always agreed with me except when Bill was wrong, nominating different candidates.

I have attended these conventions for twenty-two consecutive years and we have had many candidates, all of them friends, aspiring for election as fraternal delegates. In this convention, at the beginning of the sessions, there were no fewer than seven candidates who had declared themselves as candidates, all of them capable of representing this Federation. Most of them withdrew. I have always desired to say in this convention that the law should be amended so as to prevent this condition arising year after year. Now that I am not a member of the Executive Council I am not afraid to say I would like to see the Council given power to deal with such circumstances as this.

Nineteen years ago I was elected a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, and my experiences in that Congress did more perhaps to ground me in the national and international trade union movement than anything else that ever happened to me. Now it has come to the time in this labor movement when we must train the younger men in knowledge, not only of the labor movement of America but of the labor movement throughout the world.

Labor organizations in foreign countries train their men, even giving them a higher education, so they can succeed to the places and follow in the footsteps of the founders of

the movement. About the best we do is to send one or two of our members across the water each year to bring our message to the British Trades Union Congress, at an expense to the Federation of \$1,800. Each delegate receives from the Federation the enormous sum of \$800 and transportation from his home city to the port of sailing. In my judgment it is the best money the Federation spends, because it helps to bring the spirit of the movement to the countries across the water.

In the selection of the delegates to bring a message of good-will the greatest care should be exercised to select the best men. Very often in our conventions we are swayed by sympathy and good-will, and sometimes we overlook those who might serve us in the positions to which we elect delegates.

I have the pleasure of presenting to the convention the name of a young man who has been tried and trained in more than one battle in labor's interest, whose organization stands out as second to none in obtaining conditions for its membership, and in holding the respect and confidence and approval of all trade unionists in America. This young man is representing the International Union of Theatrical Stage Employees. No organization of labor has made the progress this organization has made in the last twenty years, and no part of the country has progressed economically more than this man's organization in the city of Chicago.

I know the candidate against him is a man of character and a man of honor. I know he has worked hard, and I would not say a thing against his candidacy; but I do say that in my judgment the man to select and send over at this time is Thomas E. Maloy.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: I desire to second the nomination of Tom Maloy.

Delegate Canavan, Theatrical Stage Employees: I could not allow this opportunity to slip by without adding my second to the nomination of Tom Maloy. We present him as a distinguished member of our organization and an outstanding figure in the trade union movement. I trust you will give him consideration when you cast your vote.

Nominations were closed, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Following is the result of the roll call:

#### ROLL CALL

For Cashen: Horn, Powlesland, Franklin, Walter, Coyle, Daley (M.), Ryan (M. F.), Knight,

Holmgren, Beaudry, Flaherty, George, Kelley (Thos. L.), Kennaugh, Norton, Harrison, Levi, Woods, Bannister, Thomas (I. F.), Hall (Frank), Steward (L. C.), McNally, Whitney, Fitzgerald (J.), McNamara, Morton, Conroy, Clarke (W. P.), Cochran, Lawlor, Byrne, Africk, Fljodzal, Millman, Turnbull, Hopcraft, Barry, Burns (M. J.), Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Mahon (W. D.), Dinneen, Regan (T. J.), McLellan, Murray (M. J.), Strickland (H. H.), Bennett (J. F.), Furuseth, Olander, Cashen, Connors (J. B.), Manion, Perham, Ramsay, Davidson (E. L.), Gibbs, Typographical Delegation 611 votes, Walker (J. H.), Lewis (J. C.), Hall (E. G.), Iglesias, Lawson (W. E.), Crouch—representing 5,735 votes.

For Maloy: Gillmore (Frank), Dullzell, Mul-laney, Myrup, Koch, McGuern, Shanessy, Wen-zel, Worthall, Baker (Roe H.), Birthright (Wm. C.), Abbott, Haggerty, Belair, Meehan (Mary E.), Mara, Baine (C. L.), O'Connor (Nora), Dillon, Anderson (D. W.), Morrissey, Oberg-fell, Kugler, Zusi, Price (W. V.), McLcod, Stretch, Jones (G. A.), Moran (Wm. J.), Lyons (Wm. J.), Kasten, Tracy (William), Morrin, Ryan (Edward), Bauers, Barry (John H.), Horan (J.), Nelson, Wills, Hutcheson (Wm. L.), Duffy (Frank), Burdette, Stevenson, Kelo, Tierney, Hoover (G. W.), Lane (G. H.), Orn-burn, Perkins (G. W.), Collins (Wm.), Coulter (C. C.), Zaritsky, Zuckerman, Noonan (J. P.), Ford, Bugniazet, Ingles, Paulsen, Joyce (M. T.), Noble, Feeney, Macdonald (J. C.), Snow, Huddell, Evans (Dave), Fosschl, Healey, Dernberger, Volz, Schmal, Woll, Baer (Fred W.), Dear, Rickert, Wines, Doyle (F.), Adamski, Houck, Schlesinger, Katovsky, Nagler, Dubinsky, Desti, Maloney, Wilson (Edward C.), Squibb, Flore, Hesketh, Koveleski, Schott, Quinn (Agnes), Tighe, Beardsley, McSorley, Case, Moore (George), Hagen, Morrison (H. L.), Gainer, Finnan, Duffy (Charles D.), Mugavin, Swartz (L. E.), Bock, Aitken, Ryan (J. P.), Freitas, Wharton, Fry (Chas.), Henning, Haggerty, Cline, Somerville, Hogan (S. C.), Gorman (Patrick E.), Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Hynes, Redding, Reul, Rooney, Rankin, Deloughery, Lewis (J. L.), Murray (Philip), Kennedy (Thomas), Fagan, Green (William), Nesbit (Walter), Hall (Lee), Hughes (Frank), Keough, McCoy, Frey (John P.), McCaffrey, Weber, Kerngood, Weaver, Parks, Bagley, Canavan (Edward), Swick, Meehan, Madsen, Riley (J. J.), Doyle (J. J.), Lindelof, Wilson (James), Anderson (A. M.), Colleran, Scully (T. A.), Payne, Rooney (J. E.), O'Keefe (William), Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Anderson (Charles), Fallon, Britton, Duffy (James M.), Wheatley, Windsor, Berry (Geo. L.), Brunet (G. R.), Churchill, Bromley, McHugh (Wm. H.), Gavlak, Canavan (W. F.), Griffin, Ryan (P. J.), Maloy (T. E.), Keegan (W. T.), Sumner, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Soderberg (Gust), Wate (James), Hanson, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, McLaughlin (J.), Goudie, McMahon (Thos. F.), Starr, Smith (Wm.), Gorman (F. J.), Evans (E. Lewis), Typographical Delegation 153 votes, Kohn, O'Connell (James), Manning (J. J.), Gross, Toussaint, Hulsbeck, Moriarty (J. T.), Collins (D. O.), Lindeman, Kavanaugh, Campbell (Joe C.), Robertson (T. G.), Topping, Taylor (J.

A.), Fox (H. W.), Tiller, Jennings (P. Harry), Rossell (Wm. M.), Kummer, Malley, Doll, Taylor (J. T.), Starkweather, O'Dell, Smith (J. T.), Sumner (S. C.), Campbell (W. W.), Buzzell, Foster, Quinn (J. C.), Brandt, Booth, Curran, Amsler, O'Connell (John P.), Hagan, Levine, Simpson, Bohm, Gallagher (Patrick), Flynn (M. J.), Tuggle, Tracy (E. J.), Camp-bell (Edna), Vaccarelli—representing 22,008 votes.

Not Voting—Alexander, Gilboy (J.), Silber-stein, Moreschi, Etchison, Marshall (Jos.), Rivers, Collins (J. J.), Varley, Bryan (W. E.), Rode, Scully (J. J.), Coulter (J. L.), Hannah, Fischer (J.), Suito, Gausman, Grimshaw, Powers (F.), Hatch (J.), Spencer (W. J.), Jewell, Wood (J. B.), McCluskey, Fremming, Phillips (W. R. C.), Taylor (T. N.), Barry (J. I.), Sullivan (J.), Donnelly (T. J.), McGaff, Norrington, Ohl, McConaughy, Kelly (J.), Johnson (J. W.), Laude, Hoffman, Downie, Becker (L. F.), Buckley, Augustino, Olkives, Southall, Watt, Sheehan, Shave, Draper (P. M.), Bower, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Darrington, Doyle (F. E.), Woodman-see, Walsh (M.), Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Kromel-bein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Tapken, Saunders (J. T.), Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Sidney, Flynn (James), McElliott, Randolph (A. P.), Webster (M. P.), Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway, Brownlie, Bell, Whitebone, representing 1,396 votes.

President Green: Brother Maloy, having received a majority of all votes, is hereby de-clared elected as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate McLaughlin: I desire to nominate for fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress Adolph Kummer of the Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers, who for the past thirty years has been a staunch trade unionist in the state of Ohio.

No other candidate was nominated, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the uni-form vote of the convention for Adolph Kummer. The instruction was complied with, and Delegate Kummer was declared uni-formly elected.

#### SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY

Boston, Mass., was placed in nomination by Delegate Moriarty of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, who stated that the entire New England delegation endorsed the nomi-nation. He pointed out that Boston would cele-brate its three hundredth anniversary in 1930, and urged the labor movement of the country to take part in that celebration.

Delegate J. P. Meehan, Painters and Decora-tors, and Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, seconded the nomination of Boston.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, announced that he had been instructed to nominate Rochester, N. Y., but would not do so, but stated that he served notice on the convention that in 1930 he would ask that the 1931 convention be held in Rochester.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Our organization desires to notify the convention that if you select Boston you can have all the leading hotels there, for they are organized from the kitchens to the dining rooms.

Delegate Bugnaizet, Electrical Workers, moved that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Boston. The instruction was complied with, and Boston was declared the city in which the next convention of the American Federation of Labor would be held.

President Green: It is near the hour of adjournment, but our British fraternal delegates wish to say a word to you. They advise that they are leaving the city tonight, and we feel, as they feel, that they should say a word to us before we adjourn.

Fraternal Delegate Brownlie: Mr. President and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor: I feel that I must before leaving express to you my great debt of gratitude and appreciation of the many acts of kindness extended to me, not only by the Executive Council of the Federation, but by each and all of the delegates that I came in contact with during the past ten days.

I came to this convention rich in my recollection of many prominent American trade unionists and Canadian trade unionists, and I leave Toronto wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice inasmuch as I value my acquaintance with many trade unionists I have met. I will

carry back with me to the homeland these recollections, which will be cherished as long as I live. I thank you for the great kindness you have extended to my beloved wife, who will be greatly pleased when I give her your gift.

And now I will say a word for my colleague, Jim Bell, who has gone to the office to arrange for his ticket. He asked me to extend his sincere thanks for the many acts of kindness that he has received, and in conclusion I wish to thank you for the great reception you gave my old friend Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the labor movement in Great Britain, about which I shall have very great pleasure in informing my colleagues on the other side of the Atlantic. Wherever I go I shall always look back upon that manifestation of cordiality, comradeship and brotherhood in which you all dedicated yourselves in the interests of world peace.

President Green: I am sure that I but represent the deepest feeling in the hearts and minds of all when I say that we wish for Brother Brownlie and his colleague, Brother Bell, continued happiness and great pleasure during the remaining days of their stay on American soil. We ask them to carry back to our friends, members of the British Trades Union Congress and the leaders of that great movement across the sea, our best wishes for their continued success, for their continued welfare and their happiness. I wish them to know that the bonds of fraternity and goodwill and friendship have been strengthened by the visit of Brother Brownlie and Brother Bell. We wish both of them a safe and happy return to their loved ones in their homes so far across the sea.

At 6 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a.m., Friday, October 18.

# Ninth Day---Friday Morning Session

Toronto, Ontario.  
October 18, 1929.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

## Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Coulter (J. L.), Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H. W.), Powers (F. B.), Wood, McCluskey, Gross, Phillips, Barry, Kavanagh, Topping, Norrington, Ohl, McConaughy, Kelly, Johnson, Laude, Hoffmann, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Augustino, Olkives, Sumner (S. C.), Southall, Watt (R. J.), Sheehan, Shave, Quinn, Brandt, Booth, Bower, Curran, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, Darrington, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Walsh, Fitz Patrick, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S.), Mack, Tapken, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Gallagher, Sidney, Flynn (J.), Tuggle, McElligott, Webster, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell (T.), Portway.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram from the Elks' Club in Boston, Massachusetts:

Boston, Mass., Oct. 17, 1929.

Wm. Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ontario.

Congratulations to you and your associates on selecting Boston for the 1930 Convention. I am happy as Exalted Ruler of the Boston Lodge to tender to you and your associates the hospitality of the Boston Lodge and will be pleased to have you make our hotel your headquarters. In Boston Lodge, out of 7,000 members more than 2,500 are identified with trade union activities. They are some of our best members.

F. LOCKNEY.

## INJUNCTION DISCUSSION---(Continued)

President Green: We will now take up the question which was under consideration when the convention adjourned yesterday evening. Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, if nobody else wants to speak I would like to say something in answer to what was said yesterday.

President Green: The Chair understands that the secretary of the committee wishes to speak on the question, but the secretary gladly waives the opportunity and yields to you.

Delegate Furuseth: If anyone else wants to speak I will be glad to wait.

Delegate Smith, Textile Workers: I would like to have a word to say on the question of injunctions, not so much the bill or the discus-

sion of the bill, because my ability to discuss the legal phases is very limited. I do hope that this convention will do that thing, which ever is right, that will mean the end of injunctions in labor disputes. I represent a very small department in the United Textile Workers of America affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Our industry, the full-fashioned hosiery industry, employs about 45,000 people in the United States. There are about eighty-five mills which really amount to anything in the manufacture of full-fashioned hosiery. I would just like to read into the record the number of mills in which we are enjoined and the number of mills that have injunctions applied for and the number of mills wherein the "yellow dog" contract is in effect.

First of all, we have the Julius Kayser Company of Brooklyn, New York, one of the largest full-fashioned hosiery manufacturers in the world, enjoined from in any way attempting to organize the workers or speak to any of the workers employed in that factory. We have the Chipman Mill of Quakertown, Pennsylvania, enjoined; we have the Allen A Company of Kenosha, Wisconsin, enjoined because of a strike situation where the workers in that factory struck because of their desire to become members of the American Federation of Labor. We have the Federal Knitting Company, Philadelphia; the Philadelphia Knitting Mills, Philadelphia; the Shaughnessy Knitting Company, Boston; and the Cambria Silk Hosiery Company of Philadelphia.

Injunctions are applied for in the following instances: Apex Hosiery Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Keystone, Brooklyn, New York; Brownhill & Kramer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ipswich Hosiery Co., Gloucester, Mass.; Kraemer Hosiery Co., Nazareth, Pa.

In this last injunction that has been applied for, at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, I believe it is one of the most drastic that has ever been applied for in the history of injunctions. It even prevents us from using the mails to tell our story to the people who work in the Kraemer Hosiery Company of Nazareth, Pennsylvania.

We have the "yellow dog" contract in effect in the following mills: Brownhill & Kramer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Apex Hosiery Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Artcraft Silk Hosiery Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Burlington, Philadelphia, Pa.; Windsor Mills, Philadelphia, Pa.; Cambria Silk Hosiery Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Mock Judson, Greensboro, North Carolina; Davenport Hosiery Mills, Chattanooga, Tennessee; Noe Equal Textile Mills, Reading, Pa.; John Blood, Boyertown, Pa.; Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Indianapolis, Ind.; Kraemer Hosiery Co., Nazareth, Pa.; Chipman Bros. & Co., Easton, Pa.; Ipswich Hosiery Co., Gloucester, Mass.; Triumph Hosiery Mills, York, Pa.; Greensboro Full Fashioned Hosiery Mills, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, the injunction and the "yellow dog" contract are practically



wiping our little organization off the map, and if something is not done by the labor movement and by Congress to prevent the courts from restraining us from organizing, our little progressive organization will soon be extinct.

In discussing this injunction question, to my right and to my left there sit two young girls, children, if you will, who have been the victims of this injunction. These girls are daughters of an Illinois miner, a member of the United Mine Workers of America, and in order to see to it that the public was aroused and would be aroused against the use of the injunction they served nineteen days in jail in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. These girls tell a very vivid story of the injunction, and I would ask the indulgence of this convention for about seven minutes of their time to permit the girls to tell their story of their time in jail in order that we might, as Delegate Frey said the other day, go from this convention burning up with indignation at the misuse of the injunction.

President Green: It is perfectly agreeable with the Chair to hear from these young ladies. I explained to Delegate Smith last night when he first talked to me about the matter that I would be pleased to give these two young ladies an opportunity to speak to you just briefly. The first of these two is Miss Ellen Baird. You heard what Brother Smith has said. These girls have served time in the Milwaukee jail in defense of trade union principles and because they would not yield to the exactions of equity demands.

#### MISS ELLEN BAIRD

Miss Baird's statement, in part, is as follows:

President Green and Delegates to the Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor: It gives me a great deal of pleasure to have the opportunity of attending this convention and also the privilege of telling you something of our lockout in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

In looking over the Executive Council's report I notice that an effort is being made to compile the names of all those fined or imprisoned for violating the injunction, so I suppose the names of my sister and myself will be in the rogues' gallery.

Just about two years ago the United Textile Workers and Hosiery Workers sent an organizer into Kenosha for the purpose of organizing the Allen A. Hosiery workers. They were so successful that about two months after the union knitters held a banquet in the Elks' Club in Kenosha. It happened on that night that the general manager and vice-president of the Allen A. Company were attending a club dinner at the Elks. Our union knitters saw them there and asked if they would not please come up and address us. Of course they refused. This was the first time that they realized just how strongly we were organized.

The following Saturday they called all our knitters together in the recreation room, and Mr. Bryan, the general manager, got up on a box and said, "Now, boys, I am going to do the talking here. I don't want any of

you to interrupt me or ask any questions. You are no longer employed by the Allen A. Company. You may return on Monday morning if you tear up your union card." And he said he was sure that at least eighty per cent would return to work on Monday morning. At the conclusion of his talk he said, "Now, boys, this is what the union has done for you." And on Monday morning, instead of eighty per cent returning to work, I am proud to say there were ninety-eight per cent of us out on the picket line.

We kept up this mass picketing for about three weeks, and it proved to be so effective that the company rushed down to the Federal Court in Milwaukee and were granted a preliminary restraining order prohibiting us from picketing the mills or even trying to peacefully persuade any of the scabs to come out. Injunction or no injunction, we went out on the picket line. That night we were served with papers. We went home and told our dad we had been served with injunction papers prohibiting us from picketing the mills or even trying to peacefully persuade any of the scabs to come out, and he said, "Girls, tear a leaf from the book of Samuel Gompers and go out and violate the injunction." We always obey our father and we went out and violated that injunction.

We were then served with papers for conspiracy, to appear in Federal Court in Milwaukee. There were twenty-six of us cited. We were fortunate in securing a jury trial, through our attorney, and after the company had brought evidence and witnesses against us for five days the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. Even that did not scare us. The next day we were out on the picket line stronger than ever. Then they started the wholesale arrests.

I want to say now, delegates, that there were only 330 workers locked out in Kenosha, and up to date there have been over eight hundred arrests made, so you can see that none of us is laying down on the job. We were arrested wholesale, forty, fifty and sixty in a day. We were taken down to jail, our mattresses were taken away from us, we were given nothing to eat and sometimes they even threw tear-gas bombs into the cells to quiet us down. I have ridden down in the patrol wagon many times in Kenosha, and I am proud of it. I think every union man and woman should be proud of going to jail for a principle. We used to keep the patrol wagon in Kenosha busy for a couple of hours a day at a time. They would arrest one load and go down to the station and no sooner would they arrive there than they would have a call to hurry back for another load. It is not the first time we filled the jail at Kenosha. Many times they have had us arrested and let us go because they did not have any more room for us. When that patrol wagon pulled up in front of the company everybody was pushing everybody else. It just seemed they were afraid they were not going to get in. One of our girls had been arrested thirteen times and another one nine times. These girls got sick and tired of going out every day and being arrested, so one day when they arrested them they refused bail and remained

in jail. Not only did they remain in jail for thirteen days but they went on a hunger strike, and I am sure you will agree with me that it takes a lot of nerve and courage for two young girls to remain in jail thirteen days without anything to eat.

We have tried to arbitrate with the Allen A Company at all times. Three weeks after we were locked out our National President came down to Kenosha and tried to arbitrate, but the company refused. The Governor of Wisconsin has tried, Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, has tried, and I can remember when President Green came down to Kenosha and spoke, and we presented President Green with a ball and chain so that he would feel at home while he was in Kenosha.

They cited twenty-six of us again in Federal Court, but this time they changed the charge from conspiracy to civil suit. Therefore we were denied a jury trial. The judge heard our case and found us guilty and fined us \$100 and costs. We asked our attorney, if we paid this \$100, where it would go. He told us the Allen A Hosiery Company would get it. Can you imagine that? A company that locked us out, refused to arbitrate, and then we are fined and the money would go to them. We twenty-six got together and decided, rather than pay that company one hundred dollars, we would go to jail.

The last income tax report that the Allen A Company made out showed that in the last year they lost \$800,000, and I am here to tell you we intend to make them lose another \$800,000 this year and for the next five years if they want to keep it up. Another thing—the general manager, John Bryan, who so boldly said the night we were locked out, "Now, boys, this is what the union has done for you," resigned three months afterwards by request. He was fired. So, my friends, we have had the privilege of saying to Mr. Bryan in the past three months: "Mr. Bryan, this is what the union has done for you."

After fighting for twenty-two months I am proud to say that we are just as determined today as we were twenty-two months ago to stick to it if it takes five years to lick this company. I am not going any further, because if I did I would be stealing my sister's story, and I am going to ask her to tell you for just a few minutes of our experiences in the Milwaukee jail.

#### MISS LILLIAS BAIRD

Miss Lillias Baird, in describing the trip to the jail and the conditions encountered there, said, in part:

When we arrived at the jail we were taken into the registration room, where they asked us our names and our addresses and if we had ever been there before, our occupation and trade, and they also relieved us of our jewelry and money. The marshal then turned to us and said, "What's the idea of those suitcases?" We said we were going to be there for an indefinite period and had to have a change of clothes. He then informed us we would not need our clothes, because they had them in the Milwaukee jail. So we decided that

if they had clothes for us at the Milwaukee jail we were going to demand the union label on them.

The matron, a big, stern-looking woman, came in and lined us up and took us into the women's headquarters. The first thing that greeted us was a command: "Take off your clothes; you are going to take a shower." We all looked at one another, not knowing what to do. She said, "Take your clothes off; you are going to take a shower." We started taking our shoes and stockings off. After we took our shower she said, "Line up again." She lined us up alongside a bunch of racks, and there we found our clothing—old cotton stockings, flour-sack underwear and long blue calico aprons. You could even see the brand of flour on the underwear. One looked at the other to see who was going to ask for the union label, and one girl said in a small voice, "Are these clothes union made?" The matron said, "They are made right here, there is no label on them and you are going to wear them." And we did.

Then we were taken into the dining-room, where we had a cold meat ball and some bread, but we were told that there was no butter. We were told also we would have to go to bed at 9 o'clock and get up at 6 o'clock; that we could not look out the window and that we could only write two letters a month; that we had to eat everything put on our plate whether we liked it or not; and that if any of these rules were disobeyed we would be put in the dungeon on bread and water.

Our occupation was patching and darning. Anyway I learned something about how to patch and darn, and one would have thought we were patching and darning for the army the way the clothes came in there. All we had to eat was beans and cabbage—beans and cabbage for dinner, and cabbage and beans for supper. Another favorite was pig-tail stew.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Furuseth.

#### DELEGATE FURUSETH

(Seamen)

Mr. Chairman, I am very happy to have the opportunity this morning instead of having had it yesterday afternoon. When I was listening to the address made by Vice-President Woll in defense of the bill, in which he took up about twenty minutes, using the other hour and ten minutes in attacking what had been said or what had been supposed to have been said by myself and by Senator Blaine, I was really wondering—I was wondering who it was that was speaking. I am speaking now of my feelings last night. Was it a pettifoggish lawyer taking the other side because his case was weak and who used just what he wanted and stopped the quotation where it would not do to continue, or was it possibly the president of the Civic Federation who was defending the equity power in injunctions and labor disputes?

Vice-President Woll: I resent any such insinuation.

President Green: I suggest that the Brother refrain from indulging in personalities.

Delegates Furuseth: Certainly—I accept the correction. I said that is what I would have said yesterday and I would have enlarged upon it and I would have gone into a whole pile of the misquotations. But I have had a night's rest. I have been communing with myself, and once in awhile I also commune with my Maker the best I know how, and I come here this morning with another story, speaking in a different temper and in a different way.

I summed up in my mind what he said. First, when he was asked, "Does not this bill, if it passes, give the equity power to the courts upon the petition of organized labor, jurisdiction which will cover, because of the nature of equity courts, all activities of labor?" he said "Yes." I asked further whether the bill did not seek to control the judiciary power after having given jurisdiction in equity, and if he had seen any textbooks and dictionaries or any decisions that would sustain him in the idea that that court would hold that interference for trying to limit judiciary power, or rather it would hold it unconstitutional. I asked him for official authoritative documents and his answer was my pamphlet, "Memorandum on Government by Law versus Government by Equity." And then in his speech, when he tried to find in this pamphlet some justification, he began to read the power of Congress as laid down by Chief Justice Marshall, and he found that he was getting into deep water and he quit. I found further, by going over his tale, his argument, that he made a mistake in thinking that all the different rights of men may be protected by equity. He got that out of the quotations from law by a method that he certainly could not have got from the law school. At any rate, the thing that he brought to your attention was that, while the equity power was wrong, used wrong, extended too far, it was dangerous and inadvisable to ask that it may reduce or limit it to such an extent as is proposed in the Shipstead Bill now, or in the amendment of the Shipstead Bill.

All of this, as I came through the door last night, gave to my mind the conviction that Vice-President Woll has not given sufficient attention to this question to really know what the equity power is and what the judicial power is, and if he had he could not sustain the bill in question in any way because of its structure, as he said yesterday. And so I said, "Now, what in the name of common sense was it that caused him to do that?" He is very active, he is extremely active, he is one of the best talkers in the American labor movement, and when he really knows anything he talks convincingly, too. What's the matter?

So I came to the conclusion that I had no right to blame him—he was doing the best he could, he was giving the best that was in him, but that meant he was giving himself. He was not responsible, could not be made responsible, because he was born that way.

Let us go back now for a minute to what the injunction is. Quoting definitions, I asked in my pamphlet whether, if it does not mean a

court of conscience, by the very definitions from the law books it does not give to the courts the definite power, nay, make it its duty to set aside all law, all statutes and constitutional law for the purpose of doing justice as he sees it in his conscience. If you want any evidence of that, surely to God the injunction issued in Pennsylvania prohibiting men from the use of the mails is evidence enough. If you want any further evidence that it was in fear of what they might do, you only have to look at these girls who spoke to you. They cannot do much except talk, and talk they can, and that is what they were afraid of.

All through this struggle about equity runs the one red trail that it has been extended unduly both by Congress and by the courts, that it has invaded fields in which it destroys every liberty that men have got and that it has set aside every piece of written statute law or constitutional law that we have.

Then you are asked to petition Congress, in your interests, to give to the equity courts specific grant of power over your activities. The admission is made by the speaker that he had not been able to find any authorities that would justify him in believing—he said that he might find them, he hadn't time—he has had all night. I could not find what I want, so I don't blame him. I wanted to get hold of a dictionary of law, the one generally used in America and Canada to-day, at least in the United States, practically by all courts and lawyers. It is Bouvier's. I wanted to look up the specific definition of the word "equity" and "equitable." I neglected to put that in here. Now, if I had that it would be an all-conclusive answer to the story that he told.

The equity as it came to us gave jurisdiction over property and property rights. Property and property rights are synonymous. There can be no right in that which does not exist. Property is defined as tangible and transferable, something that you have got exclusive right to in contradistinction of everybody else in the world. Now property rights first came to us, and it said the courts should have jurisdiction to protect property. It did not care a fig about whose property. It was when the question of all title was at stake that the property was to be protected until title had been determined. Now, then, by extending the meaning of the word "property" to cover conjugal rights, filial rights, political rights, civil rights, personal rights, all of which are excluded from the equity jurisdiction in Great Britain today—by adding those particular rights as property rights, of course equity has jurisdiction of them all. And so you are put in the position of asking that the courts may get jurisdiction in order that it may do what? Set aside the trial by jury. You say you want trial by jury. You can't have it except in case of crime. Now these Wisconsin boys and girls were arrested for the crime of conspiracy. They were tried in a law court, they were tried by a jury and acquitted. In equity you can get no trial by jury because that would destroy the whole equity process. Of course I am not talking for abolishing equity. You know what you mean by your having an equitable right.

in a house. You have invested some money in it. When it comes to the sale or disposal of it you want to have your rights taken care of. Those are equitable rights and I want to preserve them for you, but when it comes to having right over something that is only existing in the imagination or in the constructions or in the decisions handed down already with a purpose of liquidating the Constitution of the United States and setting it aside—when it comes to that I part company with those of you who believe in the equity process.

Equity? Yes. To protect property? Yes. Is your labor power property? If it is, you are as much of a slave today as you were prior to the Thirteenth Amendment. Is the carrying on of a business a property right? There is no distinction between digging a ditch and carrying on a business except the hat upon the man and the clothes he wears. Both of those are doing nothing more nor less than exercising the creative lodged by God in man. You never saw a man working at anything who was a half-idiot or an idiot. You never saw him do anything in the shape of work, and this talk about distinguishing between the man who works with his hands and the man who works with his brain is insanity. The digging of a ditch requires the brain if you go and look at somebody doing it. The writing of a decision is labor, and simply because you are wage laborers, does that give you a right to a distinct class in society? If it does, it is the class out of which Christianity and civilization have gradually carried you—namely, the absolute chattel slavery to the partial freedom that we have today.

Now I am not going to speak any more of the misquotations. I am going to let them go, except in so far as they have got to do with something that he imported into this discussion—not me. I did not import the amended Shipstead Bill here. I distributed some pamphlets for you to study. I did not sign myself as President of the Seamen's Union. I did not sign myself as delegate to the American Federation of Labor. I did not give you any of the hifalutin titles I might have. I simply said Andrew Furuseth. Of course I could have said that in the matter I represented somebody, because there are organizations who have taken a position corresponding with the one I have taken, but they are insignificant and there is no necessity for it.

When the question of whether the Shipstead Bill was good or bad came up a most astonishing thing happened. Of all of the men who came before the committee representing the Federation purely, none voted for the Shipstead Bill. They devoted their time to the terrors of the injunction and begging for a remedy. That was their right, that was the proper thing to do. They believed so. They followed the advice of their lawyers, they followed the advice of their consciences, and it is not right for a man to do anything against conscience—you know its dangers, so I have got no criticism of them for that. Some wanted it amended this way, some wanted it amended the other way. Some said it extended the jurisdiction and some said it abso-

lutely wiped out equity jurisdiction, and in this multiplicity of opinions, what should the committee do? It tried to get the best advice it could and produced a substitute, and that is this bill with a few amendments. The structure is the same and the structure, as the former speaker, is the structure of the Clayton Act.

Now the structure is the one thing that I complained of in the bill and that is why I have amended or tried to amend the Shipstead Bill in such a way as to avoid all of that and make it very simple.

"Equity courts shall have jurisdiction to protect property against irreparable injury"—that has been left out and nobody was more sorry for that than I am. Now, here is something new—"caused by affirmative destructive action." Well that is purely a suggestion of my own. Why do I make it? I make it for three reasons—first, because they extended the meaning of property to cover every condition of life; second, because a large amount of property has in it qualities which will destroy it if it is left to itself and not attended to by man. Thus, a field of growing wheat gets ripe, it must be harvested or it is lost. That is physical property. But nobody thought up until lately that it would be possible to issue an injunction compelling men to go to work and harvest the wheat. Now, however, the road is perfectly clear for issuing a mandatory injunction telling them to go to work and harvest the wheat. Why do I say that? Because that is the principle laid down in the Duplex Decision and that is the philosophy and the reasoning and the decision followed in the Bedford Cut Stone case. There was no way in which they could prove that they were not conspiring against the cut stone or against the printing press except by going back to work. They did not even interfere with the stone or the press. The trouble was it would not, and because it did not the price of the press, the sales price of the press and the sales price of the stone would pass away, as everything manufactured by man is likely and assured to pass away ultimately if man does not attend to it and renew it when necessary.

For that reason it seems necessary that even if this original jurisdiction was readopted and Section 4 of the Sherman Act was repealed it might possibly be that the principles involved and growing out of the Sherman Law and out of Section 4 in the Sherman Law would go into the body of the law and be used. What was it that made it possible to issue the injunction in the Duplex case? The ruling that the carrying on of a business is a property right and is to be protected if irreparable injury is threatened against it. That was passed by Congress and the jurisdiction was given to the courts.

All I ask is that the courts shall take that jurisdiction away—not take it away, because they can't do that, but hedge it in such a way that it will apply to property and property rights only and defining what property is when there is no remedy at law. And mind you, now, I go on—"for the purpose of determining such jurisdiction the expression 'remedy at law' shall be held to be any

remedy, criminal or civil, provided by legislation." Now, what does that mean? It means that I tried to follow Thomas Jefferson, who said that the courts had no right to make law, ought not have any, that the legislature was there for that purpose. Originally it also meant this—and that is the chief meaning now—"remedy at law"—protecting property against irreparable injury where there is no remedy at law.

Now why property, why only property? Why? Because if you extend the word "property," if you go into the personal rights, then you can get an injunction against anybody who undertakes to talk to you on the street, and a personal right is something that everybody has. It is not for your use exclusively. You will get injunctions against violations of political rights. There are other methods to deal with that, the methods of law. Against personal rights there are other methods dealing with that. The law provides mandates. Why has it originally referred exclusively to property rights? Because if you put it into the personal rights, then of course the jury goes by the board. If you put it into political rights, then the First Amendment to the Constitution goes by the board. If you make labor into property because you construe labor as being property and the carrying on of business a property right, and the right to labor a property right, then the Thirteenth Amendment goes into the waste basket entirely.

There is the property right and then the specific definition of that, and it is in order to strengthen that that I have put in these two suggestions—one "caused by affirmative destructive action"; "for the purpose of determining such jurisdiction the expression 'remedy at law' shall be held to be any remedy, criminal or civil, provided by legislation"—and then define property. And I defy anybody to get out of this distinction something that will interfere with the protection of property created by law or as to property created by labor. "And nothing shall be held to be property unless it is tangible or transferable." Then all of this would be perfect nonsense if it did not provide for the repeal of Section 4 of the Sherman Act, because that makes property out of a going business. It instructs the court to protect a going business in interstate commerce. That thing which is equitable has to do with property, and the court could not have jurisdiction at all except as Congress made the operation of a going business into a property to be protected by it.

Your attack here, your complaint here should not be against the courts at all. They have followed their conscience. If their conscience tells them that in the case of the steel trust they must not issue an injunction and in the case of the Duplex case or the Stone Cutters' case they should issue one—

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: The speaker having spoken longer than ten minutes, I would merely like to interrupt to make a statement that would occupy ten minutes or so. Rule 7 says that speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, and for that reason I have interrupted the speaker for just a minute or two. Would it be in order—

President Green: I think the speaker will be through in a very short time.

Delegate Furuseth: If you want to make a statement I have no objection personally.

Delegate Maloney: I want to call the attention of the convention and the Chair to the fact that two-thirds of the delegates have left town and there are several committees expected to report and I feel the business of the convention should be expedited. I understand the rest of the delegates or the majority of them will leave tonight, and I desire to serve notice that after a reply is made to Delegate Furuseth on this interesting question, I am going to move the previous question in order that the convention may be able to finish its business tonight.

President Green: The Chair has given very wide latitude in the discussion of this question because I fully appreciate the fact that it transcends in importance practically every question considered by the convention. I did not want any delegate to leave this convention without fully appreciating the fact that he had been given the widest opportunity of presenting his views on the subject. I know that the rules have been violated by practically every speaker and I realize that we are reaching the point now where we ought to conform to the rules of the convention so that the business of the convention may be facilitated.

Delegate Furuseth (continuing): Of course I could appeal to the convention in this matter, but the Chair has ruled that I may continue. As far as I am concerned I have no objection to being interfered with or any questions being put to me when I advocate anything. Now I am advocating something. Before I was a critic, a critic of the other bill. Now, because it has been imported here, I am an advocate of this bill, which good lawyers say will not only take injunctions out of labor disputes, but will take injunctions out of every instance where it has been extended beyond the real judiciary, the real tangible or transferable property.

Delegate Olander: Will the delegate yield to a question now?

Delegate Furuseth: Certainly.

Delegate Olander: What are their names—who are these lawyers?

Delegate Furuseth: Well, one lawyer is Mr. Winthrop Martin. I have a letter from him, received less than two days ago, in which he says that. The trouble with this bill, he says, this bill of mine—and I call it mine now because I am defending it—the trouble with it is that it goes into the matter of the equity jurisdiction and tears it to pieces, not that it is unjustifiable or that it is wrong, but it may be extremely difficult to get it through. He says in this last letter that I got from

him that that is the conclusion he has come to after serious thinking.

**Delegate Olander:** Let me ask another question. Now isn't it true that that one lawyer you have mentioned suggested a substitute bill on the same general plan as the Executive Council's bill?

**Delegate Furuseth:** No, that is not true. It was a substitute bill that he suggested last spring, but it was not on the same general plane as the Executive Council's bill. It was not asking Congress to confer jurisdiction upon courts of equity in labor disputes. His bill, a substitute bill, would be laying down public policy and then try to prevent any injunctions to be issued in labor disputes. He says that this as it now reads is sound and a thing that labor ought to get behind, but he says they will have a long way to travel to get it through. It is so drastic and true that it will take a long time to get it through.

Now I want to give notice here—and I suppose I can give that—that before the vote is taken, under parliamentary rules and usages of the American Federation of Labor, I am going to exercise the right granted to any properly seated delegate or member. I give notice now that I am going to make a motion to recommit to the Executive Council.

#### SECRETARY OLANDER

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the difficulty confronting the delegates in trying to crowd into the few remaining hours at our disposal all of the business now pending, and as a result there must be some very natural impatience at the time which is being taken on this particular question. I was happy to note that my colleague, Delegate Furuseth, after a great deal of hesitation and doubt on the subject, finally decided to discuss here at the last minute that which has been uppermost in his mind throughout the convention, and indeed throughout the year, on this question, the bill which he believes should be given preference in this matter.

I had said to him—because he and I deal very frankly with each other—that I proposed to deal with that bill line by line before this convention adjourned, whether he brought it up or not, for the reason that I have a duty to perform to this convention beyond that of an ordinary delegate. First, because I more than any other individual here was responsible for declarations of previous conventions in so far as committee reports were concerned favoring the principle laid down in that particular bill; that I had struggled with all the energy I am capable of to find a way of applying that principle; that I had not been able to do it myself and had yet to meet another man who could do it; therefore I owed it to the officers and delegates to frankly explain the situation.

I am not afraid to frankly admit a situation of that sort, and I will not cling to preconceived notions in which I find myself floundering, simply because I do not like to have someone else say to me that I was obliged to change my mind.

At the New Orleans convention the substitute bill was put before the Committee on

Resolutions. The committee reported unfavorably against the bill. I felt at the time that, regardless of the fact that it would perhaps have taken up a couple of hours' time of the convention, nevertheless a complete analysis of that bill ought to have been submitted by the committee. It would have been a big job to do that in the short time at our disposal, but it could have been done.

I was irritated then by the fact that I found delegates in the lobby of the hotel sneeringly charging in reference to other matters that things were being jammed through the convention by a machine and that delegates were denied the opportunity to express themselves. And here at this convention the Committee on Resolutions, its chairman and every member of it, sought to get the question before the convention at a time when the very fullest consideration could be given it. One thing after another got in the way, beyond the control of the committee and sometimes beyond the control of the convention, and in some instances within the control of the convention.

After the adjournment of the New Orleans Convention a special committee was appointed to deal with this question. A careful and critical analysis of the bill which had been drafted for the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee was read. I have dealt very fairly with Delegate Furuseth on this matter, because as I saw that he had an opportunity to read that analysis so that he might clearly see the attitude of this special committee which—in his criticism of the chairman of this committee—he now charges with incompetency, and he makes the charges in language that carries with it grave insinuations.

I worked with that sub-committee, and I am not here to shirk any responsibility for the outcome of that work. If my colleague could have made any better criticisms of that bill than were made by that sub-committee he failed to do it when the substitute first made its appearance, because his first suggestion was to amend it; that is to say, to leave the structure what it is and make amendments. Now, that is not an accusation. I think it is very natural for him or any other man to proceed in that way, and perfectly proper for him to change his mind afterwards; but I think it is questionable argument and poor logic to insist that when other men follow the same sort of procedure there is something either lacking in sense in their action, or perhaps that their integrity is not all that it should be.

The purpose of the opposition here is the presentation of another bill, information regarding which you were not given until this morning, and then only very partial information. I should like to raise the query as to just why that was. There was nothing new about the bill we usually refer to as the Shipstead Bill. There seemed to be a hesitancy about submitting it to this convention, some doubt as to whether it could stand the kind of analysis given the original substitute bill, and I tell you it cannot stand that kind of analysis. It is so poorly drafted that I have yet to meet a single man, not excluding its author who spoke to you a moment ago, who has frankly stated in a public manner what that bill was intended to do and what it utterly fails to do.



The social committee having made the critical analysis of the substitute bill, the President of the American Federation of Labor submitted that analysis to the lawyers of the Federation. They redrafted the bill. That redraft was submitted to the sub-committee, who made a number of changes, consisting of both insertions and eliminations, as a result of which there came out of that work an entirely changed bill. Further alterations were then made, and in the report submitted to you it is suggested that still further changes may be necessary, and that the Executive Council should be empowered to make them. That bill has been in your hands now for several days, printed in the proceedings of this convention, and those who have opposed it have not thought it worth their time and attention to analyze the bill in the manner the special committee undertook to analyze the Senate sub-committee bill.

My good friend Delegate Furuseth, who has heard before all that I am saying to you, and most of what I am going to say—because, as I said, we deal frankly with each other—is fond of quoting authorities, very properly so, and yesterday he felt that if he could only secure a copy of Bouvier's Law Dictionary he would be able to confound the chairman of the committee who spoke yesterday. I have no object in this discussion except to bring out the facts and discover beyond any doubt what the wisest course is, and I am quite willing to see Matthew Woll, another good friend of mine, take a fall if the result will be to give us better information.

I went out and endeavored to get a copy of Bouvier's Law Dictionary for Delegate Furuseth, and I tried harder to get it than he did. I wanted to give him all the authorities possible, because I wanted him to be able to say the bill offers a practical solution. It seems to me that one who is so insistent upon authority should present at least one competent, live authority who would be willing to see if the original Shipstead Bill will do what it is intended to do.

Mark you, I haven't any doubt as to the intention being all that it should be and the motive of the very highest. I do not challenge motives, certainly not that of Delegate Furuseth. I do not challenge intentions—I am simply challenging the language that is being presented to you.

Delegate Furuseth (interrupting): Would it be out of order for me to suggest to you that Mr. Davenport has said publicly that this bill would destroy equity jurisdiction?

President Green: The Chair will have to request Delegate Furuseth not to interrupt the speaker. We will have to expedite the work of this convention.

Secretary Olander: I asked Delegate Furuseth the name of a lawyer who favored the bill and he named Winthrop Martin of Seattle. I know from the correspondence of Mr. Martin that he has very grave doubts about the Furuseth Bill, and some substitute must be offered for Martin. And whom do we get? Davenport! A very poor authority from the labor point of view.

It may be necessary to refer to the name of Senator Blaine, and certainly to frequently refer to the Shipstead Bill. I want to make it

clear that both Senator Blaine and Senator Shipstead have indicated a desire to be helpful to labor in this situation; both of them are struggling with the question. I believe, as much as I believe anything, that each one is as sincere as a man can be, and I want no word of mine to be construed as being critical of them or challenging in even the slightest degree their willingness to do all that can be done for the labor movement on this question.

Now I ask you to take a look at the bill submitted to you by the Executive Council, which comes from the special committee which has been at work on it during the year. Section 1 limits jurisdiction. A blunt question was asked and a blunt reply given: "Does the bill give jurisdiction?" The answer was "Yes." I do not believe that undue advantage should be taken of that very blunt answer. The fact of the matter is that the courts have jurisdiction, and there is no way we can deal with that jurisdiction for any purpose whatever unless we recognize it.

I said to Delegate Furuseth the other day, discussing this very matter: "You have a cigar in your pocket, haven't you?" He said "Yes." "Well," I said, "how can you get that cigar and shorten it unless you recognize that you have it?" Recognize the existence of that jurisdiction, covering, as it does, labor whether we like it or not.

The bill proceeds in Section 1 with the announcement of limitation.

In Section 2 there is a declaration of public policy in which I am particularly interested, because it proceeds in a way I believe to be proper. It states that trade union organizations, trade union associations and trade union selection of representatives are essential procedure if the workers are to secure the liberty to which they are entitled, and presents to Congress squarely the issue of trade unionism, saying plainly to them, "Make your choice now. Tell us in dealing with this question whether you are willing to recognize the thing we are seeking—the right to carry on trade unions and do the things we think trade unions have a right to do."

Section 3 proposes outlawing the "yellow dog" contract.

Section 4 is a declaration of the right to strike and to persuade others to strike; to cease to patronize and to persuade others to do likewise; to carry on activities to make these rights essential.

Section 5 affects the application of conspiracy doctrine.

Section 6-a, limitation of liability.

Section 7, certain restrictions upon the issuance of injunctions.

7-a, requiring compliance with law on the part of those seeking injunctions; 7-b, further restrictions upon granting injunctions; 7-c deals with procedure.

Section 8 deals with jury trial; 8-a nullifies certain existing injunctions.

You have been told you cannot have jury trial unless you wreck the whole equity system. Well, the fact is you have jury trial now in some cases. The young ladies who appeared before you this morning told the result of jury trial in Wisconsin. The Supreme Court of the United States, a more effective authority

than even Bouvier's Law Dictionary, has upheld the law dealing with that subject.

Section 8-a nullifies certain existing injunctions.

Section 9 deals with definitions.

Section 10 is a saving clause relating to constitutionality.

Section 11 is a repealing clause.

As to the "yellow dog" provision, it proceeds along the line of bills introduced in several state legislatures, and is referred to in the Executive Council's report. Under it those contracts are declared to be against public policy and null and void.

I am at a difficult point in the discussion. I have searched in vain, and I listened just as vainly, for something to come up on this floor that would state frankly the basis of the charge that the bill either presents something that is contrary to the equality doctrine as affecting our government, or is unconstitutional for other definite reasons. I have heard a great deal outside of the conventions. A pamphlet has been distributed here in which a definite statement is made, but I have failed to meet the person on this floor who will take the responsibility that is being put on the shoulders of men outside the convention. I have a duty to them to perform, by the way.

The question of equality is discussed in a pamphlet laid upon your tables. The pamphlet bears the name of Senator Blaine, and I repeat that I have the utmost confidence in his good-will so far as our movement is concerned. We are told there that a bill drafted along the general plan or structure of the one submitted by the Council is unconstitutional under the Truax decision, and then fails to quote a single line of that decision. Most of the rest of the statement is devoted to the claim, first, that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is based upon equality between citizens, and a great deal is said upon that subject, and the question is raised as to whether labor, constitutionally, can be given exemption from that bill.

Taking that part of the argument that exemptions cannot be given, let my reply be this: It is strange that this discovery has not been made until now. For years under Section 15 of the Shipping Act the steamship companies of the United States and the foreign steamship companies all doing business in the United States have been organizing, setting rates and making agreements which, if it had not been for a specific exemption in the Shipping Act of 1916, would have made them criminally liable under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

The exporters, under the Export Act, have been exempted from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and for many years the Transportation Act contained a clause exempting the railroad companies, under certain conditions, from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. No one who has ever given thought to exempting labor has given thought to these exemptions. Not even now do they seem to be awake to the exemptions that have been given, and there are more than those to which I refer.

The other claim is that the Truax decision is such as to make unconstitutional the sort of bill—and it doesn't deal with the particular

language of the bill, but the particular methods of reaching this question—that it is unconstitutional because it is contrary to the general policy of equality that is called for by our Constitution.

Now, the bill in question proceeds along the general lines used in Section 20 of the Clayton Act. That is to say, it sets up certain rights, much more effectively, of course, than they are set up in Section 20, holds that those rights are legal and prohibit the equity court from interfering with them. In giving its decision in the Duplex case the United States Supreme Court interpreted Section 20 thus:

"Section 20 must be given full effect according to its terms as an expression of the purpose of Congress; but it must be borne in mind that the section imposes an exceptional and extraordinary restriction upon the equity power of the courts of the United States and upon the general operation of the anti-trust laws, a restriction in the nature of a special privilege or immunity to a particular class, with corresponding detriment to the general public; and it would violate rules of statutory construction having general application and far-reaching importance to enlarge the special privilege by resorting to a loose construction of the section, not to speak of ignoring or slighting the qualifying words that are found in it."

Of course I agree with that language of the Supreme Court. That was in 1921. In the case of the American Steel Foundries v. Truax City Trades, we find the court again describing what it believes to be the general character and purpose of Section 20, in this language:

"It is clear that Congress wished to forbid the use by the federal courts of their equity arm to prevent peaceable persuasion by employees, discharged or expectant, in promotion of their side of the dispute and to secure them against judicial restraint in obtaining or communicating information in any place where they might lawfully be."

There again the court has said that here is a statute that does interfere with the equity power, that is intended by Congress to interfere with the equity power. And then we get the Truax case. Was that unconstitutional in the Truax case? Let the court again answer. The court was acting upon a statute of the State of Arizona, modeled on Section 20 of the Clayton Act. The Supreme Court of Arizona had construed the language of that statute in a certain way. The Supreme Court of the United States held that the language construed in the way the court had construed it was in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States and therefore void. The Fourteenth Amendment deals exclusively with state legislation.

They did, however, in the discussion of the question, make some passing reference to the Fifth Amendment, which deals generally with both state and federal legislation. That raised a question in the mind of the court which the court answered. Said the court:

"It is urged that in holding Paragraph 1464 invalid we are in effect holding invalid Sec-

tion 20 of the Clayton Act. Of course we are not doing so. In the first place the equality clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply to Congressional but only to state actions."

That was, I say, in 1921, following the other two cases to which I have referred. There you have authority you must pay attention to whether you want to or not. The Supreme Court, in so far as it has considered the question, has made statements the effect of which is to warrant every one of us who depends upon logic and reasoning for his position, rather than feeling, to believe that the sort of legislative proposition submitted by the Executive Council is constitutional. There may be exceptions to some perhaps, but the general plan, we are warranted in believing, is constitutional.

Then the question came up, and in the most unfriendly place, some time after the Truax case, where Attorney-General Dougherty went into the court of Judge Wilkerson in Chicago to obtain an injunction against the Railway Employees' Department and the railway organizations of the country. The question of Section 20 came up, and here is the statement of one of the most unfriendly judges we have in the country, Judge Wilkerson:

"This section (20) introduces an exception to the power of a federal court of equity to give injunctive relief under general principles of equity jurisdiction. The field of the exception is hedged about with limitations of a threefold character."

And we are told we must have unyielding faith in those who wield the power of prophecy, that we must close our eyes and blindly follow them! Well, there are some men I love very deeply in this world, but none so much that I can persuade myself to believe they are infallible, and always I think it is wise, as a matter of caution rather than doubt in them, to keep my own eyes open.

Since these cases I have talked of another case involving construction of the language of the Clayton Act, as a state statute has come up, the Oregon case, in which the Truax decision was considered by the Supreme Court of that state, and the Oregon law was held constitutional by the state court, which said, in effect, that the trouble with the Arizona decision, as referred to in the Truax case, was not the language of the statute but the construction placed upon it by the court. A different construction was placed upon it in Oregon, and there it is still on the statute books.

But assuming that those who are opposing our position, including the gentleman whose name appears upon the pamphlet that was distributed here, were correct, would that be sufficient reason to assume the question is settled? The Truax decision was a four-to-five decision, with four judges joining in a strongly dissenting opinion, and then it was not upon the statute, but the construction placed upon the words by the Arizona Supreme Court.

Let me repeat again that in using the name of Senator Shipstead I intend no criticism against him and no doubt as to his good-will toward the labor movement in every sense of

the word. The bill was drafted by my colleague, Andrew Furrueth, and introduced by Senator Shipstead at his request. I think it is a good thing the bill has made its appearance. I believe the intentions of the author when he drew that bill were not only good but represented the thing that ought to be done if we can find a way to do it.

Now, what is the purpose? Who has ever stated it publicly? No one. It was absolutely true when it was claimed that among all those who appeared before the Senate while that bill was under discussion no one stated the full purpose of the bill. And what is the purpose? Why, to define the whole field of equity, not merely as it touches labor, not merely as it touches business, but as it touches all of the extensions that have taken place, particularly through legislation, in equity power in the last several decades.

And I was so much concerned about it that I said to the author of the bill: "Have you told Senator Shipstead"—who at the time was carrying on a campaign for re-election—or "have you told him that one of the effects of this bill is to strike out the injunction clauses of the Volstead Act?" I was told he knew it, but I insisted that he be told about it. Have you had that explained to you? Were you told that it touches upon all phases of the equity division that go out of the property field and that it even touches the divorce situation in some respects in such federal jurisdiction as the District of Columbia? Have you been told that its original purpose was to wipe out the use of equity power in connection with the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission?

But where is the prophet who has shown us even the start of the way? I haven't met him yet. Before we charge others with doubtful integrity we might well examine our own unless we tell frankly to all of our associates exactly what we have in mind.

You have had the language of the original Shipstead Bill read to you this morning for the first time. In the original bill as introduced there was an error, unquestionably an unintentional error, and it was found necessary to make a correction. A little later on it was found necessary to make still other corrections, and the draft you now have before you in the pamphlets placed on the tables is the third, representing a very substantial difference with the first one.

It now deals only with labor and does not cover the field originally covered by the bill. He has tackled the most difficult proposition in connection with the whole field of legalism, and it is not astonishing that in this his first attempt he has failed to find a way out of it.

In past years no one thought of this practical way of going at it and no one tried to go at it in that way, and it is only recently that this has become the one and only way out. Previous to that there was another one and only way out of it, and previous to that another one and only way out of it.

Taking the bill as it appears on your tables here, with all the changes and amendments in it, what does it mean? It conferred upon the equity court the power to protect property from irreparable damage in cases where there

is no remedy at law, and from affirmative destructive action, and then the term "remedy at law" shall include all remedies laid down by legislation, whether civil or criminal.

Let me present a concrete case. A ship is lying at a dock with a cargo of perishable fruit on board. The crew goes on strike. It details one man to stay on the dock and give information in a peaceable manner to those who are approaching. The feeling in the community is sympathetic to the strikers. Men who learn what the trouble is refuse to go on board and the cargo is decaying. Here you have a cargo of tangible and transferable property. Assuming this bill were a law, there would be a law directing the court to protect that property from irreparable damage.

There is no appeal to the courts, because the act of the picket is lawful; there is no remedy by legislation. It is therefore the duty of the court to issue an injunction. You say it must be by affirmative destructive action. The affair of the picket who asks people to stay away is affirmative, and the language put in to cover that condition does not meet it.

It is true the original Shipstead Bill restricts the issuance of injunctions in some cases. The question of patents came up in connection with that. We need not concern ourselves so much about how much it affects that, and I am not going to discuss that, except to point out some peculiar reasons in connection with it. A question was raised as to whether or not a patent is tangible. It was said the certificate of patent is property, it is tangible, and so the patent is not taken out of the equity jurisdiction.

I am not prepared to say that is a sound argument. I simply use it as an illustration, and my question is, What becomes of a labor contract? You can feel that, too, and does that under this sort of reasoning become property? That is the sort of thing we are expected to take and give to our people as a way out of it.

Now I submit, Mr. Chairman, and in this I am in hearty accord with Delegate Furuseth, that this matter be given mighty careful consideration; that before you undertake to sweep from your own shoulders all responsibility for action, throw it all upon the Executive Council after a year of careful effort—of as careful effort as any delegate here has ever given to anything he has tried—I say think that over carefully. Repudiation of all that has been done because you do not want to take responsibility yourself is not a very nice way of going at the thing, particularly in view of the fact that our conventions have been more than once charged with unwillingness to face squarely situations that confront them. Don't let that charge be made again.

Now, a concluding word. In one of the speeches made yesterday, as it is written into the record, you are urged to for God's sake read the committee's report: that the report says one thing and the bill another. I want to answer that by directing your attention to the report of the committee, which I believe appears on page 317. It is very short and consists simply of this: First, that the Executive Council has recommended the repeal of the amendment, or both, of the Sherman, Clayton and other anti-trust legislation, and the

recommendation on that point is that the recommendation of the Council be approved, leaving it to the Council to work out the particular method of procedure there.

Second, the Council presents to this convention in the report a specific bill dealing mainly with the subject of injunctions. The recommendation of the committee is that that bill be endorsed and the Council authorized to make any further changes in it that it may be found necessary. There is neither a forked tongue nor a double face in the report. It is easily understood and places the issue squarely before you. It comes as a result, not merely of a few days' thought in this convention, but after thought and effort covering a period of many months by men who for many years have studied this question as carefully as they are capable of studying anything.

I submit that under those circumstances the proper thing for this convention to do is to adopt this report, giving the Council the authorization on these two questions and instructing them to go ahead and to do the best they can under the circumstances.

#### DELEGATE KENNEDY

(United Mine Workers of America)

I think the delegates will agree with me when I make the statement that this injunction matter has harvested quite a crop of barristers, and they are not briefless barristers by any means.

In Washington when the last regular session of Congress was discussing the matter of the Shipstead proposition and the report of the sub-committee, every official of our labor movement you met in Washington was a law unto himself and felt that he was competent to pass on these particular legal propositions. My friends, after having had contact with a number of them, I was reminded of a story told by Abraham Lincoln when he said that the man who acted as his own lawyer had a fool for a client. That was my impression following the discussions at Washington during the last session.

Notwithstanding the fact that the attorneys for the United Mine Workers and for many other organizations said the Shipstead Bill would solve the problem as it affected the mining industry, they still persisted in their efforts to put that bill across and make it the bill of the American Federation of Labor.

The Mine Workers have been advocating to the Federation to get together on legislation to solve this problem. Our attorneys are of the opinion that the bill now before the convention, if enacted by the Congress, will solve this injunction matter as it affects organized labor, and especially the Mine Workers. So I say that instead of splitting hairs on extra legal matters involved in this subject we ought to discuss the ways and means to put this bill through the Congress and to have concurrent legislation enacted in the various states.

In Washington during the last session of the Congress the American labor movement on this issue was the laughing-stock of Washington. We were disunited; some wanted this particular piece of legislation, others wanted different measures. I believe providing for a special

committee in New Orleans, giving them time to study the question and bring in a report to this convention was the most constructive thing the Federation has done on this problem for many years.

Now, having done that, I believe the bill ought to be presented, and we should take the balance of our time in devising ways and means to put it across. I have in mind that most of the trouble will not be in the Senate but in the House, where the Republican steering committee practically has usurped the functions of Congress. We will have to batter down all opposition in order to have our measure considered either by the committee or on the floor of Congress.

Speaking as the representative of one organization that has had more injunctions issued against it than any other organization in the American labor movement, I will say that, in the judgment of our attorney, not in my judgment or in the judgment of my associate officers, the proposed bill as it was put in here by the Executive Council comes nearer to solving the injunction problem than any measure we have considered up to this time. We are willing to take our chances with the Supreme Court in determining upon the constitutionality of this bill. Good lawyers will differ as to the constitutionality of this proposed legislation.

A story is told in Pennsylvania where the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of our State himself drafted an act to make uniform certain legislation in that state, and that act was declared unconstitutional. We have another case on record in the State of New York where Martin Glynn, who was governor at one time, on the floor of the Legislature presented a bill he had drafted. Every lawyer in the Assembly said that the bill was unconstitutional, but it was finally adopted, notwithstanding the protest of the lawyers. It then went to the Supreme Court of the State of New York and was declared constitutional.

I agree somewhat with Mr. Dooley when he said Supreme Court decisions generally followed the election returns. I believe if we can build up a sentiment in America in favor of the destruction of present practices with respect to equity proceedings we will stand a good chance of getting favorable court decisions.

We ought to follow the same procedure in this case as we followed in the old age pension proposition—we ought to set up the Executive Council as an advisory body to cooperate with the various state federations of labor and with the organized labor movement of the country for the purpose of having concurrent legislation enacted in the various states. We have just as vicious injunctions issued against us in the county courts as we have by federal judges.

The brother from the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers this morning referred to injunctions issued in Philadelphia, principally county court injunctions. We have injunctions issued in Indiana County and in other counties of Pennsylvania, and we have like injunctions issued by county judges in the State of Ohio. We ought to set up in addition to this proposition some directing power or some advisory power to not only mobilize the forces of Labor as a federal proposition, but to likewise mobilize

them as a state proposition, because you cannot apply the same principle in federal legislation as you apply in state legislation.

The United Mine Workers of America and the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers of Pennsylvania, at the recent session of our legislature in that state, endeavored to have a bill agreed upon that would meet our state situation. We found that the bill drafted by the sub-committee of the Senate would not be suitable for Pennsylvania. The time was too short to draft legislation. I believe the Executive Council or some other body that might be set up should not only handle the propositions as a federal matter, but that bills should be prepared in various states in cooperation with the state federations of labor to present in the various state bodies. If we organize our forces on that line and call to our standard the greatest lawyers to be found in these states that believe with us in these matters we will go a great way in building up and crystallizing a sentiment for the repeal or modification of these injunction matters and the carrying of them into the legislative halls, and use it for the purpose of putting our program across.

If you simply adopt this bill proposed by the Executive Council, then go home and leave the matter to a few organizations that are vitally interested to put it across, you will be here next year with the same program before the convention. The time, in my opinion, for talking has passed; the time for action is here, and let us use the rest of our time in an effort to organize our forces, build up a sentiment and map out a program to put our plan across. When we do that we will be writing the word *finis* to these injunction abuses that have been practiced upon the American labor movement.

So far as the Mine Workers are concerned we have suffered under these injunctions. One day I addressed a meeting at Fairmount, West Virginia. When I got off the train I was met by a reception committee of United States marshals, and from there to the ball park where the meeting was held I was served with thirty-five injunctions. This is only a typical example of the injunction proposition. We have several injunctions issued against us in West Virginia, and in those places we have found, and the operators have found, that injunctions do not mine coal profitably, and ninety-five per cent of the operators in that state working under the protection of injunctions are either in bankruptcy or in the hands of the sheriff. We are willing to take our chances with this bill. We are in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers: I rise to move the previous question and legally stop this debate.

Delegate Furuseth: I now claim the right to offer my motion. I gave notice that I would offer it.

The motion offered by Delegate Noonan was carried.

Delegate Furuseth: Before the previous ques-

tion was put I gave notice that I would offer a motion to recommit.

President Green: The Chair is willing to accept your amendment.

Delegate Furuseth: I move that this whole subject be recommitted to the Executive Council for further consideration and action.

The motion offered by Delegate Furuseth was defeated.

The pending motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried, with one dissenting vote.

Delegate Furuseth desired to be recorded as voting in favor of the motion to recommit and voting against the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, moved that the ten-minute rule for speakers be observed.

President Green: There is no necessity for the motion, because the rules provide that speakers shall be limited to ten minutes. From now on the Chair proposes to enforce the ten-minute rule. We can work in this hall until 1 o'clock. The other hall will be ready for us at 3 o'clock.

Delegate Tobin: I move that the rules be suspended and that the convention continue in session until 3 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Olander continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions, as follows:

**Proposing Legislation Requiring Firms Seeking Injunctions in Labor Disputes to Apply to Courts Within the Territory Where the Dispute Exists**

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Felix Olkives of the Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Organized Labor throughout the United States of America has struggled hard for years to place upon the statute books the labor laws we now enjoy by City, County and State Legislation; and

WHEREAS, Labor, both organized and unorganized, throughout the country pays taxes to uphold these laws; and

WHEREAS, These laws have been placed upon the statute books by representatives of both capital and labor; and

WHEREAS, Foreign corporations seeking an injunction in a labor dispute avoid Local and State laws by going into the Federal Courts and secure sweeping injunctions which are in conflict to the laws enacted by local and state courts; and

WHEREAS, Any corporation, firm or manufacturer not a foreign corporation are compelled to seek their injunctions in their local or state court; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Toronto, Canada, on October 7, 1929, call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take steps to introduce a bill into the next session of the United States Congress at Washington to the effect that any corporation doing business in any state of the Union desiring to secure an injunction in a labor dispute must seek that injunction in the Local or State Court wherein the dispute exists.

Your committee feels that it cannot approve the specific resolution under consideration for the reason that it does not involve the whole question of diversity of citizenship, which question will require more careful examination than can be made in the limited time available during the convention period. Your committee, however, is of the opinion that the subject matter is of such importance that it should be given careful investigation and study by the Executive Council, and your committee so recommends.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Abolishment of Capital Punishment**

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate M. F. Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, The Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America adopted the following resolution for consideration by the representatives of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That capital punishment, a relic of the ancient Mosaic law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, should have no place in the jurisprudence of the twentieth century and should be abolished; and

RESOLVED, That we urge the representatives of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to give this question their serious consideration, and instruct the Executive Council to do what in their judgment is best to end this blot on present-day civilization.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Has this convention ever placed itself on record on this important question?

President Green: I do not recall that we



have. We may have in years gone by. In order to determine that fact it would be necessary for us to search the records.

Delegate Martel: What is the purpose of referring the matter to the Executive Council?

Secretary Olander: The purpose is to lay the matter before the Council for investigation and for consideration.

Delegate Martel: It seems to me that, having been discussed as a public question, the place for the policy to be set is in this convention. If it is the purpose of the committee to delay setting the policy until the next convention I am satisfied.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Urging Assistance to Secure Wage Standards for Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers**

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate Paul Vaccarelli of the Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers' Union No. 17958, of New York City.

WHEREAS, We have not received any relief from Resolution No. 37, which was unanimously adopted at the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Los Angeles, California, for the purpose of urging legislation to secure wage standard for the Waste Material Sorters, Trimmers and Handlers of New York City, who are indirectly employed by the City of New York, under a contract which was awarded by the Department of Street Cleaning to the highest bidder, Messrs. Carizzo and Izzo, this being a contract where the contractor agrees to pay the city a certain sum of money each week for the privilege of picking from the refuse on the land fills and waterfront dumps of Manhattan and the Bronx; and

WHEREAS, The contract signed by the City of New York with the present contractors to do this work on the land fills of Manhattan and the Bronx has a clause, on page 19, section R, of the original signed contract, which reads as follows:

"The contractor agrees that he will comply with the provisions of 'The Labor Law.' He further agrees that no laborer, workman, or mechanic in the employ of the contractor, sub-contractor, or other person doing or contracting to do the whole or a part of the work contemplated by this contract shall be permitted or required to work more than eight hours in any one calendar day, except in cases of extraordinary emergency caused by fire, flood, or danger to life and property. That the wages to be paid for a legal day's work to all classes of such laborers, workmen, or mechanics, upon public work or upon any material to be used thereon shall not be less than the prevailing rate for a day's work in the same trade or occupation in the locality where such public work is being constructed. Each such laborer, workman, or mechanic shall receive the prevailing rate of wages. This con-

tract shall be void, and of no effect unless the person or corporation making or performing the same shall comply with the provisions of Section 222 of the Labor Law."

and which we know has not been enforced by the Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning, although representatives of the American Federation of Labor as well as representatives of this Local Union have repeatedly called upon the Commissioner for the enforcement of the above clause, so that the contractors would be compelled to pay the prevailing rate of wages, and to also sign a working agreement with Local 17958, of the American Federation of Labor, as has been done by every other contractor that preceded them, which the members of this Local Union have worked under for a number of years; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with Resolution No. 37, which was unanimously adopted at the Los Angeles Convention, the New York Representatives of the American Federation of Labor, Messrs. Hugh Frayne, Edward F. McGrady, and William Collins, have been unable to obtain a personal interview with the Mayor of the City of New York, so as to bring it to his attention, as we know that to be the only real remedy for relief, as the Mayor of New York, the Hon. James J. Walker, would immediately put a stop to such disgraceful conditions as soon as he was aware of them; and

WHEREAS, The New York Representatives of the American Federation of Labor have done everything possible to bring that about in order to obtain a personal interview with the Mayor of the City of New York; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor will correspond directly with the Mayor and the Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning of New York, bringing to their attention the facts as set forth in this Resolution, so that some relief can be had for the members of this Local Union, who are compelled to work ten hours or more per day, and some of them receiving less than one-half of the prevailing rate of wages, the minimum of which is seventy-five cents per hour. Affidavits to this effect are now on file in the office of the American Federation of Labor, in New York City, which were signed and sworn to by a number of the men who were employed by the land dump contractors, and were later discharged for retaining their membership in our Local Union, and also because they demanded union wages; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be mailed to the Mayor of the City of New York, and the Commissioner of the Department of Street Cleaning of the City of New York, with a request that proper steps be taken by them so that the recognition of this local union by the contractors who are doing the work for the Department of Street Cleaning will continue as heretofore, with a signed agreement guaranteeing that the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid by them, and respect

the eight-hour law of the City and State of New York, so that our members may enjoy the fruits of their labor, as well as other organized bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the contractor be compelled to live up to the Labor Laws of the State of New York, and all other provisions called for in his contract with the City of New York, awarded to such contractors that are at present doing this class of work, and all other contractors that may follow.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 7 be referred to the President to give such assistance in relation to the subject matter as he may deem necessary and advisable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Fire Prevention

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Donald Dear of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The efficacy of continuous community campaigns to reduce the fire losses has been amply demonstrated in many American and Canadian cities; and

WHEREAS, The safeguarding of industrial plants and factories from fire is essential to their uninterrupted operation and employment of labor, the American Federation of Labor hereby

RESOLVED, That the period of the educational campaigns of Fire Prevention Week promoted in the United States and Canada by the National Fire Protection Association and its members should be utilized to inaugurate in all cities of these countries a continuous and effective fire prevention movement aimed at the complete elimination of conflagration dangers and the promotion of fire-safe conditions in all places of public assemblage and buildings in which labor is employed.

Your committee recommends that the proposal contained in Resolution No. 8, urging "that the period of the educational campaigns of Fire Prevention Week promoted in the United States and Canada by the National Fire Protection Association and its members should be utilized to inaugurate in all cities of these countries a continuous and effective fire prevention movement aimed at the complete elimination of conflagration dangers and the promotion of fire-safe conditions in all places," be endorsed, but believes that the endorsement of this movement should not be limited solely to such activities as promoting safety in "places of public assemblage and buildings in which labor is employed," but should include, also, the activities tending to promote safety against fire hazards in homes, on farms, on transportation systems, in forests, and all other

places where life or property may be endangered by fire.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Proposing Conference in the Interest of the People of Porto Rico

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, The various conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the last twenty years have requested and called for a thorough Congressional investigation of the affairs and conditions of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, While Congress never appointed any official Commission to go to Porto Rico to make a thorough investigation on conditions there, the Legislature of the Island approved a resolution to do it, and other private institutions voluntarily did the same, including the American Federation of Labor, the Brookings Institute of Economics, the Foreign Policy Association and other prominent economists and individuals; and

WHEREAS, All the facts and data that could be gathered at this time by the Legislature of Porto Rico and those institutions and individuals that already have finished their reports, which are available to be used in Congress, very properly, in behalf of the people of the Island, providing the best information is given to the press and the public opinion of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in meeting assembled that the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed and authorized to help the people of Porto Rico by causing a gathering of all the heads of the institutions and prominent economists, representatives of labor and citizens, who may be interested in the affairs and conditions of Porto Rico, residing in Washington, New York or Porto Rico, inviting them to a round table conference to be held in Washington to discuss ways and means and agree to a plan to remedy the situation of the people of that Island, to be presented to the President and Congress next year.

Your committee recommends that the general purpose of the resolution be endorsed and that the resolution be referred to the President with instructions to proceed in accord with his best judgment in regard to the subject matter.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Recommendations in Interest of the People of the Virgin Islands

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Porto Rico State Federation of

Labor on behalf of the Federal Labor Union No. 17261, A. F. of L., St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, of the United States, to the Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Canada:

WHEREAS, The Report of Joint Commission appointed under the authority of the Concurrent Resolution passed by the Congress of the United States, January, 1920, maintains that in the Virgin Islands of the United States "the conditions under which the laboring men and their families live are not good"; and

WHEREAS, It further maintains, commenting on the temporary form of government that still obtains, that "the time has arrived when some more permanent provisions should be made for their government"; and

WHEREAS, The Report of the Federal Commission appointed by the Secretary of Labor, February, 1924, to investigate Industrial and Economic conditions in the Virgin Islands, U.S.A., recommends that, "in order to stabilize wages, protect the native workers from harmful competition with alien laborers, and to generally assist in the relief of industrial depression, it is recommended that the Department of Labor appoint for service on the Islands a Commissioner of Conciliation who shall also enforce the Federal Immigration Laws"; and

WHEREAS, Said Commission further recommends that "a new organic act should be passed, so as to authorize the adoption of a new Code of Laws based upon American ideals and calculated to insure an administration and enforcement of the laws in keeping with American practices"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Forty-ninth Convention Assembled goes on record endorsing the recommendations of and pledging its support to the Joint Commission on Insular Reorganization appointed by the Seventy-first Congress, with the Senator from Connecticut, Hiram Bingham, Chairman; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to send to the Virgin Islands of the U.S.A. qualified organizers to assist in the organization of the workers there, to study the economic conditions that obtain, report same to the Executive Council, and the President to use all influence at his command to bring these conditions to the attention of the Congress for remedial legislation thereon.

Your committee recommends that the general purpose of Resolution No. 11 be endorsed and that the subject matter thereof be referred to the President, with instructions to proceed in accord with his best judgment in relation thereto.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Employment of Union Accountants**  
Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Ernest Bohm of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, New York.

WHEREAS, The 48th Annual Convention, 1928, of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, La., Resolution No. 35, introduced by the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union 12646, "urging the employment of union accountants by the affiliated unions," was unanimously adopted; and

WHEREAS, A number of unions cooperated in the request, and employed union accountants who, according to reports received, commended their services as highly satisfactory; and

WHEREAS, We again submit that non-union accountants do not and cannot have the same psychology toward a union or its principles as have the members of a union, therefore the Bookkeepers and Accountants' Union 12646 again appeals to the unions affiliated with us in the American Federation of Labor to employ union accountants whenever required;

RESOLVED, That this 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Canada, October 7, 1929, endorses this request.

In reporting upon resolution No. 17 your committee desires to recommend the employment of union members upon all work properly coming under the jurisdiction of national and international unions. However, we realize many national and international unions have entrusted the work of auditing and accounting to elective officers and boards the personnel of which are drawn from their own members. Your committee believes no action should be taken which would interfere with performance of the work of auditing and accounting under this system. With the reservation noted, we recommend approval of the resolution in so far as it applies to the jurisdiction of the local union in behalf of which it was introduced.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 19 and 70 both deal with one general subject, namely, that of the employment of citizens on public work for and by the Federal Government. The resolutions are as follows:

#### **Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work**

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of aliens are employed in the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defence, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries, with whom we might conceivably be at war, to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled protest against the employment of aliens in positions of responsibility on the Panama Canal, and approve the principle that all positions on the Canal above the grade of laborers or messenger be filled by American citizens; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use every legitimate means to have the principles approved in the preceding paragraph adopted by the administration of the Panama Canal.

**Urging Legislation to Provide for Employment of American Citizens in Construction of Boulder Canyon Dam**

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate J. W. Buzzell of the Los Angeles, California, Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has completed legislation of the Boulder Canyon Dam and the matter of building it has become a reality through official proclamation by the President of the United States; and

WHEREAS, E. F. Scattergood, Chief Electrical Engineer of the Los Angeles Water and Power Department, one of the foremost authorities on electrical engineering in the world, who was instrumental in the compiling of practically all the details of the Boulder Dam, recently stated in an open meeting held in the Union Labor Temple of Los Angeles, and which he subsequently verified by a written statement, "that from three hundred to five hundred million dollars will be spent in the construction of this project during the coming eight to ten years, and that over two hundred million dollars will go directly to Labor for its compensation, approximately two hundred and fifty million dollars will be required for the purchase of materials and equipment produced or manufactured locally, and of this amount approximately fifty-five per cent. will go in turn directly to Labor for its produc-

tion"; in other words, of the five hundred million dollars to be thus spent, over three hundred million dollars will be paid direct to Labor in Los Angeles and the southwest; and

WHEREAS, This great project is situated in that part of the United States which is greatly affected by the importation of cheap alien labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Forty-ninth Annual Convention, that the officers of the Federation be and hereby are instructed to use every effort to secure such legislative action or other methods that may be required to enforce the use of only American citizens upon any part of construction of this project, whether the work be done by contract or by the Federal Government direct.

Your committee recommends that steps be taken to bring about a condition under which preference in employment will be given to citizens on all public work for the Government and all political sub-divisions thereof, including work performed under contracts as well as that carried on by the Government direct, and that the subject matter of Resolutions Nos. 19 and 70 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to proceed in relation thereto in accord with the recommendations submitted by the committee.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Providing for Employment of American Citizens in Government Construction Work on Canal Zone**

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate H. A. McConaughy of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The plans of the United States Army and Navy provide for the expenditure of approximately \$28,000,000 in construction work on the Canal Zone during the next ten years; and

WHEREAS, In so far as is practicable the expenditure of these funds should provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the United States Army and Navy should pay the prevailing rates of pay in the locality for all work performed by or for them; and

WHEREAS, The War Department has recognized the principle of paying rates of pay prevailing in the locality where work is being done in the Baker-Gompers agreement of June 19, 1927; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as approving the principles set forth in the preceding paragraphs; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use their best efforts to see that American citizens are employed on this work in all positions above the grade of laborer or messenger, irrespective of whether this work is performed by hired labor or by contract, and that rates of pay shall conform with rates paid by the Panama Canal.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 22.

#### **Protesting Activities of Catholic Union of Quebec, Canada**

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates W. B. Fitzgerald, William Taber, T. Regan, Neil McLellan and M. J. Murray of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

**WHEREAS,** Through the attempt of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America to organize the street and electric railway employees employed upon the Street Railway Employing Property of Quebec, Que., there came to the knowledge of the A. A. of S. and E. R. E. of A., the fact that there exists in Quebec, Que., a so-called Catholic Union, the policies, principles and intent of which is to serve to prevent organizing wage workers in Unions affiliated with and of the American Federation of Labor. This knowledge was brought forth from results developing within the ranks of wage workers employed upon the Employing Street Railway Property of Quebec, Que., and where it appears to have become cognizant to certain of said employees that their wages, working conditions and privileges could be better served and improved by their affiliation with organizations complying with the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, and they did so affiliate with the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. and were summarily dismissed from service upon petition of associate employees acting in accord with the principles, policies and teachings that maintain the said Catholic Union; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That by the delegates of the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. who attend the forthcoming American Federation of Labor Convention, there be presented to said A. F. of L. Convention the importance of the American Federation of Labor giving attention to this so-called Catholic Union as existing in Quebec, Que., and that the American Federation of Labor Convention instruct the Committee, or the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to use its endeavors in destroying this Union-antagonizing institution known as the Catholic Union and establishing conditions under which the wage workers of the entire Province of Quebec may not be antagonized in organizing in American Federation of Labor Unions; and, be it further

**RESOLVED,** That said delegation representing the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. at said Convention be provided with the report upon this Catholic Union procedure which has been submitted to the General Executive Board by an Investigating Committee, that the same may be used in such a way as may serve said delegation of the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A. to the purpose of this Resolution in its presentment to the A. F. of L. Convention.

Although Resolution No. 23 is apparently in the form in which it was originally introduced in the convention of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America for action by that convention, and has not been put in the proper form to propose action by the American Federation of Labor, your committee is of the opinion that the matter to which it refers is of such pressing importance as to require action by this convention.

The so-called "Catholic Union" movement in the Province of Quebec is confined mainly to that part of the population which, in a large degree, uses the French language. It may therefore be said to be largely nationalistic, although not in a strictly Canadian sense. In religion these people adhere to the Catholic faith.

It is evident, from the information submitted to your committee, that the peculiar nationalistic situation which prevails in the Province referred to, coupled with the attitude of those in charge of the local dioceses, has brought about a condition under which the so-called "Catholic Unions" have been formed in opposition to the regular trade union movement of Canada and the United States, as represented by the American Federation of Labor and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. This unfortunate situation is serving to prevent effective trade union organization among the workers and to place the local church leaders in a position antagonistic to the general trade union movement.

It should be clearly understood that this antagonistic attitude of the Church leaders in the Province of Quebec does not reflect the attitude of the Catholic Church in general in Canada or the United States. The responsibility for the present unfortunate situation in the Province is within the particular dioceses referred to and should not be laid at the door of other divisions of the Catholic Church.

Great numbers of adherents of that Church throughout the United States and Canada are loyal members of the American Federation of

Labor and among them will be found some of the most capable and aggressive leaders in the trade union movement. It would be regrettable in the extreme and most unfair if the conditions referred to as prevailing in the Province of Quebec should be used to cast reflection upon the Church in general and the great mass of Catholics.

In any discussion of the attitude of the Church in the United States and Canada, as a whole, the splendidly helpful activities of prominent Catholic churchmen who are outspoken in support of the trade union movement must far outweigh the attitude which prevails in the Province of Quebec. This we understand fully and state emphatically.

Nevertheless, the working people in the Province of Quebec, whatever their Church affiliation may be, have as much right to become members of the general trade union movement as have the workers in other sections and their need is fully as great. It is therefore our duty to aid them, and this we propose shall be done. The subject, however, presents many difficulties and is charged with the danger of grave misunderstandings and serious complications unless handled in a most thoughtful and intelligent manner. In this connection the American Federation of Labor is fortunate in having available the advice and counsel of many trade union officers who are members of the Catholic faith and who have no hesitancy in seeking to remedy the deplorable condition which now exists in the Province to which the resolution refers.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to consult with the officers of the international unions affected and to take such action as, in the judgment of the Council, may serve to bring about a condition under which the workers in the Province of Quebec may be given the right to freely join and remain members of trade unions connected with and having the aid and support of the American Federation of Labor.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Martel, who supported the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate McLellan of the Street Railway Employees, who said, in part: I understand that in previous years this matter was regarded as being very delicate, and for that reason everybody wanted to keep away from it. It is only of recent years that some of us who are of

the Roman Catholic faith have heard of this union in Quebec. It is not a section of the Roman Catholic Church. I believe if this proposition had been given attention in years gone by we would not have it here today. If it is given proper attention now and the light of publicity is focused on it, it cannot exist.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers, said in part: About three years ago I had occasion to make an investigation of this union in the Montreal district. Being of the same faith as the previous speaker, I felt free to go the limit. I found it was called the Catholic Union, but the business agent of it is an unfrocked priest who will take application fees from anybody. It is a dual union maintained by the employers, and nobody would be happier than the Catholics in that vicinity to see it wiped out.

Delegate Denneen, Street Railway Employees, said, in part: I am glad the committee has taken hold of this question and referred it to the Executive Council to try to give the Amalgamated Association a chance to try to drive out dual organizations. The Amalgamated Association has paid out a great deal of money to get into our membership these dual organizations. We have said in the past that questions of religion and nationality are touchy. I know something of Brother Green and what he has done for our Association. He has done good work for it. I honestly believe if I were to make a recommendation as a member of my organization I could not have done better than the committee has.

Delegate Kennedy, Mine Workers, stated that he favored the report of the committee and suggested that a certified copy of the record on the resolution be sent to Dr. John Ryan of the Catholic Welfare Council.

President Green stated that the suggestion would be complied with.

Delegate Foster: I am in hearty accord with the suggestion of the committee, but I feel the record should be corrected with regard to the impression that has been created by some speakers. It is in the lower part of the Province of Quebec that we have this difficulty with what we might call dual organizations. The impression has been created here that the difficulty is centered in the district of Montreal. We have been confronted with this problem for many years. The name given this union this morning is not the correct one; it is the National Catholic Syndicate; and the statement that it secures miscellaneous mem-



bership is not correct. Since we have been active in that section they have made provision for the creation of separate locals to which non-Catholics may belong, but they would be prohibited from having a vote in the proceedings. I favor having some action taken with those in authority to have that condition done away with.

Delegate Collins: A statement was made that ninety per cent of the Catholic churches in Detroit are built by non-union labor. That does not apply to my trade, the bricklayers, because better than ninety-five per cent of the work is done by members of our organization, except where non-union contractors employ non-union men in our trade to work on church buildings in that city.

The report of the committee was adopted. Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, requested the committee to consider Resolution No. 31 with Resolution No. 29. The resolutions are as follows:

**Requesting A. F. of L. to Inform Affiliated Organizations Upon Fair Hotels and Restaurants**

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, It has been vainly brought to the attention of thousands of men and women—members and officers of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—concerning the unorganized condition of the hotel and restaurant and beverage employes in the hotels and restaurants patronized by a large number of the said men and women; and

WHEREAS, This condition has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in that industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urgently requested to inform all of its affiliated International, National, Local and Federal Unions of the existence of hotels and restaurants that are fair to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, as well as other trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

**Request for Support of Union Hotel and Restaurant Employees**

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, Conrad Schott, Agnes Quinn of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance

and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The following resolution was adopted by the Twenty-fifth General Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, it is now offered for the consideration of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and

"WHEREAS, Certain local unions in Philadelphia and vicinity have been holding their functions in non-union houses regardless of our repeated requests for their co-operation; and

"WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant proprietors who employ our men have called our attention to the spirit of indifference, and have shown their displeasure, thereby causing us to lose one of the larger hotels, and inasmuch as the unorganized workers also have constantly flaunted this in our faces when our organization committee endeavored to get them into the fold; and

"WHEREAS, Any effort we have made to right this matter with the officials and delegates of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia has been ignored and stifled; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That this local union, Culinary Alliance, Local 279 of Philadelphia, Pa., in meeting assembled on June 5th, 1929, do hereby request that the delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to appeal this matter to the officials and delegates in session at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in support of the union workers in the culinary industry throughout the country and particularly those of us here in Philadelphia."

Your committee feels obliged to submit an unfavorable report on Resolution No. 29, for the reason that the task of ascertaining the exact conditions which prevail in the hotels and restaurants throughout the United States and Canada involves difficulties with which the Executive Council would find it almost impossible to cope.

A list compiled by each national and international union, showing the names of hotels and restaurants in which its members are employed, would not be sufficient as a guide to the Executive Council in the compilation of a list of hotels and restaurants which employ members of all unions under fair conditions. In order to ascertain local relationships, it would be necessary to make inquiries in a large number of localities concerning great numbers of hotels and restaurants.

This having been done, it would be necessary to bring about agreements between the

various national and international unions as to the exact conditions with which each hotel and restaurant must comply before being officially advertised by the American Federation of Labor as fair to all affiliated national and international unions.

The list would also be complicated by changes from fair to unfair as affecting one or more of the several organizations connected with the industry. The list would either have to be subject to change immediately upon the request of any one union affected without investigation, or there would be danger of continuing to advertise as fair hotels and restaurants which were actually unfair.

Conditions necessarily would vary according to the kind of work carried on under the control of the proprietor of the hotel and restaurant and the firms furnishing supplies and those making deliveries.

It is the opinion of your committee that the time and energy which would be expended in the compilation of the sort of list contemplated in the resolution can be more effectively used in the interests of all of the national and international unions involved to promote organization and general trade union activities.

Resolution No. 31 has not been drafted for action by the American Federation of Labor and is therefore not properly before the convention. It calls for action by a local union in Philadelphia which, presumably, has been taken. It is, of course, not within the province of the committee to draft resolutions on local situations with which it is not familiar. That duty, in the case of matters directly affecting the members of a particular national or international union, rests with the accredited delegates of the particular organization involved.

The committee feels, however, that the information contained in two paragraphs of the preamble to the resolution is sufficient to warrant some direct comment.

All local unions regularly affiliated with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America are entitled to and should receive the support of all trade unionists in their efforts to promote the patronage of the hotels and restaurants employing union members, in preference to hotels and restaurants which discriminate against union men and women.

This is the universal policy of the trade union movement and should be adhered to everywhere.

In the same manner the various divisions of all other national and international unions are entitled to and should receive the support of all trade unionists in their efforts to promote the employment of union men and women and thus to promote the right of all workers to join and remain members of the regularly affiliated local organizations having jurisdiction over their respective trades and occupations.

Delegate Flore: We had a resolution referring to the creation of a food department before the convention, and the report of the Organization Committee was to non-concur. We did not oppose the report of the committee, for the reason that we believe there are now sufficient departments in the Federation through which that particular branch of industry could function. We feel as a branch of the American Federation of Labor we are entitled to the support of the affiliations in the matter of patronizing union hotels and restaurants. We have not been receiving that cooperation, and I say this with no thought of criticizing anybody, but the thought we have in mind is this:

We are very anxious to enlarge our organization with new men and women engaged in our various lines of industry, and we feel if we get the full support and cooperation of the organized men and women now affiliated with the Federation we can come into the next convention with a much larger membership than we now have. We have our problems and we have passed through a serious condition in our trade. We have changed the title of our International Union in a way that will be helpful to us in organizing. The only thought we had in mind was to have a fuller cooperation from the Federation itself as well as from those affiliated, the officers and members of the organization in the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions 29 and 31 was adopted by unanimous vote.

At 1 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 3 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

# Ninth Day---Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock by President Green.

## Absentees

Dullzell, Zaritsky, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Bryan, Scully, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Fagan, Nesbit, Hughes, Coulter (J. L.), Hannah, Fischer, Sullivan (H. W.), Powers (F. B.), Wood, McCluskey, Gross, Phillips, Taylor (T. N.), Barry, Norrington, Ohl, Tiller, McConaughy, Kelly, Johnson, Laude, Taylor (J. T.), Hoffmann, Starkweather, Downie, Becker, Buckley, Augustino, Smith (J. T.), Olkives, Southall, Watt (R. J.), Sheehan, Shave, Quinn, Brandt, Booth, Bower, Curran, De Young, Smethurst, Wright, O'Connell (J. P.), Darrington, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Walsh, Fitz Patrick, Kromelbein, Saylor, Power (S), Mack, Tapken, Saunders, Borris, Albert, Lopez, Caparol, Oglesby, Campbell (A. C.), Sidney, Flynn (J), Tuggle, McElligott, Webster, Caldwell, Lawson (O. L.), Hill, Tigel, Mitchell, Portway.

President Green: This morning I received a telegram that was sent me by Mr. S. R. Fuller, Jr., of the American Glanzstoff and American Bemberg corporations, operating the rayon mills at Elizabethton, Tennessee. This telegram was inspired by the newspaper report of discussion which took place several days ago regarding the industrial and economic conditions prevailing in the mills at Elizabethton and in the South generally. In all fairness this telegram should be incorporated in the proceedings. It will be read and then referred for incorporation in today's proceedings:

## Telegram

New York, N.Y.,  
October 17, 1929.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Ont.

In the New York Times of October sixteenth, page twenty-two, it is reported that on the convention floor of the American Federation of Labor, of which you are President, speeches were made on October 15 which couple the name of Elizabethton, and so the mills of American Glanzstoff and American Bemberg corporations, with unfair wage. Specifically it was averred that the average weekly wage in Massachusetts was sixteen dollars forty-seven cents, as against an average weekly wage in some Southern mills of nine dollars fifty-six cents, and it was implied at least that such an average weekly wage of nine dollars fifty-six cents existed in our Elizabethton mills. I cannot speak for the accuracy or inaccuracy of this statement with regard to any mills save our Elizabethton

mills, but I know that you have no desire for injustice on the floor of the convention over which you preside. Therefore, I am addressing this telegram to you and making it public in the firm belief that you would wish with me that the public also have the correct facts. The average wage in our two Elizabethton mills during the three weeks ended October seventh was nineteen per cent above the figure given on the floor of your convention for Massachusetts and one hundred and five per cent above the figure given on the floor of your convention for a section of the South. To be exact, this average weekly wage on a fifty-five-hour basis of all of our employees, exclusive of all salaried employees, was nineteen dollars sixty-four cents.

S. R. FULLER, Jr.

President Green: As I said, the telegram was made public, addressed to the convention, and it was the intention of the Chair merely to have it incorporated in the proceedings without comment.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: In so far as the telegram is concerned, the statement made from that platform was taken from the Bureau of Statistics at Washington and compared the wage in Massachusetts with the wage of South Carolina cotton mills, and when the statement concerning the wages of the American Glanzstoff and American Bemberg companies was made it was made as a separate and distinct statement. If Mr. Fuller or anybody else means to controvert the statement that we who know wage and hour conditions in the South have made, I want to say that no written statement was made from the platform in this hall, as the inference in the telegram would suggest. We know the wages in the Bemberg and Glanzstoff plants very well, and they are not as stated in Mr. Fuller's telegram.

Our Mr. Fuller, of the Workers Education Bureau, is on the ground at the present time in Elizabethton and it seems to me that a telegram coming just at this time, receiving the publicity that this telegram will receive, is for effect. Mr. Fuller, I understand, is chairman of the Committee on Management or Board of Directors of the Glanzstoff and Bemberg corporations in Elizabethton, knows the situation, and in coming from Canada into the United States is considered a fair man, and I believe so, but I want to assure you at this time that in making comparisons between cotton workers in South Carolina, taken from the United States Bureau of Statistics, of \$9.56 per week of fifty-five hours, we compare them with the same Bureau's figures as taken from the commonwealth of Massachusetts of \$16.47.

No man in the labor movement in this country knows the wages paid to the cotton workers better than I do, and I say it without ego, and we are going into Tennessee to confound that statement from this very moment, when

we realize full well that the little girl who stood on this platform received, as a forelady, ten dollars and some cents per week for fifty-five hours. When making comparisons the question of hours must be considered. No man or woman in this country today is more anxious to see peace and harmony prevail in our industry than am I, and yet with every ounce of energy that I can command I want to say that a telegram coming at this time with the inference that he in his plant is paying 105 per cent more than the thing would indicate is entirely wrong, untrue, and unqualifiedly false.

President Green: We will let the record stand at that. The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Laws.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Vice-President Ryan: There was not a great deal of subject matter referred to the Committee on Laws, but the committee met, organized and handled in a very conscientious manner all of the subject matter presented for our consideration and attention. The report of the committee will be submitted by our distinguished secretary, James O'Connell.

Delegate O'Connell reported as follows:

##### Proposed Constitutional Amendment

Section 3, Article 3 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides that upon the opening of the annual conventions the president shall appoint 13 committees to serve during the convention period, one of these committees to be "The Committee on Boycotts."

We recommend to this convention that the constitution be so amended as to substitute for "The Committee on Boycotts" "The Committee on Industrial Relations." This recommendation is made for the purpose of extending the work and service of this committee.

Your Committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council, believing that the new title will more fully express and facilitate the work of the committee.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Urging Amendment to American Federation of Labor Constitution Making Affiliation of Local Unions With Central and State Bodies Compulsory

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Despite continued communications from President Green of the American Federation of Labor addressed to National and International Unions, and, in turn, letters from officers of these to their subordinate locals, many of these continue to withhold their affiliation from regularly chartered local and state central bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we so amend our constitution as to make such affiliation compulsory on subordinate local unions in affiliation with the national and international unions comprising this Federation, to the end that the full cooperation of the entire labor movement may be available for the work of these organizations.

Your Committee 'non-concurs in Resolution No. 4, for the reason that the American Federation of Labor is a voluntary organization. Therefore, the inserting of the word compulsion in any portion of its constitution would be in violation of the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is based.

The Committee suggests that the President of the American Federation of Labor make a special effort during the year to bring about a more thorough affiliation of local unions with the central bodies and state organizations, and that he direct a letter to the executives of all national and international organizations calling attention to the importance of urging or advising their local unions to become affiliated with the central bodies and state organizations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Proposing Amendment to A. F. of L. Constitution Governing Issuance of Charters to Directly Affiliated Local Unions

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates William M. Russell of the Chicago Federation of Labor and Victor A. Olander of the Seamen's International Union.

WHEREAS, The term "Local Trade and Federal Labor Union" in the constitution of the American Federation of Labor includes two forms of local organizations, namely, Federal Labor Unions, of which only three may be chartered in any one city as provided in Section 2 of Article XIV, and Local Trade Unions which are not covered by certain regulations governing the chartering of Federal Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National, International, State, City and Local organization require a classification of the conditions under which Local Trade Unions may receive and retain charters from the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Article XIV be renumbered, respectively, 4, 5, 6 and 7, and that a new Section 3 be inserted in said Article XIV to read as follows:

Certificates of affiliation may be granted in conformity with the Section, to any number of Local Trade Unions in any city.

Section 3. Such Local Trade Unions shall be composed of wage-earners who are employed

in a trade or occupation that does not come within the jurisdiction claims of any national or international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Before a certificate of affiliation is issued to any group to be known as a Local Trade Union of the A. F. of L., the President of the American Federation of Labor shall first require sufficient evidence of proof that the number of applicants is in his judgment a reasonable representation of that trade or occupation. He shall also require that applicants give satisfactory proof that they are actually employed in that trade or occupation. He shall also require that the members of such organizations who are selected to act as officers or representatives shall furnish proof as to the time they have actually worked at such trade or occupation. Such Local Trade Unions shall not permit any persons to secure membership in the local union unless such applicants can furnish sufficient proof that they actually follow such trade or occupation for a livelihood. Any failure to comply with this section by any such Local Trade Union shall be sufficient cause for the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the approval of the Executive Council, to revoke the charter.

Your committee non-concurs in Resolution No. 66, and offers the following substitute for Section 2, Article XIV:

Section 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate O'Connell, before reading the substitute, said:

Your committee had a conference with the representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor and other delegates from Chicago interested in the matter, and after pointing out to them that the resolution would not accomplish what they had in mind they finally agreed with the committee on the substitute here recommended. This was agreed to by all parties concerned.

Section 2 provides that the President and Secretary of the Executive Council shall have certain authority in the matter of issuing charters. There is also contained in Section 2 of the present Constitution a peculiar paragraph. Nobody seems to know how it got

there or who was responsible for it. It provides that owners or managers or foremen can become members of a local federal labor union and pay dues to the union, but they cannot attend meetings nor take part in the activities of the union, but simply be contributors, because they are proprietors or happen to be employed or working in that industry—a ridiculous proposition to be in the Constitution of a great body like this. So in our recommendation we annihilated old Section 2, which is perhaps the longest section in the Constitution, and brought it down to plain, understandable language.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate O'Connell: This completes the report of the Committee on Laws, which is submitted and signed:

MARTIN F. RYAN,  
Chairman,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
Secretary,  
DENNIS LANE,  
JEREMIAH DINNEEN,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
THOMAS F. McMAHON,  
CHARLES ANDERSON,  
FRANK DOYLE,  
JOHN McLEOD,  
WILLIAM TRACY,  
CHARLES FRY,  
ABRAHAM KATOVSKY,  
R. H. BURDETTE,  
LEON WORTHALL,  
WILLIAM ROONEY,  
MAX ZARITSKY.  
Committee on Laws.

The report of the Committee on Laws was adopted as a whole, by unanimous vote of the convention, and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, with the indulgence of the convention and yourself I crave the privilege of making a report on a matter that I know the members of this convention will be interested in before leaving for our homes. In the city of Detroit at the present time the Soviet Government of Russia is having \$165,000 worth of patterns made for tractors and machinery to be used in the manufacture of tractors in its Stalingrad tractor plant. It has placed this contract with the Lock Pattern Works of Detroit, a firm that has been struck for eight years. This firm is employing its men on a twelve-hour shift at a wage rate that amounts to \$6.40 a day less than the regular union rate for night work. The Lock Pattern Works is being picketed every day by the Pattern Makers' Union and there is usually a cordon of city police through which the men that are executing this work for the Workers' Government of Russia must go in order to make these patterns.

The Pattern Makers' Union of Detroit has

taken this matter up with the committee representing the Soviet Government that is in charge of this work in the city of Detroit and complained to them that they were destroying the conditions of pattern makers in that city by giving this work to this non-union outfit, and the reply of the Soviet Government to the pattern makers of Detroit was, "We are not interested in your conditions of employment in America, we are only interested in what takes place in Russia."

I think, Mr. Chairman, that the representatives of organized labor should have that information, because these people have posed not only as the representatives of the workers in Russia, but have tried on numerous occasions to speak for the representatives of the workers in America.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

■ Vice-President Woll, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Urging Support of Labor Papers

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo-Engravers' Union; R. E. Woodmansee, Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor, and John C. Saylor, Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The labor press during the past year has rendered splendid service to the American trade union movement and its constituent international, state and city central bodies; and

WHEREAS, The bonafide publications of the international organizations and the local labor newspapers have devoted many columns of space in each of their issues toward the development of the great labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor expresses its deep-felt gratitude to the publishers of the bonafide labor publications; recommending that these very valuable publications receive the full and unstinted support of the members of organized labor, because by and through this support can the labor press of America be extended in education, in power and influence; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That every effort be made in the year ahead to fully utilize the valuable service rendered by the bonafide labor press in the education and the upbuilding of the American labor movement.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 27.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Proposing Government Control of Boulder Canyon Dam

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate H. C. Fremming of the California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The early construction of the Boulder Canyon Dam has become a certainty by Congressional enactment and Presidential proclamation; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that the lasting benefits of this great enterprise be insured in perpetuity to all the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record endorsing government control over this project to the end that private interests shall be given no advantage over public owned power institutions.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 34.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Urging Patronage of Pequot Products

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, James Starr, William Smith of the United Textile Workers of America, and John P. O'Connell of the Salem Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Two thousand members of the United Textile Workers of America in Salem, Massachusetts, are seriously handicapped and threatened with unemployment owing to the competition of non-union mills making the same product at a lesser cost, with longer hours to work and lower wages; and

WHEREAS, This local union and the International Union are making every effort to convince the membership of the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this question to the trade union movement, and suggesting a means whereby our organization can be protected against the attack of those who would destroy our union and place this mill in the same class as the other low-paid mills which drive their workers with the speed-up or stretch-out plan, in order to secure mass production at low cost, with the inevitable glutting of the market; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its former action to urge the delegates to keep in mind PEQUOT Sheets and Pillow Cases, in order to assist the United Textile Workers of America in promoting their patronage throughout the country; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention reiterate the previous action of the American Federation of Labor in authorizing the promotion of PEQUOT Sheets and Pillow Cases, and again urge all delegates to take a personal interest in assisting the United Textile Workers of America to resist the attack of non-union sheeting mills; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 37.



A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: Delegate O'Connell was forced to leave for home and he asked me to have inserted in the record, if you will, a short letter. It pertains to the subject matter of the resolution—Pequot Sheets.

President Green: If there is no objection it will be incorporated.

The letter follows:

Salem, Mass.

Mr. Thomas F. McMahon, President,  
United Textile Workers of America, 609 Bible  
House, New York City.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In the United States of America the one and only cotton mill that is 100 per cent organized is the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company of Salem, Mass., the makers of "PEQUOT" sheets and pillow cases, and the only cotton mill in this country that is a signatory to a trade union agreement with our International Union.

It is worth while to repeat that under the terms of this agreement wage schedules and working conditions are both higher and better than in any of the non-union sheeting plants. This is in accordance with the theories and policy of the great American Labor Movement. Contrast this with the low wage, longer work week and inhuman conditions found within the non-union mill, and ask yourselves what must be done to offset this unequal competition.

The United Textile Workers of America for ten years has maintained a membership of between 2,000 and 3,000 members in this mill and has aggressively and energetically devoted itself to the unionization of the non-union competitive sheeting mills in this country; and through it all has been unable to effect an efficient organization powerful enough to equalize wages and working conditions.

How have we been able to survive against such a condition? Only by cooperation. The union workers within the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, in conjunction with a far-seeing and sympathetic management, have given their every effort towards a volume of production without waste. Every effort has been made towards producing a quality product that makes it second to none; but, with all this, when we find our competitors further reducing wages and increasing work and hours, we must and can only continue to survive by the help and assistance of organized labor throughout this country.

In this conflict between PEQUOT—the union-made sheet — and the other non-union made sheets, we find we are now working part time.

Why? Simply because we are unable to sell our maximum production.

What does the American Wool and Cotton Reporter, a textile union-labor-baiting agency, have to say regarding this in a recent issue? "There is only one obvious condition in the Naumkeag that has had any critical discussion—and have it in mind that there are ninety-

nine favorable conditions as opposed to this other one—and this one adverse condition may be more obvious than actual. We refer to the fact that the Naumkeag is the only 100 per cent unionized—under the American Federation of Labor—mill in the United States. We understand that the Naumkeag management believe that they are ten jumps ahead of all competition in the fact that they are the only unionized mill, and that the strength of this unionism is in the fact that the hundreds and thousands of union labor folks all over the United States buy Pequot products."

There is the challenge of the non-union element in the sheeting and textile business.

The trade agreement between the management of PEQUOT and the United Textile Workers of America is the faith in the appeal that organized labor can meet this challenge and can exert a profound influence in the furtherance of the trade agreement throughout the sheeting industry, if it will

How so? Well, our production last year was approximately 32,000,000 yards. If each member of the 5,000,000 within the American Federation of Labor would buy one pair of sheets and two pillow cases each year (approximately a \$4 union purchase), our mill would have no surplus, no short time, and an extension of this purchasing power by the friends of organized labor, plus the nation's customers for over half a century, would entirely eliminate our non-union, low wage and long hour competitor.

We know that the Detroit and Los Angeles conventions of the American Federation of Labor had a full realization of the purchasing power of its affiliated membership, were deeply devoted to the promotion of organization, and in the endorsement of PEQUOT sheets and pillow cases were intensely desirous that the program of union cooperation be realized to the fullest.

Can we again ask that each member of organized labor buy a pair of PEQUOT sheets and pillow cases, or when making Christmas or wedding gifts remember PEQUOT sheets and pillow cases in plain white or colors, as a quality product made by 100 per cent union labor?

We would request that all International Unions appeal to their membership through their official journals.

Let us meet the challenge! Let us prove the faith in our unity. Let us go onward in the march of organization, so that the ideals of organized labor may be accepted as the means to make this a better world to live in.

JOHN P. O'CONNELL,

Business Representative, L. U. 33,  
Salem, Mass.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Requesting Assistance to Have New York Conservation Commission Patronize Union Badge Manufacturers**

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate W. W. Britton of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been giving assistance to the Metal Polishers' International Union in its fight against the unfair firm of Whitehead & Hoag; and

WHEREAS, This firm has been selling badges to the approximate number of 750,000 per year to the New York Conservation Commission and these same badges could have been obtained from a strictly union concern located in their own state—Rochester, New York; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to induce the New York Conservation Commission to buy their badges from a union concern.

The committee recommended that Resolution No. 38 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Referendum in Greater New York for Increased Pay for Fire Fighters**

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and Donald Dear of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, With the approval of the Legislature, His Excellency the Governor and His Honor the Mayor of New York City, there will be presented to the six million people of the metropolis on Tuesday, November 5, a non-partisan proposition for higher pay for the firemen of that city; and

WHEREAS, It is important to trades unionists that the upward trend of wages which has been the greatest single factor in the prosperity of the country shall be recognized by a verdict at the polls in favor of our comrades of the Uniformed Firemen's Association, Local 94, New York City, of the International Association of Fire Fighters, whose long hours and risks are known to all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby indorses the higher wage law and urges all working men and women to support this proposition in order that an overwhelming ratification by the electorate may proclaim to all concerned that the rising American standard of wages must be maintained.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 43.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Declaration for Independence of Philippine Islands**

Resolution No. 44.—By Delegates David Levine of the Seattle Central Labor Council and James Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the time of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by our government, statements were made by governmental authorities that our control was temporary; and

WHEREAS, The United States Courts held them to be Asiatics and not eligible for citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The Filipinos cannot be assimilated with our people; and

WHEREAS, We believe that every people must face their own problems without interference from any other people; and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming sentiment of the Filipinos is for their independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in its Forty-ninth Annual Convention at Toronto urges upon Congress the granting of complete independence to the Philippine Islands.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 44.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Protesting Activities of Civil Service League of Seattle, Washington**

Resolution No. 45.—By David Levine of the Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, There exists in Seattle, Washington, an organization known as the Civil Service League; and

WHEREAS, This Civil Service League has extended its activities to the point of usurping the recognized functions of the local trade union to the extent of negotiating wages and working conditions for various branches of city employes, including many having trade unions affiliated with the Seattle Central Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, Trade Unions affiliated with the Council protested unsuccessfully against this usurping of their functions and finally brought their complaints to the central labor council; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council, after exhausting all legitimate means to remedy the situation, by unanimous vote, declared the Civil Service League as dual in character and unfair to organizations affiliated with the Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 49th Annual Convention assembled at Toronto, that the Federation notify all affiliated International Unions of the dual nature of the Seattle Civil Service League and urge each of them having a local union in Seattle to take such steps as may be necessary to prevent its members from holding membership in this dual organization.

Your committee recommends that Resolution No. 45 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the subject matter and to take such action in relation thereto as may, in the judgment of the Council, be necessary to protect the interests of the Seattle trade unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Opposing Treaty Relations With Foreign Countries Which Would Affect the Right of the United States to Enact Legislation Governing Operation of All Merchant Vessels Sailing Out of American Ports**

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The future growth and development of the American Merchant Marine depends upon its ability to successfully compete with the merchant marines of other nations; and

WHEREAS, The attempts made in past decades to equalize the cost of operation as between American and foreign ships by reducing the standards on American vessels to low levels based upon conditions prevailing in the ports of other nations resulted, first, in practically wiping out the American personnel and, second, in driving American ships from the overseas trade and limiting their operations almost exclusively to the American coastwise trade, from which foreign ships are barred by law; and

WHEREAS, In the passage of the Seamen's Act, Congress adopted the policy of seeking to equalize competitive conditions in the overseas trade by applying American standards to all vessels sailing out of American ports; and

WHEREAS, In so far as this policy of enforcing American standards in American ports has been carried out by the government of the United States, the effect has been to raise the standards on foreign vessels trading to American harbors and thus to create a condition favorable to the operation of American ships; and

WHEREAS, This experience proves beyond a doubt that in the interest of the American Merchant Marine it is essential that Congress retain full control over conditions under which ships are permitted to sail out of ports of the United States, it being obvious that it is fully as necessary to apply American regulations to foreign ships doing business in American harbors as it is to apply American regulations to foreign merchants doing business in American cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor does hereby urge the President and

Senate of the United States to refrain from entering upon any treaty or covenant of any sort with any foreign nation or nations the effect of which would be to surrender the right of Congress to enact laws to determine the conditions under which vessels, foreign as well as American, are to be permitted to operate out of American ports, or which would have the effect of nullifying any of the existing laws of the United States governing the operation of merchant vessels.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 53.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, in discussing the question, said, in part:

The occasion for this resolution is a meeting of a so-called Conference on Safety which was held in London in the months of April and May. That particular conference accepted a treaty which so far has not been sent to Congress. The treaty is most dangerous, because under that treaty we would have no right whatever, even if the officials wanted to, to have interfered with the condition of the Vestris at the time she left New York. That treaty adopted at the safety conference in London is nothing more nor less than a rehash of the Safety Rights Treaty adopted in London in 1913, and if that thing had been adopted the Seaman's Act could never have been passed. If it is now adopted the meat will be taken clear out of the Act.

I hope the committee's report will be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Proposing Affiliation of A. F. of L. With the International Labor Office of the League of Nations**

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Ed. L. Crouch of the Winston-Salem, N.C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Labor bore a great deal of the sacrifice in winning the World War, consequently it was in a position to make demands at the Peace Conference; and

WHEREAS, The late Samuel Gompers and Labor Representatives insisted that the Treaty of Versailles recognize the right of men and women to just working conditions, and that there be established in connection with the League of Nations an International Labor Organization; and

WHEREAS, The United States is yet a non-member of the League of Nations, it is permissible for the American Federation of Labor to join the International Labor Organization; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Convention assembled in Toronto, Ont., affiliate

with the International Labor Organization; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor use its influence in every moral and legitimate way to impress National Representatives to favor both the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization.

In lieu of Resolution No. 56, your committee desires to recommend that, in view of the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, no action should be taken by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with the International Labor Organization, which is a division of the League.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Become Unofficial Observers of International Labor Legislation by Having Our Government Select Unofficial Representatives to Keep in Touch With Developments at Geneva**

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate William P. Clarke of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union of North America, Toledo, Ohio.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has taken a very active part in International affairs, other than that which directly affects the lives, hopes and aspirations of the toilers; this being made manifest by the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the Kellogg Treaties, the Root revisions of the International Court, the naming of Charles Evans Hughes as a member of the Court, the selecting of two American Bankers to aid in directing the proposed International Bank, and in numerous other ways; and

WHEREAS, The subjects of Unemployment, Immigration, International Industrialization, Cartels, Tariffs, Wages, Hours of Labor, Health and numerous other semi-economic or economic questions, as well as International Peace and other problems which affect the present and the future working men and working women, and are not cared for; and

WHEREAS, The League of Nations and the International Labor Office are, to a great extent, the outcome of the labors of Woodrow Wilson and Samuel Gompers, respectively, and the United States is not officially identified with either, while at the same time the interest of those affected by such problems as outlined in the first Whereas is guarded, and the interest of the toilers, in so far as their having a voice in the formation or application of any International Agreements is concerned, is neglected; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to enter into negotiations with President Hoover and such other representatives of our Government as may be necessary to the end that the Government of the United States may

arrange whereby our Government shall have unofficial observers stationed in the International Labor Office at Geneva.

Your committee recommends that, in view of the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, no action should be taken on Resolution No. 69.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I am only going to take a few moments of your time. You honored me last year by sending me abroad as your fraternal delegate. I took that honor seriously and undertook in connection therewith to ascertain some of the conditions prevailing in Europe that affect America and American workmen, and I would be false to the trust reposed in me, even at this late hour, if I did not deal with this subject at least very briefly.

I had prepared to address this convention for forty or forty-five minutes on the subject, but in the last few minutes I have reduced to writing a statement that I wish to put into this record, for I am unalterably opposed to the recommendation of this committee, and I believe it should at least be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and disposition. What I want to put into the record is this:

All of the delegation that spoke for American workers in the formation of the Peace Treaty that settled the World War reported to us their difficulties and laid great stress on the fact that they would have accomplished more were it not for the opposition of the trade unionists of Europe who opposed their proposals.

Again, the German workers issued a statement that they took the position in the World War they did because they did not know the true state of affairs, they having been kept in ignorance, and that statement was accepted by the representatives of the workers of all countries who assembled in Amsterdam shortly after the Peace Treaty was agreed upon.

The then President of the United States and the then President of the American Federation of Labor were, in reality, responsible for the creation of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office, yet neither the United States Government nor the American Federation of Labor is identified with either institution.

One must visit Europe, mingle with the people and study their actual conditions and learn what they have in mind, and how it will eventually affect the citizens of the United States, especially the trade unionists, unless the workers in Europe are set right, and you will not set them right by rejecting propositions of this kind and by keeping away from them.

Wages in Europe are exceedingly low, so low that I would be justified in stating that the wage of all the workers of Europe, skilled and unskilled combined, will not average more than \$11.00 per week.

On top of this they have much unemployment.

They are seeking employment, and to secure employment they must secure markets, and the market they seek is that of the United States. We keep them out of our market with our tariff. Then they ask that they be permitted to come to America to work and we keep them out with our immigration laws; and with these two principles of our government I am not in conflict when used to protect American industries and American workmen.

The European workmen, however, know that one-fifteenth of the wealth of the United States is now invested in Europe, and they see our large captains of industry establishing plants in their countries. They have witnessed the ownership of considerable real estate transferred to the ownership of citizens of the United States, and they see the Dawes and Young plans being worked out for the benefit of those interested financially; the Root definitions placed in the World Court of Justice, Hughes appointed to membership thereon, as well as two American bankers being selected to assist in directing the International Bank, while, at the same time, American workers refuse to have anything to do with them until our government joins the League of Nations.

A feeling of distrust is again hovering in the breasts of the workers of Europe, and this is being supported and encouraged by those who wish to exploit them. The remedy is at hand, and the remedy is costless. It would not cost the American Federation of Labor one single cent to follow out the suggestion that I offer, and it will give this trade union movement representation in Europe whereby we can gain first-hand information on all important international questions affecting labor while at the same time such representation will enable us to enlighten and encourage our brethren across the sea so that never again will they be permitted to record that they were kept in ignorance and our people be required to accept such a declaration.

I believe that it is due this Federation, I believe that it is due the workers of Europe, I believe that it is due suffering humanity that we at least give this proposition to the Executive Council and let them make whatever investigation they will and present whatever recommendation they may at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and not say that we shall never have anything to do with the trade unionists of Europe until the American Government identifies itself with the League of Nations.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I am truly sorry that this proposition has come in here, and in answer to the report that has been made, I am not satisfied with it. It does not go far enough. Once before, at Atlantic City, I spoke on this question of the League of Nations and of the Labor Office. I was unfortunate to stand alone when I did, and of course the machine went right over me, but everything that I said then has turned out to be true.

If anybody here knows anything about the League of Nations, and especially the Labor Office, it is your humble servant. I was at its birth, and the representatives of labor in Europe, sir, are not telling the truth. It was not the American Federation of Labor or its President that had anything to do especially

with the formation of the Labor Office. He was there and they wanted a Labor Office established. The representatives of labor of Europe were eager for the Labor Office, and knowing that Sam Gompers would be a thorn in their side on the floor they put him in the chair.

I sat in a corner when they were drawing up a constitution for that body. I noted the general beautiful language in general terms. I could have brought the very words here if I had thought it was going to come up, but in substance it was this: that they guarantee fair and humane conditions to all men, women and children in Europe; they guarantee fair conditions to those of the tropics—no such thing, if you please, as a standard by which to tell whether it was humane or not, or whether it was just or not, or whether it contained any signs of freedom or not. And I drafted up or repeated the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and asked Sam Gompers, who was in the chair, to see that it was submitted as a standard by which to judge.

He introduced it, and you would hardly believe it, but it is as true as I am standing here, and I am willing to be struck dead right now if it is not, that laughingly, without discussion, it was voted down. And it was voted down by those representatives who want what? They want markets in America, they want raw materials from America upon their own conditions, they want access to America upon their own terms.

Now, then, when they had voted down that proposition to apply as a test the Thirteenth Amendment, that there shall be no slavery or involuntary servitude within the jurisdiction of the League, when they had voted that down laughingly and there wasn't one that didn't have laughter in his face when he voted, Samuel Gompers introduced the other—that the labor power of a human being is not to be treated as a commodity or article of commerce. That was adopted, and when the proposition came before the League to endorse the drafted constitution it was amended so as to read: "The labor power of a human being is not simply a commodity, but an article of commerce." In other words, labor power can be sold or bought, and that can't be done without selling or buying the laborer. You know that. But it says it is not "merely," that it is something more or something less. It reverses the meaning of the declaration entirely. Instead of denying that it was an article of commerce, it said that it was.

Now, then, have they lived up to it since? There isn't an effort that labor has made that would advance human freedom either in the tropics or in Europe or wherever they have got any power that they haven't applied the principles as laid down in that last thing. I want to say to you that they absolutely refuse even to discuss the question of human freedom when it comes to the workingmen, either in the tropics or elsewhere.

I hope the American Federation of Labor will never again make the terrible blunder of endorsing that infernal, rotten thing called the Labor Office.

Vice-President Woll: Just a brief statement on the resolution. You will note one delegate

states that the report of the committee does not go far enough and another delegate takes the contrary point of view. The committee reports that until this nation might become part of the League of Nations no action should be taken with reference to our joining the Labor Office. The delegate winds up his address, however, in support of reference to the Executive Council by referring to our withholding affiliation or cooperation or collaboration with the trade union movement. These two different activities should be clearly distinguished.

Delegate Clarke: My talk is entirely for the International Labor Office. I am not talking for the International Labor Organization at Amsterdam.

Vice-President Woll: I stand corrected. That subject is coming up before another committee. Just a moment ago we adopted a resolution covering both the League of Nations and the Labor Office, and this is the report the convention adopted: "In lieu of Resolution No. 56, your committee desires to recommend that, in view of the fact that the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, no action should be taken by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with the International Labor Organization, which is a division of the League." That is the declaration of the convention as unanimously expressed only a moment ago.

Delegate Clarke: As the author of the resolution I would just like to define that question for you. There is no use in clouding this issue, as the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions is doing, either intentionally or unintentionally—I don't know. I am not saying join the League of Nations, and the resolution he just had in his hand deals with the League of Nations. My resolution deals solely and exclusively with the International Labor Office and not with the League of Nations, nor with the International Labor Organization at Amsterdam, but solely and specifically with the International Labor Office located in Geneva.

Delegate Olander: The statement Delegate Clarke just now made is very much like saying that "I am not arguing to go through the main door of the hotel, I believe you should take the side door." That is the meaning of that sort of statement in its application to the League of Nations.

President Green: The Chair would like to make this observation, prompted by a remark made by Delegate Furuseth in his address. I hold Brother Furuseth in most high regard; in fact, I entertain a reverential affection for him. No man in the labor movement or out of the movement respects him more highly than the chairman of this convention. Because of his honesty and integrity and character, I know that he would not purposely leave a wrong impression.

I do know that Mr. Gompers, my distinguished predecessor and the President of the American Federation of Labor for almost

half a century, participated in the constructive work of creating the International Labor Office, that he was the chairman of the conference created for the purpose of constructing the International Labor Office, that he was in entire sympathy with the work that was being done, that he made his personal contribution toward the creation of the organic law upon which the International Labor Office so securely rests. And in conversation with him, as one of his associates in Paris when the International Labor Office was created and formed, I do know that he was in entire sympathy with the work, that he was enthusiastic about it, and I know that he firmly expected that some day the American Federation of Labor would be represented by an unofficial observer and that our government would be a part of the International Labor Office. I wanted to make that statement merely for the sake of the record.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Proposing Celebration of Fiftieth Anniversary of A. F. of L., 1931, in Washington, D.C.

Resolution No. 57—By J. H. Windsor of the International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; G. W. Perkins, Cigarmakers' International Union, and Thomas F. Flaherty, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, The 50th Anniversary of the American Federation of Labor will be celebrated in the year 1931; and

WHEREAS, During the year 1931 there will be dedicated in the City of Washington, D.C., the memorial to that dearly beloved leader of Organized Labor, the late Samuel Gompers, who served this American Federation of Labor so nobly and faithfully for more than forty years as its President; and

WHEREAS, These two most important events in the history of the American Federation of Labor should receive the attention and consideration of every member of organized labor in the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, Such an occasion as the 50th Anniversary of the birth of the American Federation of Labor and the dedication of the Gompers Memorial should be celebrated by the hosts of organized labor in the United States and Canada by a great labor pageant in which every international, national and local union in these countries could participate; and

WHEREAS, Should this great parade and pageant be held in Washington, D.C., it could be reviewed by the President of the United



States and his Cabinet, together with the members of Congress and the Representatives of all the Foreign Governments; and

WHEREAS, Every citizen of the United States and of Canada has a desire to visit Washington, D.C., the Capital of the United States, and view its wonderful buildings, parks and other attractions; and

WHEREAS, Such an occasion as this would result in the greatest turnout of organized labor the world has ever seen, where tens of thousands of members of organized labor and their families and friends would journey to Washington, D.C., not only to view its many wonderful attractions but to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Birth of the American Federation of Labor and the dedication of the Memorial to the late Samuel Gompers; and

WHEREAS, Washington, D.C., is an ideal convention city, with a great auditorium where the convention could be held, many fine hotels to house not only the delegates but all the visitors who would attend the great celebration, fine avenues and wide streets where the greatest parades in the history of the nation have been held, the Capitol Buildings, the White House, the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the National Cemetery, the Home and Tomb of George Washington and hundreds of other great buildings and parks which every person in the world hopes to visit and view at some time in his life; and

WHEREAS, There are in Washington, D.C., the homes of many of the National and International Unions and the Headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, so that ample provisions can be made to stage this great event in the History of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that we the delegates to this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, realizing the great possibilities that present themselves to our minds through the suggestion contained in this resolution, do request that the delegates advocate and promote the advisability of the holding of the 50th Anniversary of the Birth of the American Federation of Labor and the dedication of the Memorial to the late Samuel Gompers, together with a monster parade and pageant to fittingly celebrate such an occasion, in the City of Washington, D.C., in the year 1931.

Your committee interprets Resolution No. 57 to be an invitation to the 1931 convention of the American Federation of Labor to meet in the City of Washington, D.C. Under the constitution of the Federation, naming a convention city for 1931 is a matter for action by the convention of 1930, to which session it is recommended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Proposing Merging of International Unions to Eliminate Jurisdiction Disputes

Resolution No. 59—By the Schenectady, N.Y., Trades Assembly.

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes between local unions and between International Unions of organized labor have not only led to the stoppage of work and the loss of production and wages on numberless occasions, but have often resulted in such scandal as to reflect in the eyes of the world upon the principles upon which the trade union movement is founded; and

WHEREAS, The jealousies arising between International Unions, each of which is naturally inclined to seek its own advantage, have too often interfered with efforts to organize the great industries of this country in centres of production where the need of organization is the most apparent and the enslavement of the workers most pronounced; and

WHEREAS, of the hundred and seventeen or more International Unions affiliated with the American Federation the overhead cost of maintaining and conducting the offices of nearly one hundred organizations is out of all proportion to the benefits derived by their membership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Forty-ninth Annual Convention assembled, that ways and means should be sought to increase the solidarity and effectiveness of the American organized labor movement through the reduction in the number and the consolidation of the existing independent International Unions as far as practicable; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a committee of fifteen be appointed with instructions to formulate a plan of consolidation which will have the effect of reducing the number of independent International Unions to from ten to twenty in number, and to eliminate the jurisdictional disputes that now constantly arise; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That such committee be empowered to hold conferences with the Officers of all International Unions, and to take such other measures as in its best judgment will promote the end desired and contemplated by these resolutions, such committee to report its findings and recommendations to the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends, as a substitute for Resolution No. 59, that the declaration approved at the Scranton convention of the American Federation of Labor, supplemented since that time by the development of the several departments within the A. F. of L., and reaffirmed at subsequent conventions, be again reaffirmed.

The policy laid down in the Scranton convention declaration has stood the test of time

and experience and may well be reaffirmed at this time as a substitute for the pending resolution.

The Scranton convention declaration is as follows:

"Greeting: The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the autonomy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment the future success, permanency and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depend upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transitions in industry.

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

"We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow-workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities, any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

"2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and subdivided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation, and to the organization of District and National Trade Councils, to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts lines.

"3. The American Federation of Labor, being a voluntary association, cannot direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and

in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position, the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitration."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Urging Granting of Pardon to Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates M. J. Keough, Robert T. McCoy, George E. McCaffrey, W. A. Preston of the International Molders' Union of America.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney is confined for life in the San Quentin Penitentiary, California, because he was found guilty by the jury of a bomb explosion in San Francisco July 22, 1916, which resulted in the death of several persons and the wounding of a large number. And as a growingly impressive volume of evidence has been secured indicating beyond a doubt that a number of the principal witnesses against him committed perjury, several of these witnesses having since admitted to their perjured testimony. And as the law of California has made it impossible to reopen the case so that the well-substantiated evidence of perjury could be introduced. And as the Hon. Frank A. Griffin, who presided as judge at the Mooney trial, is one in the long list of prominent and sincere citizens who are appealing to the Governor of California to pardon Mooney and Billings. And as Judge Griffin, on November 14, 1928, informed Governor Young "the transcript evidence upon which Mooney and Billings were convicted no longer exists." And because he as the trial judge; the foreman of the jury and eleven members of the jury; the present District Attorney and Captain Matheson, Chief of Police, who had charge of the case; in fact, every former official connected with the trial with the exception of District Attorney Fickert, now publicly declare their conviction that Mooney and Billings were found guilty as the result of perjured evidence. And as an evidence of our conviction that confidence in our form of government and orderly government by law cannot be maintained unless our citizens can fully and confidently place reliance upon the justness of our court procedure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor emphatically reaffirm the position it has taken in connection with this internationally famous case and instruct the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to do all within their power as our representatives to prevail upon the Governor of California to redress the great injustice which has been done to Mooney and Billings, because of their conviction upon perjured evidence, by granting an unconditional pardon and thus restore to the citizens of California and of the United States that respect and confidence for our courts of law which

is necessary if we are to place implicit faith upon government by law and the even-handed justice emanating from the American Judiciary essential to the preservation of our institutions.

In relation to Resolution No. 62, urging the Governor of California to pardon Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, your committee submits the following recommendations:

1. That Resolution No. 62 be adopted.
2. That the action of the Los Angeles and New Orleans conventions of the American Federation of Labor in relation to the pending case be reaffirmed. That declaration provides that the President and Executive Council will continue to proceed in the manner which in their judgment is best calculated to bring about the release of Mooney and Billings, and calls upon all affiliated organizations, including city central bodies and state federations of labor, to be guided solely by the advice given them from time to time by the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor regarding the cases of Mooney and Billings.

3. That the application for the pardon of Warren K. Billings should be perfected at the earliest possible moment and filed with the proper tribunal, the Supreme Court of California, by those having charge of the case. This course is necessary under the California law in the Billings case, according to information submitted to your committee.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 64 in the concluding paragraph as follows:

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the investigation being conducted by the Foreign Relations Committee to establish the truth or falsity of the charges made."

The amended resolution reads:

#### CUBA

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Harry W. Fox of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States is solemnly pledged by its permanent treaty with Cuba to see to it that a government be maintained that is "adequate for the protection of life, liberty and property," and this right and duty is incorporated in the Constitution of Cuba; and

WHEREAS, The United States has made frequent representations to the government of Cuba which, under this treaty, were aimed not

merely to protect the property of individual Americans but to secure "adequate protection of property" on the Island; and

WHEREAS, The Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate is investigating the charge that neither life, liberty nor property is adequately protected, and that there is neither safety of life, nor freedom of speech, nor freedom of assemblage, of movement, of the press, or of organization; and

WHEREAS, American labor has always done its full duty to secure the liberty and promote the happiness of neighboring peoples; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses the investigation being conducted by the Foreign Relations Committee to establish the truth or falsity of the charges made.

Thus amended, the committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Requesting Support of Theatrical Agents and Managers' Union of New York City

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Theodore Mitchell of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers, No. 18032, New York City.

WHEREAS, The Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has finally prevailed upon several important theatrical producers to enter into contractual relations with the Union wherein these theatrical producers have agreed to employ only members of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers employed in the jurisdiction granted to this Union; and

WHEREAS, The membership of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers is in part dependent for its success upon the assistance and cooperation of those interested in the success of the American Trades Union Movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, in addition to being gratified to learn of the success of the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers in securing contractual relations with the theatrical producers, call upon the officers and representatives of all affiliated unions to give to the Association of Theatrical Agents and Managers and its membership any and all assistance within their power.

Resolution No. 71 is a request for organizing aid, and the committee therefore recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Campaign to Secure Representation of Organized Labor on Textbook Commissions**

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates George L. Berry, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union; John B. Haggerty, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Edward J. Volz, International Photo-Engravers' Union; Winfield Keegan, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union; Charles P. Howard and William Reilly of the International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The International Allied Printing Trades Association is conducting an extensive campaign to have textbooks used in public schools produced under conditions which recognize proper standards for the men and women engaged in production of such textbooks; and

WHEREAS, Adoption and use of textbooks produced under non-union conditions do not give such guarantee; and

WHEREAS, Concerns whose textbooks are produced under non-union conditions use high-powered and expensive sales methods to have their textbooks adopted, the cost of which is ultimately borne by the public; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon state, city and central bodies to enter upon active campaigns to secure representation upon commissions or other agencies empowered to approve and adopt textbooks for use in the public schools.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 77.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Favoring a Productive Tariff on Logs, Lumber and Shingles**

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates James A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor and David Levine of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, For the past seven years the lumber and shingle manufacturing trades in the United States have suffered a continuous depression; and

WHEREAS, It is a well-known fact that this depression is caused by insurmountable foreign competition employing Oriental labor, British Columbia using about fifty per cent of Orientals in its timber industry; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has already gone on record favoring a tariff for the pro-

tection of the shingle industry only; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in 49th Convention assembled hereby go on record as favoring a protective tariff on all logs, lumber and shingles to protect American labor and furnish continuous employment to those employed in forest trades.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 78 be referred to the Executive Council with authority to cooperate in such manner as the Council may deem advisable with the affiliated organizations in the industry.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Füruseth, Seamen, in discussing the question, said, in part:

I am profoundly astounded that any such resolution should be introduced in this convention. I was astonished when I learned that a similar resolution had been introduced and referred to the Executive Council at the New Orleans convention, because it is a denial of a fundamental principle upon which the Federation was based and upon which it has continued to live. The question of the tariff was absolutely excluded from our declaration for years, and how it got through the New Orleans convention is more than I can say, but the disastrous result is with us now.

The request for a tariff on certain articles at the New Orleans convention was referred to the Executive Council, and it didn't do anything else, but by some incomprehensible hocus-pocus it has been extended and it has grown to such an extent that when the question of a flexible tariff was up a letter was addressed from the American Federation of Labor to Mr. Smoot, and he read it on the floor, endorsing that flexible tariff. How could a man in the labor movement do such a thing? That is neither more nor less than turning the purse over to the executive power of the government. The control of the purse is the very vital thing upon which has been built the freedom of the English people. It was for the control of the purse that the American Revolution was enacted. It was for the control of the purse that Charles I died on the scaffold. It was on account of the question about who should control the purse that the English Revolution was fought. And you give away in any way the control of the purse, and there is nothing left upon which you can base anything that will justify the labor movement's existence.

Now, if you have listened to the argument made by Wagner of New York on this thing you won't for one single moment endorse any such thing in the shape of bothering with the tariff at all, because it is the most highly political thing you can touch, and not knowing all the fundamentals you are bound to go wrong. If you had given any attention to the argument by Hiram Johnson of California, dealing with the constitutionality, dealing with the law, dealing with the history of it, you wouldn't dream for a minute of giving anybody power to deal with this question.

When the Senator from Iowa voted for the flexible tariff, who was it that he went to for his authority? The National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Dairy Federation, the International Dairy Union, the American Association of Creamery and Butter Manufacturers, the Northwest Agricultural Foundation, the American Federation of Labor, the American Wage Earners' Protective Conference, the latter of which is a subsidiary of the American Federation of Labor.

How do we come to be mixed up in that kind of thing—an organization inside of this Federation using the Federation's name, assigning itself as part of it, and undertaking to speak, not directly but indirectly, for it? If we are to send to the Congressmen something of that kind, how can we expect to get any sympathy or assistance at all when we are trying to approach human freedom and give to the common people some decent treatment? Out of it has come this and another resolution sent to Senator Reed in favor of making representations to the Court of Customs—another terrible proposition.

The men who are fighting the people's battles in Washington are standing shoulder to shoulder in that fight, and there comes a resolution from this Labor Protective Association inside of the American Federation of Labor. This resolution is of such an insulting nature that when they tried to read it into the records of the Senate it was expunged, and it was said by members of the Senate that the reactionaries got too close to the labor movement.

Vice President Woll: I do not understand, Mr. Chairman, that the resolution in question brings before us a flexible tariff or anything of its nature. It is an appeal of an affiliated organization asking for aid in an economic problem relating to tariff legislation that the Federation can itself support. If the delegate will read over the declarations of the American Federation of Labor prior to the New Orleans convention he will find that several conventions have declared that, while the American Federation of Labor is neither free trade nor protective, does not venture into the disputed or argumentative question, it is ready at all times to assist any one organization desiring aid in legislation of that character or kind.

And I believe that is a just and right policy, for we have the Seamen coming here and asking for legislation that will be serviceable and helpful to their craft and industry, we have the printing crafts coming here and asking other forms of legislation, and so every trade and industry, it seems to me, seeks legislative support in which other trades might differ, yet we believe our interests in helping one is to the interests of all concerned.

The resolution referred to at the New Orleans convention relates to the Boot and Shoe Workers asking that the Federation would give them support in seeking to protect their industry against excessive importations, denying them opportunities of employment. The convention took favorable action again, no principle of protective or free trade being involved.

The delegate brings in activities of a num-

ber of national and international unions, their interest in the pending tariff legislation, their desire to secure what they believe to be a necessity for greater protection. That is not before this convention, but we do say we are engaged in that. There are eighteen or twenty national and international unions affected seriously by foreign importations, and we believe it is within our province, we believe it is within our right as national and international unions, individually or collectively, to make known our desire for remedial legislation and to do all within our power to secure that legislation.

And in that connection we have taken an interest in the flexible tariff provision, for we know the difficulties involved in securing remedial legislation affecting our men and women in our respective employments, and surely no one in this convention would undertake to say that collectively we haven't that autonomous right, that privilege of going out and seeking legislation for our protection, even though some one delegate may not be disposed favorably toward it.

Reference has been made also to the desire of these national and international unions to secure representation in the Customs Court. I am sure if the delegate knew what was going on in the Customs Court, instead of finding fault with these organizations he would be their champion. What do we find in the Customs Court? Nothing but an importers' court, and that gives the manufacturers the right of representation and denies it to wage-earners. Labor has always demanded representation in all interests that affect its industry, and I say to you these organizations feel the effect of the importation, and desire to have a voice in the Customs Court, in order that classifications may not be made to evade and even destroy the poor protection that exists among these trades. If one or more organizations come here to ask it, surely we are not going to deny it to them when we are ready with our open arms to give it to the sailors or any other organization when they seek legislative redress and legislative improvement.

It was not a resolution that was expunged from the records, it was a telegram that I sent. We might as well be frank upon it. It is a telegram I sent because of the unwarrantable, unjustified and false indication and insinuation made by Senator Ashhurst, seeking to tie me up with the commercial manufacturing interests, and I have since sent another telegram—not to the Senate, for the statement has been made public in the press that Senator Walsh inferred that I was the guest of Grundy, with Mr. Gray of the farm bloc, in New York City recently—the most damnable, the most unwarrantable—well, I can't find adjectives enough to deny the statement, for I had not even met the man John R. Grundy, and know him to be one of the most hostile opponents of organized labor. Why take the story of one and not investigate before the statement is brought before the convention?

But this is not involved in this question here. This is the Seattle Central Labor Union coming here and asking that the American Federation of Labor aid them in tariff legis-

lation affecting shingles, logs, etc. If you don't want to give them support, that is one thing; but why drag in all these other things when an organization seeks this aid?

And what does your committee say? It says, "Refer it to the Executive Council, with authority to cooperate in such manner as the Council may deem advisable with the affiliated organizations involved." Is that of a nature to arouse and inject all of this? What is the purpose behind it, I ask?

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Might I ask the speaker a question with reference to clearing up these statements that have been made—a question of information for myself and the delegation?

President Green: You may ask your question, Delegate Tobin.

Delegate Tobin: What are the organizations that compose this organization on tariff that you have been talking about and that Delegate Furuseth has referred to?

Vice-President Woll: I can't recall them off-hand.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I have the list—Photo Engravers, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, Boot and Shoe Workers, Cigar Makers' International Union, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, United Hatters of North America, Upholsterers' International Union of North America, the United Wall Paper Crafts, the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, American Wire Weavers' Protective Association, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Amalgamated Lithographers' Association, United Brick and Clay Workers' Union, Pattern Makers' League of North America, United Neck Wear Workers' Union, and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers—seventeen, I believe.

Delegate Tobin: Will the speaker answer this question: Has this organization ever represented itself as speaking for the American Federation of Labor on this tariff question?

Vice-President Woll: It has not.

Delegate Tobin: You have represented to the Committee on Tariff, on this flexible tariff bill, that you were speaking only for the organizations just named?

Vice-President Woll: All our representations have been made in the interests and in the name of the name we have adopted—the American Wage Earners' Conference.

Delegate Tobin: And the American Federation of Labor?

Vice-President Woll: No.

Delegate Tobin: And the American Federation of Labor, my organization a part of it, has not been used in this case?

Vice-President Woll: Not in the slightest degree.

President Green: The Chair desires to make this explanation so that all delegates may hear and may know and understand. The American Federation of Labor has never committed itself to the support of a protective tariff or free trade. We have avoided most scrupulously and carefully that controversial field. However, in line with the instructions of conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the Federation has supported national and international unions when these national and international unions decided that, in the interests of these organizations, certain legislation, certain schedules in the tariff proposals would benefit them either by an increase or a reduction. When these national and international unions come to the American Federation of Labor and say, "We have decided that the interests of our trade, of our people whom we have the honor to represent, require us to go to the Congress of the United States and support certain specific proposals," and ask us to help them, in response to their requests we assist. Our position has always been made plain, however, that we support the proposition because the international unions directly involved have asked us for that support.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: Delegate Furuseth has made some statements here, and I feel that I ought to say a few words. I am in accord with everything that has been said by our distinguished Chairman and many other speakers concerning the delegate I have just referred to. We all love and respect him, but I feel justified in saying, in passing, that I believe that the delegate has a theoretical knowledge of a great many questions and not considerable practical knowledge of some that he discusses at length.

He referred to the flexible provisions of the tariff. While this has perhaps been a political question in past years, it is rapidly becoming an economic question and is closely related to the displacement of not only men in industry by the introduction of automatic machinery, men on the farm by the introduction of automatic machinery, and these great mergers and chain stores. The whole thing is related, and this is another practical phase of this question.

Now what is the flexible provision of the Tariff Act and what does it really mean in practice? In the cologne bottle, part of our industry, where five or six years ago we had two thousand skilled men employed, today we have only two hundred and fifty men—all that is left of that phase of the industry—and what is the answer to that? I will tell you. These bottles are made in France. The Tariff Com-



mission made an investigation, spent four years on the problem, and what did they find? They are not my figures, they are the report of the Tariff Commission, practical men. They investigated the situation in France and also in this country, secured the figures of the manufacturing interests in both countries. They found that in France they could produce glass bottles one hundred per cent cheaper than they could be made here in this country.

That applies to every organization that I read off here a while ago. Take the boot and shoe workers' industry. They were never troubled with importations of boots or shoes until recent years, and, as you men know, the people of Europe during all the centuries devoted their time and attention exclusively to agricultural pursuits. Since the World War, realizing that Great Britain, Germany and the United States of America, industrial nations, became rich and powerful, they are all going into the manufacturing game and American machinery is being installed and operated in practically every country. A man came over to Lynn, Massachusetts, and worked in a shoe factory for two years, went back to Czechoslovakia, secured financial credit and bought American machinery, and only a short time ago they sold 2,500 pairs of women's shoes in Boston, ten miles from Lynn, for a dollar a pair cheaper than the boot and shoe workers could make them in Lynn, Massachusetts.

What is the answer in a practical way? I know very well the principle of tariff protection has been abused in many instances, but we are up against a real game, and there is no organization represented here today that can tell when it will be up against the same proposition. So, Mr. Chairman, we have banded together in a practical manner these organizations that I have read off here in order to secure enough tariff protection to keep out the manufactured products of cheap foreign labor. We passed an immigration law not so many years ago to keep out immigrants, to keep out this cheap foreign labor, and now they have reversed the process.

Almost every large corporation in this country today, without any more new fields to conquer here, is building and operating plants all over Europe and in the Orient, and, as many of you know, the Ford Company has built a plant in Cork, Ireland, and it is manufacturing and producing there every Ford tractor that is used in this country. It is not making one in Detroit. That is what a whole lot of other large corporations are doing today.

I come in close contact with it as far as my own organization is concerned. It is not a political question at all; it is an economic question; for unless through tariff protection we can keep out the products of this cheap foreign labor they are going to take away the American market from us. We built the American market. It belongs to us. The American Federation of Labor was instrumental in bringing about a condition where high wages and shorter hours prevail, and if the men of labor haven't got the money to buy back the things they produce, I say that, instead of Europe and the Orient looking toward America for a market, their own people should

endeavor to follow the policy of America—pay decent wages, work their people short hours and build up markets of their own.

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee:

May I just say a word or two as to the procedure in the Committee on Resolutions? In relation to all matters submitted to that committee an examination is made of the records of the American Federation of Labor to determine the existing policy of the Federation. The recommendations submitted to the convention by the committee, then, are in line with that existing policy unless the committee decides to take upon itself the responsibility for recommending a change.

Under the rules of the Federation, in all cases where any delegate is dissatisfied with any item of policy, it is his right to submit a resolution upon that subject matter, whereupon the matter comes before the convention in one form or another. Every resolution submitted to the convention is always reported back to the body, and that is true even in cases where the introducer desires to withdraw his proposal.

The procedure of following out existing policy was carried out at New Orleans; it is being carried out now. If there be any who desire to change that, it is entirely within their right to introduce definite proposals stating what it is they believe ought to be changed. Until that is done, while every delegate has a right to express his opinion, it seems to me that we might be just a little careful in placing all responsibility on somebody else, when most of us have sat in conventions which have laid down these policies. In this matter the Committee on Resolutions has followed the mandates laid down by a previous convention, which of course it is within the right of this convention to change if it so desires.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

Vice-President Wilson: I move, Mr. Chairman, that the rules be suspended and that we remain in session until all the business of the convention has been completed.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was continued, as follows:

#### Urging Conservation of Natural Resources and Extension of Opportunities for Outdoor Recreation.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Andrew Furuseth and Victor A. Olander, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The conservation of our natural resources and our scenic assets and opportunities for the masses to enjoy outdoor recreation are essential to the future prosperity, physical well-being and happiness of the people of North America; and

WHEREAS, Short-sighted greed, carelessness and neglect are destroying our forests, obliterating our scenic features, polluting our waters and depleting our wild-life resources; and

WHEREAS, The loss of these gifts of nature and the restriction of opportunities for hiking, camping, boating, swimming, fishing and hunting constitute a menace to public health and deprive our youth of assets which build character, initiative, self-reliance, strong bodies and alert minds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we strongly urge our respective governments to provide adequate machinery and more liberal funds for the restoration and protection of our natural resources, the cleansing of our rivers and streams and the extension of opportunities for outdoor recreation.

Your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 79 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Favoring Sunday Closing Law for Barber Shops in the District of Columbia.**

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates James C. Shanessy, H. C. Wenzel, Leon Worthall, Roe H. Baker, William C. Birthright of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

WHEREAS, For over thirty years the organized barbers of the United States have struggled to secure Sunday as a day of rest; and

WHEREAS, In their efforts they have secured Sunday closing laws in forty-six states, thus adding health, happiness and opportunity for spiritual development to the life of the barbers; and

WHEREAS, In the District of Columbia the barbers are yet chained to Sunday slavery, thus casting a demoralizing influence over the barbers of the whole continent, an unwholesome influence and an unreasonable and unjustifiable practice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to take the necessary steps to assist the barbers in securing a Sunday Closing Law for barber shops in the District of Columbia.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 80.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Urging That Over-Time Work Be Abolished**

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal and Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union:

WHEREAS, The problem of unemployment is admittedly serious for those who have not passed the age of 40, as well as for those who have, promising to become more serious, not because of any fault in our machinery of production, but because of its perfection and the fact that we have not yet been able to adjust our relations properly to that machinery; and

WHEREAS, Hours of labor bear a direct and striking relation to unemployment in modern industry and to a proper relation of humanity to machinery so that we may have a proper enjoyment of the fruits and benefits of machinery and machine processes; and

WHEREAS, It is obviously contrary to the principles of trade unionism, as well as inimical to general well-being, that some should engage in avoidable over-time work while others are unable to obtain any work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, in addition to our fundamental policy in favor of a shorter work-day, a shorter work-week and an advancing rate of wages, we record it as our policy, commended to all affiliated bodies, that over-time work be abolished wherever possible and that it be resorted to only when its avoidance is rendered impossible by causes beyond the control of workers and management.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 82.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Marble Workers Appeal From Printed Decision of Building Trades Department**

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Stephen C. Hogan, International Association of Marble, Stone and Slate Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers.

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor grant affiliated unions the right of appeal from decisions of affiliated Departments; and

WHEREAS, The Proceedings of the Building Trades Department Twenty-third Annual Convention, held in Toronto, Canada, October 2nd to 4th, 1929, erroneously records the action of the Department in convention assembled on Resolution No. 1, pertaining to a jurisdictional dispute between the International Association of Marble, Stone and Slate Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers; and

WHEREAS, The error in the Proceedings was pointed out to Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department with a request that the mistake be rectified; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, if the proper correction has not been made in the finished Proceedings, the subject matter of Resolution No. 1, Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Build-

ing Trades Department, Toronto, Canada, October 2nd to 4th, 1929, be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for adjustment.

Your committee reports that the introducer of Resolution No. 85 asks leave to withdraw the resolution, and the committee recommends that the request be granted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Brookwood Labor College

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Patrick Deloughery of the I. U. M. M. & S. W.

Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council, in regular meeting, Sept. 24, 1929, endorsed the following resolution and entrusted Patrick Deloughery, elected delegate, to present the same to the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Brookwood Labor College has been condemned upon uncertain evidence without a trial or official charges made against the institution; and

WHEREAS, Discontent and discord has resulted from the undemocratic procedure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to prepare official charges against Brookwood Labor College; that Brookwood Labor College be given a fair and impartial trial and a stenographic copy of the trial be placed in the hands of the Executive Council and the Board of Directors, Brookwood Labor College.

Your committee reports that the introducer of Resolution No. 88 asks leave to withdraw the resolution, and the committee recommends that the request be granted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 30 by striking out the first and third "Resolves." The amended resolution reads:

#### Government Work in Government Shops

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Daniel P. Haggerty, R. A. Henning, Jas. Somerville, Clarence B. Cline, Chas. W. Fry of the International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The world's outstanding statesmen have declared for the elimination of all profits from the manufacture of the instruments and munitions of war; and

WHEREAS, There are private interests promoting propaganda relative to National Defense who are, apparently, moved more by a

desire to make profits from the manufacture of ships and instruments and munitions of war than by truly sane and patriotic reasons; and

WHEREAS, Believing that the greatest menace to a sane policy of National Defense is the vicious propaganda of those in private industry who aim to use the influence of Public Opinion on Congress so that unnecessary appropriations will be provided; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention assembled, declare as a matter of principle that private profit should be eliminated from the production of naval vessels, instruments of war, and non-commercial munitions for National Defense; and that as a matter of policy we favor the construction and manufacture of all naval vessels, aircraft and their ordnance, and all non-commercial munitions for National Defense in Government industrial establishments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. shall direct its utmost efforts to obtain additional legislation which shall make mandatory the construction and manufacture of all instruments of war in existing Government establishments.

The committee recommends that the resolution, thus amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Union of Photo Engravers, and Joseph N. Weber, American Federation of Musicians:

RESOLVED, That this Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor expresses its horror at the recent outrages perpetrated by Arabs upon Jewish life and property in Palestine. The savage murders of defenseless people, many of whom were American citizens, have shocked and filled us with indignation.

We express our deep sympathy with those who have been bereaved or have suffered through these wanton and brutal attacks.

We trust that the Government of Great Britain, the Mandatory Power in Palestine, will take such measures as will prevent similar outbreaks in the future, and as may, in accordance with the terms of the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration, enable the continuation in Palestine of Jewish effort for the establishment of the Jewish Homeland, the peaceful development of the land, the furtherance of economic progress, and the raising of living standards and conditions of all the inhabitants in Palestine, regardless of race or creed.

In relation to Resolution No. 91, your committee desires to express complete confidence in the statement recently made by the Right Honorable Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain, to the effect that Great

Britain will do its duty in protecting the population of Palestine under the mandate. The committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: That completes the report of the committee, with the exception of one resolution which we ask leave to present just before adjournment of the convention.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the work of the committee, and the request that they be given the privilege of presenting their last resolution later on will, I am sure, be cheerfully granted.

The local committee on arrangements asks the privilege of the floor just now.

#### **Presentation of Gifts to President and Secretary**

Chairman Varley: On behalf of the local committee I want to present to you, President Green, this gavel—not for the purpose of changing your genial, cordial, philosophic nature and making you a “knocker,” but for the purpose of reminding you in future years of your visit to the city of Toronto. I ask you to accept this as a token of esteem and respect from the local committee, on behalf of organized labor in Canada.

(The chairman presented to President Green a beautiful ebony gavel.)

President Green: The Chair very deeply appreciates this expression of kindness and friendliness by Chairman Varley and I want to thank him from the bottom of my heart for this beautiful gavel. I hope it won't make me more savage than I have been during this convention. I shall endeavor to wield it very judiciously and I assure you I shall cherish it as a most precious gift by the committee on local arrangements. It will be a constant reminder of a most delightful two weeks spent in the city of Toronto. I thank you.

Chairman Varley: I wish now, Mr. President, to present to Brother Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, this inkstand as a memento of his visit to the city of Toronto on this occasion, as a remembrance of his native Province, and as a token of the esteem and respect in which he is held by the organized workers of the city of Toronto.

(A handsome onyx inkstand was presented to Secretary Morrison.)

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, I desire to express my appreciation for this memento,

and I shall use it in memory both of my early boyhood days and of the expressions of goodwill from the committee. We have had many splendid committees in the various cities in which we have met, but I don't know of any that surpassed it: in the courtesy we have received and the various entertainments that have been offered—even to an extent almost beyond the ability of the delegates to enjoy.

President Green: I think it would be proper for the Chairman to say just now that all the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention appreciate most highly the programme arranged by the local committee for the entertainment and happiness of the delegates and visitors. We most heartily congratulate them upon the work accomplished and upon the success which attended their efforts. I don't know where they trained for this work, but it seems to me they have acted as though they were veteran members of entertainment committees.

Secretary Morrison: And they are.

President Green: It has been a most wonderful succession of entertainment arranged by the committee for the delegates, visitors and officers. We want to assure them that we appreciate it all, their kindness and their attention, and in behalf of all of you I thank the committee from the bottom of my heart for the entertainment provided for us during this convention.

#### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES**

Delegate Swartz, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, having given careful consideration to all matters brought before it, would respectfully submit the following report:

Your Committee desires warmly to commend the consistent attitude of President William Green in urging locals of all affiliated organizations to affiliate with their Central Labor bodies. Such persistent action on his part, and compliance with his requests, have resulted in the rejuvenation of many moribund Central bodies. If more locals were to follow his splendid advice, the beneficial effect upon the Labor movement as a whole would be more pronounced.

In this connection your committee would respectfully draw the renewed attention of the delegates in attendance at this convention, and through them solicit the action of the National

and International Unions which they represent to the following section of our organic law:

Art. XI, Sec. 2, page 19 of Constitution.

"It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction."

The foregoing is not compulsory. The glory of the American Federation of Labor is its voluntary character, so well named by our late lamented Samuel Gompers as "The principle of voluntarism." No craft union is required to join the American Federation of Labor, nor, having joined, is compelled to stay. Yet the privilege of this voluntary association is so highly prized that its withdrawal is the very highest penalty imposed by the American Federation of Labor for infraction of its laws. Our most severe discipline is merely to say to an offending organization, "Your charter is revoked."

So this same principle of voluntarism runs in the matter of locals affiliating with the Local Central Body. The autonomy of each local is respected—it may join its Central Labor Body or it may stay out. But we would stress the fact that if affiliation is good at the top it is equally good at the bottom. Cooperation in the city adds strength to the International Labor structure.

Hence we would recommend that the American Federation of Labor in 49th Annual Convention assembled commend its officers for drawing the attention of all National and International Unions, and of Trade and Federal Labor Unions, to the above-quoted law, and to the great advantage that would accrue to Labor by hearty compliance therewith.

Fraternally submitted,

JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
Chairman.  
LUTHER E. SWARTZ,  
Secretary.

WM. J. MORAN,  
J. G. HOLMGREN,  
JOS. M. MARSHALL,  
E. I. DAVIDSON,  
THOS. REDDING,  
ADAM ZUSI,  
JAMES B. CONNORS,  
THOS. L. KELLEY,  
G. W. BUGNAZET,  
A. ADAMSKI,  
E. W. A. O'DELL,

SARAH S. HAGAN,  
JAMES C. QUINN,  
JAMES KENNAUGH,  
C. C. COULTER,

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Vice-President Noonan, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee has had the following from the Executive Council's Report referred to it:

##### Legislative Work

This is a very important field of state federation of labor activity. The outstanding achievement is the Wisconsin act outlawing the "yellow dog" contract. We hope this may be a precedent for other states.

Twelve states report improvements in compensation laws; five report progress in child labor and compulsory school laws; six have strengthened old-age pension laws; two have improved laws regulating private employment agencies; one has provided for free employment bureaus; two have perfected laws covering union group insurance. Progress also has been made in providing for enforcement of labor laws, improving safety laws for mines, and safety codes in building. Kansas has re-established its department of labor, and the Alabama Federation of Labor is working to create a department of labor in that state. Illinois has prevented the passage of a law designed to transfer from the state legislature to the courts the power of making all rules of procedure and practice and other authority which belonged to the legislature. This bill was a grave danger to the liberties of the people and its defeat was an important accomplishment.

We desire to congratulate the labor movement on the progress that has been made through the efforts of state organizations in the way of legislation to safeguard the interests of the workers and social legislation tending to elevate the standard of the masses of the people in the several states. •

The progress made in strengthening old-age pension laws is indeed an accomplishment.

The attention given by the state organizations to the strengthening of the compensation laws, the passage of safety codes and regulation of private employment agencies is evidence that our state organizations are performing a most useful work.

The passage of the law outlawing the "yellow dog" contract in the State of Wisconsin again brings to the Wisconsin State Federation of

Labor the honor of being a pioneer in the securing of labor legislation.

The splendid fight made by the Illinois State Federation of Labor in successfully resisting the efforts to transfer from the State Legislature to the courts the power of making the rules of procedure and practice and other authority which belongs to the legislature brings before this convention a warning that efforts are being made by certain commercial organizations to change court procedure in such a way as to give more arbitrary power to the court, and take from the people what protection remains of our judiciary procedure, and we suggest that the State Federations of Labor be requested to resist every such effort.

While the report of the Executive Council shows a healthy affiliation with the State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, your committee is of the opinion that there is still a large portion of the trade union movement that is not assuming its rightful obligation toward state federations of labor. We recommend that the international officers of the various international unions lend their encouragement to the end that all local unions shall affiliate and support state federations of labor.

Respectfully submitted and signed:

JAMES P. NOONAN,  
Chairman.  
FRANK X. MARTEL,  
Secretary.  
S. C. HOGAN,  
WALTER NESBIT,  
JERRY HORAN,  
J. M. GILLESPIE,  
PATRICK GORMAN,  
JOSEPH P. RYAN,  
JOHN FITZGERALD,  
JOHN F. MUGAVIN,  
WM. E. WALTER,  
JOHN B. TIERNEY,  
JOHN J. BROMLEY,  
E. C. HALL,  
T. N. TAYLOR,  
J. C. LEWIS,  
FRED BAER.

The report was unanimously adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Building Trades Protest Jurisdiction Encroachment of Theatrical Stage Employees**

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate William J. Spencer of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, In many sections of the country disputes have arisen between the various crafts and the Locals of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees due principally to the claim of the I. A. T. S. E. locals for jurisdiction over all work in the theatrical and amusement field; and

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction in theatres, studios and places of amusement as between the various crafts and the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees has been definitely determined a number of times by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The I. A. T. S. E. has never asked for jurisdiction of work in theatres other than that back of the proscenium arch necessary for the production of a show and the operation of projecting machines and have never been granted jurisdiction over work other than that necessary for the production of a show back of the proscenium arch and the operation of projecting machines; and

WHEREAS, The claim of many of their local Unions for jurisdiction over all work in theatres is without foundation and is productive of turmoil and strife as between the various Labor organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the I. A. T. S. E. be ordered to instruct their Local Unions that the work in theatres other than that specifically mentioned in the decisions and agreements granting them jurisdiction over certain classes of work back of the proscenium arch and the operation of projecting machines, comes properly under the jurisdiction of the various trades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the I. A. T. S. E. be advised and ordered to refrain from demanding agreements with employers that cover the work properly coming under the jurisdiction of the various trades; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the I. A. T. S. E. be ordered to confine themselves to the work properly granted to them by the labor movement, and upon their refusal to confine themselves to the work properly coming under their jurisdiction they be suspended from the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That conferences for the settlement of jurisdiction disputes as between the trades properly holding jurisdiction and the I. A. T. S. E. be held within a period of thirty days after the adjournment of this Convention.

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department and referred to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for adoption.

After hearing all parties concerned your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed



to call a conference in Washington, D. C., on March 4, 1930, at two-thirty P. M. of all the organizations interested in this dispute and at which he himself, or some other member of the Executive Council shall preside and make every effort to adjust the same.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Maloney: This completes the report which is signed by the following members of the Committee:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman.  
JAMES MALONEY, Secretary.  
ROY HORN,  
JOHN F. McNAMARA,  
J. B. ETCHISON,  
WM. J. KERNGOOD,  
H. B. PERHAM,  
PHILIP MURRAY,  
WM. B. FITZGERALD,  
F. H. FLJOZDAL,  
M. F. TIGHE,  
WILLIAM F. CANAVAN,  
J. P. McLAUGHLIN,  
LOUIS AFRICK,  
CHAS. P. FORD.

The committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate Clarke, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your committee has given careful attention and consideration to all the subjects referred to us. We have reflected on the numerous phases of the various questions, and we have examined each angle of each problem in order to try and see the situation from every point of view. We have had hearings where hearings appeared necessary—in fact we have been exceedingly cautious in all of our deliberations and meditations and we are now bringing to you the benefit of our study and our judgment.

In presenting our report we are following the course that we began two years ago; that is, we shall purposely omit from our report the reproduction of any part of the already printed record which now forms a part of the permanent proceedings of this convention, for we are unable to see any good purpose served by duplicating and enlarging the record, while in each instance we will give clear and distinct references to each document assigned to us and in a way that makes the record not only concise but positively clear and easily connected. With this introduction we present our findings.

##### Flint Glass Workers—Machinists

Reference to this dispute appears on page 68 on the report of the Executive Council. It is to be regretted that this controversy has not been adjusted, it having been a subject for discussion for the past seventeen (17) years. In the review presented by the Executive Council they

conclude by recommending that they be permitted to continue their efforts towards securing an adjustment during the coming year. Your committee is in accord with this recommendation with the added suggestion that the President of the American Federation of Labor give his personal attention to this long drawn out dispute as soon as he can conveniently do so.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Teamsters—Railway Clerks

On pages 69 to 75 of the Executive Council's Report will be found the history and the decisions made by the American Federation of Labor in the long standing controversy between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

In dealing with this subject the committee reaffirms the decisions of the previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, which are to the effect that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America have jurisdiction over drivers, chauffeurs and helpers.

We are pleased to report that the representatives of the organizations involved have had several conferences during this convention, and while no general agreement has been reached to settle the entire question, substantial progress has been made in this direction.

Your committee therefore recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor call a conference of the representatives of the two organizations (at a mutually satisfactory date) for the purpose of endeavoring to reach a final settlement of the controversy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers'—Tunnel and Subway Constructors

We were more than gratified to learn that the jurisdictional differences that existed between these two organizations has been disposed of. We not only compliment those responsible for the results achieved, but we compliment and congratulate all who contributed in any way towards reaching this satisfactory conclusion. Reference to the dispute and copy of the agreement that ended the contest is recorded on page 68 of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

##### Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers

This subject came before our committee through reference of an article under a like caption appearing on page 69 of the report of the Executive Council, as well as through Resolution No. 87, which was also referred to us for consideration and action.

Delegates representing each organization appeared before our committee. The conclusions of the report of the Executive Council and the substance of Resolution No. 87 are in accord, each suggesting that the subject of the amalgamation of these two unions be left in the hands of President Green for further consideration. This proposed procedure having met with the approval of the representatives of both organizations, your committee recommends that this course be followed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Adjustments

On page 75 of the report of the Executive Council will be found an article appearing under the caption of Adjustments, and which was referred to our committee. This article deals with the difficulties that have been encountered in making adjustments, smoothing out differences that arise, as well as reaching settlements where controversies have actually arisen. When we reflect on the vast number of intricate problems that are constantly arising in the various industries, the simplified methods that are supplanting the old way of doing things, the speed with which results are obtained and the natural tendencies of all men to reach out to control the things that appear desirous, the wonder is that we do not have more disputes than we have. Therefore, we take pleasure in not only complimenting the members and officers of the movement for the sane and business-like manner in which they are meeting and solving their problems, but we likewise congratulate the Executive Council on the many accomplishments in the way of mediating and disposing of intricate and annoying questions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Sleeping Car Porters

On page 75 of the report of the Executive Council appears a record of efforts made to bring the sleeping car porters into membership in the American Federation of Labor, the difficulties encountered and the course pursued, as well as the information that 13 local unions have already been chartered. This record was referred to your committee for action, and we likewise had referred to us Resolution No. 32, having for its purpose opposition to this policy and urging that all sleeping car porters now chartered by the American Federation of Labor be turned over to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers International Alliance. The representatives of both organizations were heard. After devoting considerable time to the general problem it was finally decided that the Executive Council should be sustained in granting local charters to the sleeping car porters. The question then arose as to what action would be taken on Resolution No. 32, and it is such as the authors of

the Resolution urged that it be referred to the Executive Council, as a matter of record. To this your committee agreed and recommend the referring of the Resolution to the Executive Council.

#### Delegate Randolph

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, in discussing the subject, said in part: On behalf of the Sleeping Car Porters I want to express our appreciation and thanks for the decision of the Executive Council in relation to the status of the Sleeping Car Porters in the American Federation of Labor. I want to add for the purpose of the record that the position of the Sleeping Car Porters is that we are railroad workers and that properly we come within the operation of railroad machinery.

Since we have organized the sleeping car porters have developed a considerable labor movement. This not only benefits sleeping car porters but other classes of labor. The porters are the spearhead which will make possible the organization of Negro workers. The sleeping car porters wish to offer their services to all the international organizations that have Negroes in their ranks. In New York there are several hundred Negro barbers. We would be concerned about having these barbers organized. The sleeping car porters will be interested in that work.

We have helped the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the Teamsters have come to us recently in relation to some of their problems in New York. Therefore, the Sleeping Car Porters' organization is a vital thing in the development of the labor movement of this country, and we know and realize that the proper solution of the problem of the organization of the Negro workers will be immeasurably advanced by the action you have taken.

Delegate Randolph, concluded his discussion by referring to the pleasure he has always felt in meeting President Green and Secretary Morrison in conferences, of the courteous manner in which they have always treated representatives of his organization, and expressed appreciation of the courteous manner in which every delegate in the convention had treated him since he had appeared among them.

Speaking specifically of the organization of Sleeping Car Porters, Delegate Randolph said: When you are traveling throughout the country, ask the porters on the cars if they are members of our organization, ask them to join if they are not, and say a word for our organization. Negroes realize that the time has come for them to organize. They are willing to make the sacrifice for that now, for the only way they can raise their standards is through organization. This organization wants to serve as the basic and fundamental instrument in advancing the cause of organization

among our people. We want to make a contribution to this American Federation of Labor, and I think that perhaps, just as the Negroes have made a contribution in the field of art and literature and science, just as they are taking their place in the realm of education, they are beginning to realize that their place is in the American Federation of Labor, and they want to play their part in building up this organization, so that it may serve all classes in America, of all races, colors, creeds and nationalities.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employes: In behalf of our organization I want to say the report of the committee is acceptable and to add to that that we are not in opposition to the organization of the sleeping car porters. As a matter of fact, our International Union has spent considerable money in the past in an effort to organize these workers. We have hopes of including them in our organization in accordance with the mandates laid down by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor when they specifically mapped out our jurisdiction. We hope the Executive Council will see the benefits that will be derived by these workers, by having them affiliate with our organization. They are hotel workers whether they are operating in stationary hotels, on wheels, in the air, or anywhere else.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Official Changes

This subject is referred to on page 76 of the report of the Executive Council. Here it is related that fourth Vice-President Jacob Fischer, who for years occupied a prominent place in the up-building of our movement, tendered his resignation and that Joseph Weber, President of the American Federation of Musicians, was chosen to fill the vacancy. Jacob Fischer was a pioneer who played an important part in the early stages of our development. For those years of effort we express our appreciation and wish him well. In selecting Joseph Weber to fill the vacancy we feel that the Council acted wisely as it brings to our official family the services of one who has had rich experiences in the field of trade union activity. We predict that he will make a valuable asset in this broader field of usefulness.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Yellow Dog Contracts

The review that the Executive Council presents on this un-American policy, and which appears on page 92 of its report to this convention, is exceedingly interesting and instructive. It is very evident that much time and thought has been given to the end that "Yellow Dog" contracts may be outlawed, while in the process of this desire a warning is sounded that every effort be

made to circumvent legal technicalities that may follow. It will be noted that while it is clearly stated that the Wisconsin proposal was enacted into law, still those who make a practice of trying to interpret the laws proclaim that the bill introduced in the Ohio legislature comes closer to being legal-proof. Therefore, the work of our committee seems clear: first, we want to express our appreciation to every person who has labored to outlaw a vicious custom that deprives American workmen of an inherent right; and, secondly, we endorse and approve the suggestion of the Executive Council to the effect that the Ohio Bill be introduced in all other state legislatures.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Workmen's Compensation

Your committee welcomes that part of the report of the Executive Council appearing under this caption on pages 92-93, for here is embodied statistics that brings to our attention a startling situation. In 44 states, laws have been enacted to protect the toilers against misfortunes following accidents, while only four states—Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi and South Carolina, have failed to recognize the need for such legislation. Is it any wonder that we so frequently hear the term, "The Backward South" used when that section of our country is referred to? Is it possible that anyone can fail to grasp the significance of what 10,000,000 accidents in the United States each year really means? When Secretary of Commerce Lamont estimated that \$3,200,000,000 was lost each year as the result of accidents, he only estimated the monetary loss. Where can we find a rule or a scale that can accurately measure the loss sustained when 20,000 are killed in industry each year, to say nothing of those who are placed in the total disability class? We agree with the Executive Council when they say that we are lacking in publicity on this important question. Therefore, your committee urges that each and every delegate to this convention read this particular part of the report of the Executive Council and make it a point to bring the facts contained therein to the attention of their constituents, as well as resolve to contribute their efforts towards bringing this lamentable situation to the attention of all forward-looking men and women with the hope that the four states that are an exception will adopt laws and regulations to protect the toilers in those states and a general effort be made everywhere to minimize the cause of accidents.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Acetylene Welding

This problem comes to our committee through Resolution No. 60. This question occupied the time of the Baltimore Convention in 1916, when

the Blacksmiths, Sheet Metal Workers, Plumbers, Electrical Workers, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Machinists, Railway Carmen, Boiler-makers and Railway Employees' Department were all involved in a dispute. After mature consideration it was then decided that "Acetylene Welding" was a process and that an "acetylene welder" was a tool which could no more come under the jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than could the hammer or the saw. The matter was also considered at the Atlantic City Convention in 1919, as well as by the Executive Council, August 9, 1929. Time has demonstrated the wisdom of the original decision made at Baltimore, and what is now asked is that the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor issue a letter to all State Federations and Central Bodies, advising them of the repeated refusals to the granting of a separate charter for these workers. Your committee approves the suggestion as well as recommends that workers using this "tool" be advised to join the organization having jurisdiction over the class of work done where the tool is in use.

Therefore, we recommend the adoption of the Resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### American Flint Glass Workers' Union versus The Glass Bottle Blowers' Association

This is a jurisdictional dispute that was brought to the attention of our committee through Resolution No. 68. The representatives of the two organizations involved are agreeable to the proposal to have a meeting as suggested in the Resolution, while President Maloney wishes to be understood as being opposed to the thought expressed in the first "Whereas." However, your committee approves of that part of the resolution arranging for the meeting and does so without committing either side to any other thought expressed therein.

#### Delegate Maloney

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I am sorry that I have to take about three or four minutes of your time now, for the reason that I am in accord with the committee, but as a matter of record I would like to make a few brief remarks.

This Neon glass sign in industry is new; it has only been developed in the last two or three years. It is termed "the sign of the living glass." Neon is extracted from the air, a discovery by a French scientist, and commercialized and developed by a man named Neon. That is where it receives the name of the Claude Neon Illuminated sign. This is a gas that is odorless and colorless and in signs is electrically charged.

Lightning is gas charged by electricity, and in those signs you see over here on Walker Hotel and Murrays Sandwich Shop and the Frigidaire below this hotel, an electric wire enters that gas, and as soon as the electric current is turned on it lights the gas and throws off the beautiful orange red glow.

The largest Neon sign in the world is in New York, 88 feet long and 44 feet high. Just after Labor Day in 1927 we went into New York and organized the workers in that industry. Previous to their organization the men received from fifty cents to a dollar an hour, outside of a few foremen and highly technical men who were able to demand any wages they desired. We organized those men in about three months, with the assistance of the labor movement of New York, and secured a rate of \$1.50 an hour and the eight-hour day. A year later we secured an advance to \$1.65 and the five-day week.

We went into Chicago and organized those men and secured a wage rate of \$1.50 an hour. We went into Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and have practically a hundred per cent organizations in those cities. We are working in other cities as the industry develops and the demand for this kind of illumination increases. We have an organization on the Pacific Coast, and we hope to perfect a hundred per cent organization throughout the country in the Neon industry.

There are electricians, painters and sheet metal workers and other mechanics—just a few of them—working in the shops at this time. We expect before long, and as we perfect our organization during the interim where this controversy is being settled, to secure one hundred per cent organization among the Neon sign glass workers, and also demand one hundred per cent organization among the members of the international organizations I have referred to. In shops we now refuse to handle the nonunion material.

I want to express my own appreciation and the sincere thanks of my organization for the splendid cooperation and help rendered to us by the labor organizations in every city we have gone into.

#### Delegate Clarke

Delegate Clarke, Secretary of the Committee: It is exceedingly unfortunate that Delegate Maloney should have taken advantage of the situation to address the convention. I had hoped this resolution would go as agreed to by Brother Maloney and myself before the Committee, that is, to go to a tribunal without discussion, but in defense of the little organization I represent I will crave your attention for three or four minutes.

Some four or five years ago our organization decreed that we should have a bank, and consequently that I should conduct the bank, and I have not been very active in the technical affairs of our organization, that being assigned, through an agreement, to our vice-president. I have here a letter I received from him protesting against my desire to meet these differences in the way this committee presents the matter, but asking that an open rupture take place on the floor of this convention in the interest of my organization.

The thing Brother Malone very cleverly avoided is the fact that the American Federation of Labor in writing has given the American Flint Glass Workers jurisdiction seventeen years ago over lamp working, and lamp working is the class of work involved in this controversy. If you will read the instructions that are given to the organizers of the American Federation of Labor you will see that lamp working comes under the jurisdiction of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

In this statement, over the signatures of the men who were present, Brother Maloney's representatives entered into an agreement with our representatives not to progress with this any further until the jurisdiction was settled, and then they went out and secretly did the things they agreed not to do.

I had hopes these things would not come out before the convention, where they can do no good, but Brother Maloney expressed a sentiment that placed us in an embarrassing position.

Delegate Maloney: I favor the report of the committee, and we have done nothing secretly.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Conclusion

If we were to close this report without an expression of pride and gratification for all that has been accomplished by our trade union movement in the interest of the toilers of the world, we would throw ourselves liable to the charge that we were derelict in our duty. In these days when every endeavor is being made to place our movement on the defense, when efforts are attempted to deplore and belittle what we are aiming to accomplish, as well as minimize the value of what has already been achieved, it is indeed pleasing to survey the general situation and coolly and calmly examine the facts and learn anew that our movement is in the vanguard of all other institutions throughout the civilized world in the struggle and in achievements for human uplift and human betterment. We are privileged to live in a time and an age when the things that were new and startling yesterday are comparatively old and common-place if not

actually discarded tomorrow, still our trade union movement has kept pace with all these rapidly changing conditions and continues to consist of the living, breathing, fighting, never ending champions of men, women and children the world over, for be it ever remembered that the eyes of the people of the world are focused on us and that the ears of suffering humanity are attuned to the melody that is interpreted to mean that as we move forward we sow the seeds of encouragement in the heart of human-kind, and it is in this spirit that this committee expresses delight and satisfaction over all that has been accomplished and aims to spur the men and women of labor on to greater and nobler efforts. There is glory enough for all and the field for more splendid accomplishments and attainments than have already been achieved stretches out before us.

Respectfully submitted,

Secretary Clarke: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

JAMES WILSON, Chairman,  
WILLIAM P. CLARKE, Secretary,

GEORGE L. BERRY,  
THOMAS KENNEDY,  
F. H. KNIGHT,  
EDWARD FLORE,  
J. J. HYNES,  
ANDREW FURUSETH,  
JAMES C. SHANESSY,  
MARTIN LAWLOR,  
JOHN J. MARA,  
FRANK KASTEN,  
CHARLES SUMNER.

The committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK-DAY

Delegate Reilly, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

There have been referred to your committee for consideration two resolutions and three recommendations from the report of the Executive Council, the first of which is captioned as follows:

To Assist Bookkeepers and Stenographers' Union,  
New York City, in Securing Five  
Day Work Week

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Ernest Bohm, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union 12646, New York:

WHEREAS, The 48th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, La., unanimously adopted resolution No. 32 urging affiliated unions to introduce the five-day work week for the whole year; and





during the past year toward attaining the five-day work-week, as follows:

#### Five-Day Week

Since our report to the New Orleans Convention, the building trades unions have made substantial progress, in securing the five-day week. It is estimated that twenty-five per cent have the five-day week. These unions are moving definitely toward putting the whole industry on the shorter work-week basis.

The recent victory in New York City gives the five-day week to about 150,000 building tradesmen. The St. Louis building trades established this standard for practically all crafts. Chicago and Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Niagara Falls have made gains. On the Pacific Coast the five-day week for building tradesmen is the general practice. The Brotherhood of Painters still holds the lead for percentage of membership working the five-day week. The Cleveland Building Trades Council, with an aggregate membership of 50,000, has also secured it, as have the Building Trades Councils of West Palm Beach, Florida, and Jamestown, New York. Jamestown was one of the first building trades councils to secure the five-day week, having secured it on May 1, 1928.

In addition to building tradesmen, printing craftsmen have the five-day week in a number of establishments. The women's garment unions have the five-day week for 12,000 members, while the men's garment unions have established it for 5,000. The fur workers of Boston, Chicago and New York have the five-day week; also, the cloth hat makers of Milwaukee, New York and Philadelphia; the wood carvers of Boston, New York City and Rochester; the upholsterers in Boston and New York City. Photo-engravers have the five-day week during summer months and under their agreements will successively increase its application until it extends throughout the year.

A number of local unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, particularly the office employees' unions, are also enjoying the five-day week.

In an endeavor to secure authentic and detailed information concerning this latest development, a survey has been undertaken by the American Federation of Labor and it will take some months to obtain the full results. But it is evident that as time goes by the number of workers securing the five-day work-week is growing at an ever-increasing rate. We predict that the five-day week will shortly be universal for building tradesmen.

The Building Trades crafts in the several cities named are to be congratulated on the progress they have made toward the five-day week, and it is a matter for felicitation that the many other crafts of organized men and women mentioned in the Executive Council's report are making wonderful strides toward that goal, and that practically all of the national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have begun a general educational movement with the same objective.

The development of automatic machinery and scientific processes, with consequent lessening of opportunities for employment, makes it imperative that the five-day work-week be universally installed.

While the Executive Council's report deals with this subject in an exhaustive manner, we risk the charge of reiteration by calling attention to the importance of the Council's findings, and your committee approves of same and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Vacations With Pay

In the report of the Executive Council, page 48, significant reference is made to "Vacations With Pay," as follows:

Very significant of the labor movement's appreciation of the value of leisure is the mounting number of trade unionists who have vacations with pay. Such provisions make possible periods of rest and change without the problems created by stoppage of incomes.

We hope that this feature of work conditions secured by union agreements and legislation will make steady progress.

We concur in the Executive Council's hope that the movement for vacations with pay will make steady progress. This movement is intertwined with the general movement for more leisure, which is so urgently urged by organized labor for every moral, social and economic reason.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This concludes the report of your Committee on Shorter Work-Day, and we recommend the adoption as a whole of the several recommendations herein made.

Signed by the committee:

M. J. KEOUGH,  
Chairman,  
WM. M. REILLY,  
Secretary,  
E. J. GAINOR,  
L. A. BEAUDRY,  
JOHN B. SCHULTE,  
LEE HALL,  
FRANK P. BARRY,  
JOSEPH W. MORTON,  
JAMES P. MEEHAN,  
GEO. MOORE,  
FRANK B. POWERS,  
WM. H. McHUGH,  
THOMAS A. BANNISTER,  
ROBERT B. HESKETH,  
DANIEL HAGGERTY,  
CHAS. M. PAULSEN,  
THEODORE MITCHELL.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate Posschl, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

**Metal Polishers Request Investigations of Their Dispute With the Supermaid Cook Ware Company, Chicago, Ill.**

Resolution No. 39—By W. W. Britton, Metal Polishers' International Union.

WHEREAS, There has been a persistent effort on the part of the Supermaid Cook Ware Corporation of Chicago, Illinois, in their fight against the Metal Polishers' International Union, to confuse the minds of different Central Bodies by denying their antagonism to organized labor, and by denying the contents of circular letters issued by the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Metal Polishers' Union, causing many Central Bodies to write to different places for a correct report on the matter; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor conduct an investigation of the strike between the Metal Polishers and the above-named company and report their findings to the different Central Bodies throughout the country.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Hatters Protest Attitude of Saranoff Irving Hat Company

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates James Byrne, J. Louis Africk and Martin Lawlor of the United Hatters of North America.

WHEREAS, The Saranoff Irving Hat Company, manufacturers of hats and operating a chain of retail stores, in 1922, while operating a union factory in New York City, declared for the open shop and secured a non-union factory at Perth Amboy, New Jersey; and

WHEREAS, the Saranoff Irving Hat Company had only one object in view in declaring for the open shop, and that was to get cheaper labor and thereby lower the standard of living of members of the United Hatters of North America; and

WHEREAS, The Saranoff Irving Hat Company is doing a national business, having stores all over the United States, some of them known as Saranoff Irving Stores, some as Saranoff Stores and some as Irving Stores, but all of them owned by the Saranoff Irving Hat Company; and

WHEREAS, This year the United Hatters of North America succeeded in organizing the Saranoff Hat Company employees; as soon as this condition became known to the firm they notified their employees that any of them who attended the meetings of the organization of their craft would be discharged. A meeting was held and attended by most of the Saranoff Company employees. Next morning ten of the leaders were discharged; and

WHEREAS, We believe that in this enlightened age the time has passed when employers of labor can any longer take the stand that joining the organization of their craft is sufficient reason for the discharge of their employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as opposed to the unfair and un-American attitude of the Saranoff Irving Hat Company in discharging their employees because they joined a labor organization; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render every assistance possible to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of this controversy, and if unable to do so that Saranoff Irving Hats be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor and the widest possible publicity be given to the matter contained in this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the membership of the American Federation of Labor that when buying a felt, wool, straw or Panama hat they look for the Union Label of the United Hatters of North America. In doing this they will be helping to stop firms like the Saranoff Irving Hat Company from trying to lower the standards of living of American men and women by depriving them of their right to belong to an organization if they so desire.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution consistent with the policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lawlor, United Hatters, in discussing the question, said in part: The firm mentioned in the resolution are manufacturers of hats, not for the trade, but for their own stores. They operate a chain of perhaps 125 stores in the large cities of America. We had nothing to do with them about hours of labor or wages, notwithstanding the wages paid in that factory are extremely low and the hours very long. The only issue at the time of the trouble was the right of the men and women in their employ to belong to a union, as individuals. They were told if they joined the union they would be discharged, and some of them were discharged. That is what brought about the strikes.

This firm makes only cheap hats; that is, hats that are sold for five dollars and under, largely under, and they are bought by working people. They buy better hats from union manufacturers because they cannot make them.

in their factories. The managers and clerks tell those who ask for union hats that they are a union concern. Occasionally they do have a few union hats in their store, but we would prefer to see the patronage of union labor go to a store that has a reasonable amount of union hats than to the merchant that has only one or two.

There is a false impression that prevails among both union and non-union men all over this country that if you want a high-class hat or a stylish hat you can only get it without the label. That is absolutely untrue. We are making hats with the union label that are good enough for anybody to wear, no matter how wealthy or how good looking he is, or how he dresses. The best hats in the world are made in union hat factories, they are made by members of the United Hatters of North America, and they have the union label of our organization.

I did not take part in the tariff discussion yesterday, although I wanted to. Last summer 60 per cent. of all the straw hats worn in America were imported into this country. Our union manufacturers partially closed their factories and imported the hats from Italy and other countries, and left the American hatters walking the streets. For that reason we are vitally interested in the tariff, and I hope nothing will be done by the American Federation of Labor which will interfere with the relief we expect from the Congress of the United States, and which was granted to us by the Ways and Means Committee and the House, and is now before the Senate.

We are not interested in the tariff as a political matter, but we are interested in it vitally as a matter of wages.

Delegate Lawlor discussed briefly the prevalent custom of going without hats, and suggested that the Federation do everything possible to discourage it.

Referring again to the Saranoff Irving Company he said: We do not want war with this company, we want peace. The purpose of our resolution is to use the good offices of the American Federation of Labor to secure peace. We had a war at one time in which the American Federation of Labor had to come to our rescue to save our homes, and since that time we have been careful about war. But, abhorring war as we do, if after the intervention of the American Federation of Labor, after it has done everything possible to get this company away from the position they have so steadily maintained, that no man or woman shall work in their factory who belongs to a labor organization, we feel in that we will continue the war. Our organization will finance whatever war is necessary, but we want the moral support of the Federation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Iron and Steel Workers Protest Attitude of American Rolling Mill Company of Middletown, Ohio.**

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate M. F. Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The American Rolling Mill Company of Middletown, Ohio, makers of the extensively advertised "Armco Brand of Sheet Iron and Plates," have after 28 years of the most amicable relations with their employes, members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, also with the International Association Officials, with no cause whatsoever, there being no question or controversy between them, announced their intention to operate their mills non-union; and

WHEREAS, All efforts on the part of the International Organization and such other influences as it was possible to bring to bear on them failed to change the attitude of the American Rolling Mill Company, thereby making it necessary on the part of the International Organization to order the members of Miami Valley Lodge No. 20 to cease work until such time as this company will grant to them the rights they had enjoyed for the past 28 years, the right to be recognized as union men, and bargain collectively for their labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Toronto, Ontario, do declare the action of the American Rolling Mill Company of Middletown, Ohio, most unfair not alone to the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, but to the Organized Labor Movement in general. And we urge the delegates and all affiliated unions to take note of same. Also that such moral support be given as is possible to give to the members of Miami Valley Lodge No. 20, now on strike for the cause of unionism and the right of collective bargaining for their labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that they assist the organization in their difficulty, and also that they be authorized to acquaint affiliated unions and central bodies of the situation that exists as called to their attention in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Tobacco Workers Protest Attitude of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, Winston-Salem, N.C.**

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Ed. L. Crouch of the Winston-Salem, N.C., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company of Winston-Salem, N.C., have refused to employ Union Labor of any crafts, and the Chairman of their Board of Directors stated to the Representative of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Edward F. McGrady, "We are not interested in any contractual relations with Organized Labor"; and

WHEREAS, The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company have discharged over 1,200 members of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, within the last 18 months, and refused to meet a committee of the Tobacco Workers, who asked for a conference, in order that by friendly methods the deplorable conditions under which the Tobacco Workers are forced to work in their factories might be changed; and

WHEREAS, The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, a Hundred Million Dollar Trust, have arrogantly refused to meet, or even discuss, a peaceful settlement of the troubles existing in their factories, with the Central Labor Union N.C., State Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, and the United States Department of Labor, who each in turn offered its good offices to the end that a peaceful settlement might be made; and

WHEREAS, After the Tobacco Workers' International Union had exhausted every honorable means at their command without avail to effect a peaceful settlement, they placed all the products of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company on the Unfair List; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Toronto, Ont., heartily endorses the action taken against the Reynolds Tobacco Company by the Tobacco Workers' International Union, as well as the similar action of State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies, International Unions, and Local Unions throughout the United States of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls on all organized workers to co-operate with the Tobacco Workers' International Union in turning the pitiless light of publicity on the deplorable conditions existing in the Reynolds Tobacco Company's factories, and to ignore all products manufactured by this firm until such time as the present policy of Industrial Slavery now in vogue in its factories is changed.

Your committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council and that they be authorized to render every assistance to this organization, with a view to straightening out the difficulty that exists.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Cigarmakers Protest Attitude of the General Cigar Company

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates I. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins and William Collins of the Cigarmakers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The State and Federal Constitutions guarantee certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS, Capitalists, through organization, trusts and merged combinations, are enabled to reap in dividends and multiplied earnings that follow organization and cooperative joint efforts; and

WHEREAS, These gigantic trusts find means to deprive labor of its constitutional rights of freedom and justice on the economic industrial field of action, among which are the yellow dog contract, intimidation and the Writ of Injunction; and

WHEREAS, Working under modern methods of industrial production and distribution, it is impossible for wage earners to achieve and enjoy industrial freedom, except through organization in trades unions; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor concedes the right of Capitalists to organize in ways best suited to achieve legitimate dividends; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor also demands the right of wage earners to organize in trade unions; and

WHEREAS, The only way to successfully meet the machine age changes is to reduce the number of working hours per day and the number of working days per week to a point that will absolve the idle workers displaced by new machinery and to increase wages to a point that will enable the masses to consume that which they produce. It is the purchasing power and consuming ability of the masses that make for stability of employment and prosperity for all; and

WHEREAS, In the cigar and tobacco industry, machines have displaced thousands of skilled and semi-skilled wage earners. The trust owners are well organized and skillfully merged in combines with unlimited resources and influence. These trusts will not tolerate the organization of the wage earners, who are among the lowest paid industrial workers; and

WHEREAS, The General Cigar Company Trust is one of the worst offenders in this respect. Early this year—1929—this concern handed the workers a reduction of wages, using the pretence "business is poor." It was generally known that the company had doubled its income and greatly increased its dividends. In May (1929) the workers demanded the cut in wages be restored. The answer was, "No, but we will allow you to work one hour extra per day, to make up the loss in wages." The workers quit work in mass. The writ of injunction followed. The injunction, of the usual type, restrained them from doing anything except return to work, and keeping away from the wicked union; and

WHEREAS, Every device known to refined modern cruelty was employed to drive these people back to work; and

WHEREAS, They were unorganized, defenceless, and poverty stricken. They made a splendid fight for three long desolate months of privation, suffering, and were driven back by the relentless pangs of hunger; and

WHEREAS, This trust, powerful and rich, the General Cigar Company, maker of the Robert Burns, William Penn, Van Dyke, Chesterfield, and White Owl, is well organized for dividends, but denies the right of the wage workers to organize for living wages and less hours of toil; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor denounce the attitude and action of this concern as being unfair, unjust, and antagonistic to the true spirit of constitutional industrial freedom and repugnant to the impartial public policy and dangerous to our free institutions; be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give all possible publicity, by circular letter, editorials and otherwise, to this Resolution.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council render every assistance to the Cigarmakers to bring about a proper adjustment, and, failing to bring about an adjustment, that the publicity asked for in this resolution be given to this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Complaint Against the Shell Oil Company of California

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Wm. J. Spencer of the Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Shell Oil Company of California, a subsidiary of the Shell Union Corporation, is now erecting a large three-million-dollar office building in San Francisco, Calif., in which there is over three million tons of structural steel erection; and

WHEREAS, For over the past eight months officials of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have conferred with various representatives and officials of the Shell Oil Company and their architects, as well as the Shell Union Corporation, in order to prevail upon them to have the steel work on this job erected under union conditions; and

WHEREAS, All of the efforts on the part of the International Association and its officials with the above firms to secure for our members the work of erecting the steel on the Shell Oil Company San Francisco job were without satisfactory results; and

WHEREAS, The influence of the open-shop advocates of San Francisco, as well as the Industrial Association of that city, both of which have bitterly opposed the employment of union labor, has undoubtedly been brought to bear upon the Shell Oil Company in order that the steel erection work on their

new building be erected under the Industrial open-shop, non-union plan; and

WHEREAS, The Shell Oil Company of California, the Shell Petroleum Products Company and the Shell Eastern Company are subsidiary companies of the Shell Union Corporation, all of which companies are engaged in the sale of gas and oil products to the people of our country, many millions of which are among the organized workers of the United States and Canada, which countries are thoroughly covered by the sales agencies of the above-mentioned companies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all of the products of all of the above-named companies shall be placed upon the "We don't patronize" list by the Building Trades Department, and that every effort be made to secure the endorsement and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor Convention in placing the contents of this resolution into effect throughout the United States and Canada; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated International Unions, State and local Building Trades Councils affiliated with the Building Trades Department be notified of the above action of this Department; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we request the American Federation of Labor to concur in this resolution by placing the products of the above-named companies on the "We don't patronize" list, and that all affiliated International Unions, State Federations of Labor, local Central Labor bodies and Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be notified accordingly.

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department and referred to the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for adoption.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the recommendations that they use their best influence to assist the Iron Workers in their difficulty with this company.

Delegate Morrin, Iron Workers, said in part: The Shell Company is erecting a building in San Francisco at a cost of several millions of dollars. Our organization, like all the building trades and other organizations out there, is cursed with a Citizens' Committee which stands for the open shop. A fight will have to be made on that condition some day. A year ago our organization sought to make a fight against the Fox Theater Corporation, but we found ourselves out on a limb, as it were, alone.

After eleven million dollars' worth of work was tied up for some months we managed to get an agreement with the company, and we were able to bring about a condition where jobs were opened up for all the other building trades. The Shell Oil Company is the richest corporation in the world. It has subsidiaries in all parts of the country. Our organization has been trying to have the ironwork

on this building done under union conditions. We felt the fight had to be made and we felt that we could make it successfully on this building.

After conferences with the management we felt the Shell Company would dislike very much to be involved in a matter of this kind. We have had more to contend with in the way of dual organizations than anyone else in recent years. Our international organization has been successful in cleaning up the situation in the northwestern part of the country; in San Francisco we have the situation fairly well in hand, and we felt if we could get this building straightened out by appealing to members of organized labor we could break the backbone of the open shop movement in San Francisco.

I would like to have the support of the trade union movement, and we urge the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give us their support in this matter. I would like to request that Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make an investigation, and if they find our claims to be true that they protest to the Labor Department because of the action of its representatives on the West Coast in this matter.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Possehl: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed:

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN COFIELD, Chairman,  
JOHN POSSEHL, Secretary,  
MARTIN DALEY,  
CHARLES D. DUFFY,  
HERBERT RIVERS,  
CHARLES J. CASE,  
EDWARD CANAVAN,  
JOHN J. DOYLE,  
JOHN C. MACDONALD,  
HARRY L. MORRISON,  
G. W. HOOVER,  
L. G. GOUDIE,  
TIMOTHY J. REGAN,  
D. G. RAMSAY,  
C. J. WOOD,  
R. A. HENNING,  
HARRY F. COCHRAN.

The report as a whole was adopted and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of Committee, reported as follows:

##### International Federation of Trade Unions

Under the caption "International Federation of Trade Unions," page 108, Executive Council's Report, the committee reports as follows:

There has been no progress in establishing

international labor relations. The conditions that made necessary our withdrawal from the International Federation of Trade Unions still maintain.

The American Federation of Labor is appreciative of the value of constructive machinery for dealing with problems and relations. Such agencies are essential to orderly progress in relations between nations and special group interests, and organization in furtherance of constructive principles means progress in advancing related interests. Workers in each separate country gain by higher wages and higher standards of living for the workers in all other countries.

Your committee notes that no progress has been made in establishing more definite relations that are or would be mutually agreeable. We agree with the Council that the American Federation of Labor is cognizant and appreciative of the value of constructive methods that can and will effectively deal with, especially, the economic problems involved, and establish cooperative relations such as will be beneficial and helpful and in keeping with our fundamental declared principles. The statement that "the workers in each separate country gain by higher wages and higher standards of living for the workers in all countries," your committee emphasizes. It is a demonstrated fact that higher wages are gained and maintained by trade unions here, there, or elsewhere.

Your committee voices the hope that friendly relations will be continued and that mutual understanding will prevail through correspondence pending a more definite plan of relationship.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to establish plans that will result in perfect understanding and collaboration. If proper arrangements can be made we will ultimately be in a position to send and receive delegates to and from conventions representing the workers assembled for continental congresses.

This portion of the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Favoring Co-operation of Pan-American Federation of Labor With International Federation of Trade Unions

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal and Matthew Woll, representing the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Not only commerce and finance but also industry are being increasingly organized and controlled on an international basis, and this movement has been greatly accelerated under American leadership in the last few years; and

WHEREAS, American labor, has always led in every movement to bring about a practical, efficient and permanent cooperation between



the genuine economic labor organizations of the world on a basis of strict national autonomy; and

WHEREAS, The responsible heads of leading European labor organizations have of late publicly recognized the weakness of the methods hitherto followed to bring about this cooperation and their desire to discuss new methods; and

WHEREAS, It has been responsibly stated that there is in the International Federation of Trade Unions "no fundamental objection to the idea of Continental autonomy, provided the essential point, effective collaboration, can be secured"; and

WHEREAS, There is an immediate practical need for understanding and cooperation between the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the International Federation of Trade Unions and such a plan of cooperation on an equal basis could in no way infringe upon the autonomy of the Pan-American Federation of Labor or the American Federation of Labor, while it would restore that permanent cooperation upon the basis of strict autonomy so auspiciously initiated by the A. F. of L. in 1919; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the American Federation of Labor at the coming convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to be held in Havana in January, 1930, favor permanent cooperation with the International Federation of Trade Unions on a basis of hemispheric equality and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be authorized to formulate the general principles of such cooperation in accord with the resolution as to international organization laid down by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

On Resolution 81 just read, and found on page 157, Second Day's proceedings, your committee holds that, in view of the outstanding and far-reaching changes that have followed organization of trusts and mergers in combinations of capital that extend into all countries, there is great need of understanding and workable cooperation of the trade unions of all countries.

Quick transportation, which will undoubtedly be enhanced in the next few years, that will wipe out all imaginary lines of demarcation now and heretofore existing makes it necessary and advisable that understanding and cooperation shall prevail that will protect the economic rights and welfare of all workers.

We recognize that industrial, social and political conditions are somewhat different in different countries and continents. We realize that conditions cannot be changed by resolution, and that changes can and will take place through organization, education and evolution

and that the trade unions are the best and only means to accomplish desirable economic results. We hold and declare that the trade unions of all countries have an indisputable fundamental right to predicate action on the principle of autonomy and in their own way. Your committee believes that through organization the workers in all countries will be on an equality and in full enjoyment of all economic, industrial and social advantages. With this understanding we recommend the resolution go to the Executive Council for the purpose indicated in the resolve.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Favoring Exchange of Fraternal Delegates with German Trade Union Movement

Resolution No. 83.—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Henry F. Schmal and Matthew Woll, representing the International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, Post-war developments have wrought great changes in Europe generally and in the trade union movement particularly, bringing the German trade union movement to an important position of strength and democratic influence and in hearty accord with the position, principles and aims of our own movement; and

WHEREAS, It has long been our custom to send each year two fraternal delegates to carry our greetings to the British trade union movement and to exchange information with our brothers of Great Britain; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to create the closest possible relations with the German trade union movement the Executive Council be authorized to consider the practicability of an exchange of fraternal delegates with that movement.

On Resolution 81 just read, and found on page 157, Second Day's proceedings, it is the understanding of your committee that this resolution is not intended to, nor does it, embrace any instruction or direction, but is solely for the Executive Council to study the suggestion contained in the resolution. With this understanding and in view of prior recommendations of this committee authorizing the Executive Council to develop plans for mutual cooperation and collaboration with the European Labor Movement and the possible interchange of Continental delegates, we recommend reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Pan-American Federation of Labor**

Under the caption "Pan-American Federation of Labor." Page 27, Executive Council Report, your committee reports as follows:

Your committee is in full accord with the Executive Council Report. The American Federation of Labor is more responsible for the establishment and maintenance of the Pan-American Federation of Labor than any other agency. The Pan-American Federation of Labor has been eminently successful in dissipating ill feeling and misunderstanding, and in establishing peace and friendly relations, economic and political, between our country and the republics in the immediate South and of helping to establish and maintain more friendly relations and better understanding of the rights, interest and welfare between the wage earners of the republics in South America.

We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to continue active membership and participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor and that delegates be sent to the Sixth Congress to be held in Cuba January 6, 1930.

\*The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Woll: This concludes the report of the committee, which is signed by all members of the committee:

GEORGE W. PERKINS,  
Chairman  
MATTHEW WOLL,  
Secretary,  
JAMES WILSON,  
ANDREW FURUSETH,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
MARTIN LAWLOR,  
D. J. TOBIN,  
GEORGE L. BERRY,  
JOHN H. WALKER,  
C. L. BAINE,  
W. D. MAHON,  
J. A. FRANKLIN,  
J. J. HYNES,  
WM. L. HUTCHESON,  
EDWARD J. GAINOR,  
ALBERT ADAMSKI,  
JOHN COEFIELD,  
MICHAEL GREENE,  
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,  
WM. J. ROONEY,  
WILLIAM GREEN.

Secretary Woll: I move the adoption of the report as a whole as approved by the convention.

The motion was adopted, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS**

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution 92—By the Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The delegates, officers and guests of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor enjoyed a most hearty welcome at the hands of the organized labor movement, the people generally and the governments of Toronto, Ontario and the Dominion of Canada; and

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of Toronto rendered untiring service to the convention throughout the sessions and provided for the entertainment and comfort of the delegates and visitors with most cordial hospitality and efficiency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention, on behalf of the delegates and officers and their wives and other members of their families accompanying them, and also on behalf of all guests and visitors, whose numbers, we are happy to note, are increasing at each convention, tender most hearty thanks to the trade unionists and other citizens of Toronto, Ontario and the Dominion of Canada, and to the following: Dr. Forbes Godfrey, representing Premier Ferguson of Ontario; Mayor Sam McBride of Toronto; Honorable Peter Heenan, representing the Honorable W. L. M. King, Premier of the Dominion of Canada; Mr. William P. Mulock, representing the Dominion Government; P. M. Draper, representing the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada; Sam McMaster, President of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council; Major-General Langton, representing the Toronto Harbor Board; Sir Henry Thornton, representing the Canadian National Railways; Mr. A. C. Maguire, representing the Provincial Hydro-Electric Commission; Mr. J. E. Atkinson, Star Publishing Company, and Mrs. Atkinson; Mr. C. L. Burton of the Robert Simpson Company; the T. Eaton Company; Mr. E. W. Beatty, for the courtesies extended through the management of the Royal York Hotel, Toronto; Mr. Lawrence Solman of the Royal Alexandra Theatre, and Mr. Daniel Pearce of the Empire Theatre; Mr. D. W. Harvey, representing the Toronto Transportation Commission; Mr. J. H. Ballantyne, Deputy Minister of Labor for the Province of Ontario; the Musical Protective

Association of Toronto; General D. C. Draper and other officers of the Canadian Legion; Mr. W. E. Lemon, Postmaster, Toronto District; Reception and Convention Committee, William Varley, Chairman, Charles J. Bird, Secretary, James Bamber, Financial Secretary, William Jenoves, Vice-Chairman, and John Munro, Treasurer.

RESOLVED, That we thank the clergy of Toronto and vicinity with the same spirit of good-will and cordiality which prompted them to extend the freedom of their pulpits to a large number of delegates and officers of the Federation, and that we also extend our thanks to the press for the courteous and generous manner in which they have given publicity to the proceedings of the convention.

MATTHEW WOLL,  
Chairman,  
VICTOR A. OLANDER,  
Secretary,  
G. W. PERKINS,  
A. A. MYRUP,  
J. A. FRANKLIN,  
JOHN L. LEWIS,  
CHAS. L. BAINE,  
THOMAS L. HUGHES,  
ARTHUR M. HUDDLELL,  
P. J. MORRIN,  
J. L. WINES,  
CHARLES P. HOWARD,  
CLARENCE E. SWICK,  
M. J. COLLERAN,  
WALTER V. PRICE,  
Committee on Resolutions.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

#### PRESIDENT GREEN

It is clearly evident that the work of the convention has been completed and that we have reached the conclusion of our labor. I always feel that we approach the adjournment of our annual conventions with mingled feelings of regret and satisfaction, regret because the pleasant and most friendly associations of ten days or two weeks have been brought to a close.

Friendships are formed, we participate in reunions during these annual conventions, we are brought into closer relations because of our meeting and our greeting each other in our association together. We part most re-

luctantly. We are happy to meet, we are glad to assemble, we enjoy association, renew acquaintances, strengthen old friendships and make many new ones. Then we enjoy the feeling of satisfaction because of work accomplished.

This to me has been a most wonderful convention, and I feel greatly encouraged and deeply satisfied over the great work that has been done. I know you share that expression of my feeling. We are thinking of the homes from which we came. We look east and west and north and south, and there with the eye of clear vision we see our homes and the homes of those whom we have represented, and we are moved by a deep desire to make those homes happier and brighter and better.

The year before us is full of promise. Let us resolve that we shall with a noble endeavor go forward in our great work for humanity and for our constituency during the coming year with a greater determination to achieve and to succeed than we ever possessed before. Let the message go out to our members inspiring them with renewed courage, hope and determination that, above all, the great principles of the American Federation of Labor shall be triumphant.

Let us carry on our membership drive to build up the numerical strength of our union, and in doing that let us give every ounce of energy we possess in carrying forward our drive. And on the question of securing relief from the evils and the abuses of the injunction, of protecting the men who want to work at any age, let us be determined that machinery shall be erected to carry on this work, that it shall be put in motion by the American Federation of Labor, and that it shall move relentlessly until we have achieved our purpose.

I express to all of you my deep appreciation of the cooperation you have extended to me, of the diligence and patience of service you have manifested in the work of the convention, and I assure you I shall go from here, as your spokesman and as your leader, determined to give the best I have to the cause of organized labor.

I have asked our good friend who has been with us at every meeting, Brother Simpson, to come forward and lead us in singing "For Auld Lang Syne."

The entire audience arose and, led by Delegate Simpson, complied with the request of the President.

At 7:45 o'clock p.m., Friday, October 18, 1929, President Green declared the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

*Frank Morrison*

Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor.

*H. R. Lucas*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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